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THE CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

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THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET;

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CRUEL CIVIL WARS BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF

ORLEANS AND BURGUNDY;

OF

THE POSSESSION OF PARIS AND NORMANDY BY THE ENGLISH;

THEIR EXPULSION THENCE;

AND OF OTHER MEMORABLE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE, AS WELL AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

A HISTORY OF FAIR EXAMPLE, AND OF GREAT PROFIT TO THE FRENCH.

BEGINNING AT THE YEAR MCCCC., WHERE THAT OF SIR JOHN FROISSART FINISHES, AND ENDING AT THE YEAR MCCCCLXVII., AND CONTINUED BY OTHERS TO THE YEAR MDXVI.

TRANSLATED BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

CHAPTER CLXXVI.—THE CARDINALS OF SANTA CROCE AND OF CYPRUS COME TO ARRAS, TO ATTEND THE CONVENTION.

IN the month of July, two cardinals, sent by the pope and the council of Basil, with many ambassadors of note from divers nations, arrived at Arras, to be present at the ensuing convention for establishing a general peace. On the part of the holy father, came the cardinal of Santa Croce, archdeacon of Metz, attended by some theologians. On that of the council, the cardinal of Cyprus, accompanied by the bishop of Ache*, and a doctor called Nicholas, ambassador from the king of Poland; and the bishop of Alba, in the same capacity, from the duke of Milan. With them came also the bishop of Uzes and the abbot de Vezelay, and other envoys from various lords in distant countries. They might amount, in the whole, to about eight score masters, and were handsomely received by the bishop of Arras, his clergy, and the inhabitants, as well as by the attendants of the duke of Burgundy, from whom they had had orders to that effect.

The whole of the town went out to meet them on their arrival, with great crowds of people, who escorted them with cries of joy to their hôtels, where many rich presents were made them.

CHAPTER CLXXVII.—LOUIS DE LUXEMBOURG, COUNT OF ST. POL, ESPOUSES JOAN OF BAR, COUNTESS OF MARLE AND OF SOISSONS.

ON Sunday the 16th day of July, in this year, Louis de Luxembourg, count of St. Pol, of Conversan, of Braine, and lord of Anghien, espoused Joan of Bar, only daughter to sir Robert de Bar, countess of Marle and of Soissons, lady of Dunkirk, of Varneston, and of many other valuable places, niece to sir John de Luxembourg, count of Ligny, uncle to the said count of St. Pol. The marriage was celebrated in the castle of Bohaim, and attended by at least one hundred knights and esquires, relatives or friends of the parties, but not one prince of the royal blood of France, to which the countess was very nearly connected. At

* There came to this convention, according to Stowe, Nicholas Albergat, a Carthusian friar, entitled a priest cardinal of the Holy Cross, and Hugh de Lusignan, a Cyprian (I presume he means Cypriot) Greek bishop cardinal of Præneste: which, or whether either of these, was the person meant by Monstrelet under the fanciful name of "bishop of Ache," the reader may determine. Q. Auch?

this feast were the dowager countess of St. Pol, mother to count Louis, with several of her children.

The count de Ligny was reported to have paid all the expenses of this feast, which was most abundantly served with every delicacy in food and liquors,—to which were added justings and all kinds of pastimes.

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.—THE FRENCH ARE DEFEATED NEAR TO RETHEL, BY THE BASTARD DE HUMIERES.

At this period, some of king Charles's captains guarding the frontiers near Rheims assembled about four hundred combatants to make an inroad toward Rethel, and other parts attached to the duke of Burgundy,—and in fact collected a great number of peasants, cows, horses, and other plunder, which they proposed to carry back with them in safety to their garrisons. The chief of this expedition was Yvon du Puys. News of it, however, came to the bastard de Humieres, governor of Herquery, who instantly called out his men-at-arms, and pursued the French so rapidly that he overtook them, and a combat ensued, in which these marauders were completely defeated, leaving forty dead on the field; the rest saving themselves by flight in the best manner they could. On the part of the bastard, his loss did not amount to more than ten men.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.—AMBASSADORS FROM THE KING OF ENGLAND ARRIVE AT ARRAS TO ATTEND THE CONVENTION.

At this time, the ambassadors from the king of England arrived at Arras, to attend the convention with the council of the duke of Burgundy. They were about two hundred knights, the principal of whom were the archbishop of York, the earl of Suffolk, the bishop of St. David's, sir John Ratcliffe*, keeper of the king's privy seal, the lord Hungerford†, master Raoul le Saige, official to the archbishop of Canterbury, and some other theologians. They were lodged within the city of Arras, and cheerfully attended to in whatever they might be in want of by the servants of the duke of Burgundy. At the same time, there came from divers nations other ambassadors and mediators. The duke of Gueldres‡, the count Nassau, the bishop of Cambray, the count de Vernambourg§, the bishop of Liege, the count de Vaudemont, the count de Nevers, the count de Salines, the duke of Bar, and in general all the higher nobility of the countries of the duke of Burgundy, came thither to support his claims and pretensions. They were all grandly dressed—and soon after the counts of St. Pol and of Ligny arrived with a handsome retinue.

On the 28th day of July, the duke of Burgundy entered Arras: he had lain the preceding night at his town of Lens in Artois. The whole company in Arras, attached to the embassy from England, went out a league beyond the walls to meet him,—as did the attendants of the two cardinals,—and when they met the duke, every one was most honourably received by him. The duke's entrance into Arras was well ordered, he having the archers of his body-guard, all dressed in a rich uniform, to precede him,—and wherever he passed, the people sang carols for his arrival. In this state, he went to pay his compliments to the cardinal de Santa Croce, and then to the cardinal of Cyprus, whence he retired to his lodgings in his hôtel at La Cour-le-Comte.

* Sir John Ratcliffe was constable of Fronsac in Aquitaine, under Henry V., and seneschal of Aquitaine in 1 H. VI., knight of the garter, &c. He died before 1441, and left a son, John, who succeeded him, and in 1 H. VII. was summoned to Parliament as lord Fitzwalter.

† Walter, lord Hungerford of Heytesbury, treasurer of England, one of the executors to the will of Henry V. He had summons to Parliament from 4 Hen. VI. to 26 Hen. VI. inclusive, and died in 1449, leaving Robert lord Hungerford his son and successor, who during his father's life-time served in the wars of France with twenty-nine men-at-arms and eighty archers, and died in 1459.

‡ Arnold, earl of Egmont, succeeded to Gueldres on the failure of the direct line in 1423. His son Adolph (by Margaret, daughter of Adolph IV. duke of Cleves) made war upon him, in consequence of which he was disinherited, and his father made over the duchy to Charles duke of Burgundy,

§ Vernambourg, *i. e.* Virnemburg or Wirnemburg, the title of a noble house of the duchy of Luxemburg, of whom Robert count of Wirnemburg governed the duchy in the name of Elizabeth of Burgundy.

CHAPTER CLXXX.—AMBASSADORS FROM FRANCE ARRIVE AT ARRAS TO ATTEND THIS CONVENTION.

On the Sunday following, the last day of July, the embassy from king Charles of France arrived at Arras. The ambassadors had come from Rheims, through Laon to St. Quentin in the Vermandois, where they had been joyfully received by the magistrates and townsmen; and to this place the duke of Burgundy had sent the count d'Estampes, attended by many knights and esquires, to meet and to conduct them to Arras. After a few days' stay at St. Quentin, they all departed together for Cambray, and thence they journeyed until they came to the wood of Mouf-laine, within half a league of Arras. The principal persons in this embassy were the duke of Bourbon, the count de Richemont, constable of France, who had each married a sister of the duke of Burgundy, the count de Vendôme, the archbishop and duke of Rheims, chancellor of France, sir Christopher de Harcourt, sir Theolde de Valperge, the lord de la Fayette marshal of France, the lords de St. Pierre and du Châtel*, sir James du Bois, sir John de Châtillon bastard de Dampierre, sir Paillaird du Fièt†, the lord de Raillieq, the lord de Rommet, the lord de Courselles, master Adam de Cambray first president of the parliament, the dean of Paris, named master John Tudart, the treasurer of Anjou, the borgne Blesset, master John Chanetier, the lord de Cletel, the lord de la Motte, master Adam le Queux, master John de Taisè, with many other able men, as well noble as not, accompanied by four or five hundred horsemen, including those who had gone before to prepare their lodgings.

The duke of Burgundy, attended by his household, the duke of Gueldres, and the other princes and nobles in Arras, with the exception of the English, went out to meet them. He joined them about a quarter of a league from the town, when great marks of friendship and affection were mutually displayed on both sides; more especially between the duke and his two brothers-in-law, who frequently embraced each other. When the compliments of meeting were over, they all proceeded, in handsome array, at a slow pace, toward Arras, —the three dukes, of Burgundy, Bourbon, and Gueldres, riding abreast at the head of the line. They were preceded by six trumpets and clarions, sounding most melodiously, and by numbers of kings-at-arms, heralds, and pursuivants, dressed in tabards, with the arms of the different princes then at Arras, among whom Montjoye, king-at-arms for king Charles of France, took the lead.

Next to them, but a few paces before the dukes, rode the constable, the counts de Vendôme and d'Estampes, and the damoisel de Cleves‡, with a few more of the higher nobility: the remainder of the knights, lords, and esquires, followed close behind the dukes; and in this order they advanced in front of the town-house, to the small market-place, multitudes of people shouting and singing carols wherever they passed.

The duke of Burgundy now separated from them, and returned with his household to his lodgings; he would have attended his brothers-in-law to their hôtels, but they insisted he should return, while they made a visit to the two cardinals. Having done this, they went to the lodgings that had been prepared for them, and received many rich presents from churchmen as well as from seculars.

On the third day afterward the duchess of Burgundy arrived at Arras, and the French and English ambassadors went out to meet her, as did all the nobles, and the attendants of the cardinals, most richly clothed. She was carried in an ornamented litter, dressed in cloth of gold, and a variety of precious stones; behind her rode on palfreys six of her ladies and damsels, elegantly and nobly habited, with robes and hood decorated, and covered with wrought silver and gold. Next came three handsome cars, in which were the countess de Namur and others of the duchess's ladies and damsels, dressed in similar robes and hoods to

* Oliver lord du Châtel, chamberlain of Bretagne; son of Hervè lord du Châtel, killed at Jersey, and brother to the famous Tanneguy.

† Q. Fai? John Genevois Bouton, lord of Fai, chamberlain of Burgundy, bailiff of Dole, was a commissary sent by the duke on this occasion. It is not impossible that an error of the press may have converted his office of *bailli* into the disgraceful appellation of *paillard*.

‡ John, who succeeded his father Adolph IV. duke of Cleves, in 1445.

the others. Near to the litter were the dukes de Bourbon and de Gueldres, the constable of France, and the count de Vendôme ; and the rest of the nobility rode either before or behind the duchess, excepting the English, who had taken their leave of her while in the open country, and were returned to their lodgings in Arras. The duchess, thus attended, went to pay her respects to the cardinals ; after which she went to the hôtel of her lord the duke of Burgundy, who received her most joyfully and honourably, and gave a handsome entertainment to the two dukes, and the other nobles who had accompanied her.

Among the numerous ambassadors that came from divers parts, were those from the city of Paris, namely, the abbot of Mont St. Catherine de Rouen, master William Breton, master John le Monstardier, master Thomas de Courselles, master Robert Poitevin. There were likewise others from the kings of Sicily, Spain, Navarre, Poland, Asia, Romania, and from the principal towns of Holland, Zealand, Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, Namur, Burgundy, whose names it would be tedious to relate: each of them were handsomely lodged by the purveyors of the duke, who, with others, had been especially ordered for this purpose. They were all abundantly supplied with any sort of provision they inclined to buy during the three months they stayed in Arras. No accident happened during this time ; but there was much alarm that mischief would have happened, from the heat with which disputes were carried on while the matter of peace was debating. Commissaries were appointed to patrole the town night and day, to see that no disorders arose, and that no extortions were practised in the markets.

The duke had ordered about one hundred gentlemen and two hundred archers to be always armed, under the command of some of the lords of his household, such as the lord de Croy, sir John de Horne, the lord de Crevecœur, the lord de Chargny, John de Brimeu, and others, as well for his own personal security as to be ready, should occasion require it, to put an end to any affrays. The duke was always attended by fifty archers.

CHAPTER CLXXXI.—SIR JOHN DE MELLO, A KNIGHT OF SPAIN, AND THE LORD DE CHARGNY, COMBAT EACH OTHER IN THE PRESENCE OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AT ARRAS.

On the 11th day of August in this year, a combat at arms took place at Arras, in the presence of the duke of Burgundy, as judge of the lists. A handsome scaffold was erected for him in the great market-place, on which were seated behind him the dukes of Bourbon and of Gueldres, the counts de Richemont, constable, de Vendôme, d'Estampes, and many other great lords. The combat was between sir John de Mello, a very renowned knight banneret of Spain, appellant, without any defamatory quarrel, but solely to acquire honour, against Pierre de Bauffremont, lord of Chargny, knight banneret also, a native of Burgundy, and knight of the Golden Fleece. The terms were, to break three lances only. When the lord de Chargny had acceded to this request, he in his turn demanded from the Spanish knight a combat on foot with battle-axes, swords and daggers, until one of them should lose his arms, or place his hands on his knees, or on the ground,—subject, however, in all cases, to the decisions of the judge of the field.

These proposals having been for some time agreed to by the two knights, on Thursday morning, about ten o'clock, the Spanish knight appeared in the lists, attended by four others, whom the duke of Burgundy had ordered to accompany him,—namely, the lord de l'Or, governor of the Rethelois, the lord de Ligny, the lord de Saveuses, and the lord de Sainzelles, with four or five of his attendants, one of whom bore on the end of a lance a small banner emblazoned with his arms. The other knights carried his lances ; and thus, without more pomp, he made his obeisance to the duke of Burgundy, and retired from the lists by the way he had come on the left hand of the duke. He waited a considerable time for his adversary, who at length appeared grandly accompanied by the counts d'Estampes, de St. Pol, and de Ligny, together with the earl of Suffolk, all bearing his lances. Behind him were four coursers, richly caparisoned with his arms and devices, with pages covered with robes of wrought silver ; and the procession was closed by the greater part of the

knights and esquires of the duke of Burgundy's household. Having made his bow to the duke, as the Spanish knight had done, he withdrew to the right of the lists.

When they were ready, they ran some tilts with lances, without any injury on either side. Then the Spaniard mounted a courser which the duke of Bourbon had lent him, for his own shied at a lance. They broke their lances with great courage against each other, until the number agreed on had been performed. Neither were wounded, although the helmet of don Mello was a little broken. They then quitted the lists, with the assent of the duke of Burgundy, and returned to their lodgings accompanied as before.

The Spaniard wore over his armour a vermilion-coloured mantle, with a white cross on it, like to the badge of the French, which created a disgust in some of the Burgundian lords, as it seemed to mark a partiality for their enemies. When he was informed of this, he excused himself by saying, that in consequence of the strict alliance which had so long continued between the kingdoms of France and Spain, he could not with propriety wear any other badge.

On the morrow, which was a Friday, the duke of Burgundy proceeded to the lists, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, grandly attended by his chivalry, and with him came the princes who had accompanied him the preceding day. Shortly after, the lord de Chargny, the appellant, appeared with the same persons as on the first day, who carried the weapons he was to combat with. He was mounted on a courser covered with housings of his arms, and followed by four pages mounted in like manner, and by the greater part of the knights and esquires of the duke of Burgundy's household, with some other nobles.

Having thus entered the lists, he went to dismount at his pavilion, and thence on foot to make his obeisance to the duke; after which he retired to a seat, where he waited a full hour for his adversary. When he arrived, he was accompanied as on the preceding day,—and the knights and esquires whom the duke of Burgundy had appointed to attend him bore his weapons for the combat. Behind him were his servants, one of them carrying a small banner at the end of a lance. On his entering the lists he saluted the duke, and withdrew to his pavilion. While he remained there, he was frequently admonished by the knights that attended him, who gave him the best advice in their power for the success of his combat, but he paid not any attention to what they said, nor would discover to them his plans, telling them not to be any way concerned about him, for that, with God's good pleasure, he would do his duty.

Everything being ready, the king-at-arms, called Golden Fleece, proclaimed, in three different parts of the lists, that all who had not been otherwise ordered should quit the lists, and that no one should give any hindrance to the two champions under pain of being punished by the duke of Burgundy with death. Eight gentlemen armed were appointed to stop or raise up either of the champions, as the judge of the field should direct. When the proclamation was made, the lord de Chargny issued out of his pavilion, holding his battle-axe by the middle in his right hand, the iron part toward his adversary, and thus advanced a little forward.

The Spanish knight advanced at the same time from his pavilion, having a kerchief thrown over his helmet that covered his visor, which was half raised,—but this kerchief was taken away, when he was advancing, by his servants. They made for each other with vigorous strides, brandishing their lances; but the Spaniard all this time had his visor raised. The lord de Chargny, without waiting for his adversary, threw his lance at him as he approached, while the Spaniard advanced to throw his, and hit him on the side, where he was wounded, as well as in the arm, for the lance hung in the vanbraces of his armour, whence the lord de Chargny soon shook it off on the ground. The two champions now approached with great courage, and handled their weapons very nobly; but the lord de Chargny was much displeased that his adversary did not close his visor.

While they were thus combating, the duke of Burgundy gave his signal for the battle to cease, and ordered the champions to be brought before him, who seemed very much vexed that an end had been put so soon to their combat,—more especially the Spaniard, who twice declared aloud that he was far from being pleased that so little had been done; for that he had come at a great expense, and with much fatigue, by sea and land, from a far country,

to acquire honour and renown. The duke told him, that he had most honourably done his duty and accomplished his challenge. After this, they were escorted back to their lodgings in the same manner as before. The Spanish knight was much noticed by very many of the nobles present, who greatly praised him for his courage, in thus having fought with his visor raised,—for the like had not been before seen.

When this combat was over, the duke of Burgundy paid great respect and attention to the Spanish knight, by feasting him at his hôtel on the Sunday and following days,—presenting him at the same time with many rich presents, to reimburse him for all the expenses he had been at. The knight soon afterward took leave of the duke and his company, and departed from Arras on his return to his own country.

CHAPTER CLXXXII.—THE FRENCH AND BURGUNDIANS ARE ON VERY AMICABLE TERMS IN ARRAS.

On the Monday, which was the feast of our Lady of the middle of August, the dukes of Burgundy, of Bourbon, and of Gueldres, the counts d'Estampes, de Richemont, de Vendôme, de St. Pol, de Ligny, de Meurs, and de Nassau, with the greater part of their attendant knights and esquires, went on horseback in great concord from the hôtel of the duke of Burgundy, to hear the mass of our Lady in the city, richly dressed in most splendid habiliments. The poor people, who were there in crowds, were very much rejoiced to see this, as they hoped it would be the forerunner of a general peace, that was so much wanted and wished for. After the mass, most part of them returned to the apartments of the duke of Burgundy and dined, and were sumptuously served with an abundance and variety of dishes. The English ambassadors were not well pleased at these entertainments; and from the frequent intercourse that took place between the French and the duke, they suspected some treaties were in agitation that would not be for the advantage of their country.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.—THE CARDINAL OF WINCHESTER COMES TO ARRAS TO ATTEND THE CONVENTION.

The cardinal of Winchester arrived at Arras on the 19th day of August, to be present at the convention, attended by the earl of Huntingdon, and other noble knights and esquires, from England, to the amount of three hundred horsemen. The dukes of Burgundy and of Gueldres, with the counts de St. Pol, de Ligny, de Meurs, and the greater part of the duke of Burgundy's nobles, went out of Arras to meet him. The duke and cardinal mutually paid each other the greatest respect, as did the other lords; and they returned together to the gate of Arras, where they separated, and the cardinal and his attendants went to lodge at the palace of the bishop.

Ambassadors daily arrived from various nations. The place of meeting for this convention was fixed at the abbey of St. Vaast, where there were apartments sufficiently spacious and numerous for the purpose,—and there the three parties assembled, in the presence of the two cardinals who had first come thither. The cardinal de Santa Croce harangued them most eloquently on the great inconveniences all Christendom had laboured under from the severity and long continuance of the war,—admonishing them, at the same time, with much feeling, that, from their love to God, they would not separate without concluding a peace, and that they would not insist on any terms but such as each might mutually concede to the other. After this harangue, the convention met on several different days,—and many proposals for a treaty were brought forward, so contradictory that it was difficult to reconcile them. Among others, king Charles's ministers required that king Henry of England should desist from styling himself king of France, on condition of having the sovereignties of Guyenne and Normandy given up to him,—but to this the English ministers would not agree.

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.—DURING THE MEETING OF THE CONVENTION AT ARRAS, LA HIRE AND POTON OVERRUN AND FORAGE THE COUNTRY OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

On the 20th day of this month of August, while the convention was sitting at Arras, La Hire and Poton de Saintrailles, with six hundred combatants, six score being lancemen, whom they had assembled on the frontiers of Beauvais, rode during the night for the river Somme, which they crossed at Cappy; thence they retreated, and fell back on Dourlens and Beauquesne, to forage the country. They divided into smaller bodies, and collected a great booty of peasants, cattle, horses, sheep, and other things, with which they marched back the way they had come to recross the Somme.

Intelligence was brought of this, by the lord de Saveuses, to the duke of Burgundy, who was much troubled thereat, as he feared the matters that were then under discussion in the convention would be greatly retarded. To provide a remedy, he ordered the counts d'Estampes, de St. Pol, de Ligny, with the greater part of his chivalry, to mount their horses, and repel the French. With them went some of the English lords, to the amount of about three hundred horsemen,—so that they were in the whole full sixteen hundred, but most of them were without armour. They hastened toward Mailly and Attinghen, having sent forward the lord de Saveuses, with some scouts, to collect intelligence of the enemy. They soon learnt the line of march the French were following with their plunder to cross the water, and pressed forward with so much diligence that they overtook them near to Corbie, at a town called Boumay, on the water of Helly.

The French, hearing of this pursuit, detached a party of their men-at-arms, to guard the passage of this river, and marched to draw up in battle-array on a hill between Corbie and Helly. In the mean time, sir John de Croy was despatched, with a certain number of men-at-arms, to gain this passage,—but he was defeated and made prisoner: ten or twelve of the French were slain, but the rest retreated to their main body on the hill. The Burgundians and English, having crossed the river, advanced and drew up in order of battle at the foot of the hill, where they remained for a good half-hour, without any intention of combating the French, for they were too slightly armed.

While this was passing, the duke of Bourbon, and the constable of France; sent from Arras messengers to the French, to order them to retreat, and restore the plunder they had taken; so that when the two parties had been for some time drawn up in battle against each other, they separated without coming to action, and returned the way they had come; for the French, in obedience to the orders they had received from their ambassadors at the convention, restored the greater part of their prisoners, and the pillage they had collected,—but it was sorely against their will. They lost about twenty men in killed and prisoners.

CHAPTER CLXXXV.—THE KINGS OF ARRAGON AND NAVARRE ARE DEFEATED, AND MADE PRISONERS, BEFORE GAIETA, BY THE ARMY OF THE DUKE OF MILAN.

On the 16th day of August, in this year, the kings of Arragon and of Navarre, the grand master of the order of St. James, their brother, the duke of Sessia, and his son, the count de Fondi, the prince of Tarentum, his son sir Christopher Garganeymè *, surnamed the Eagle, the viceroy of Sicily, and four hundred knights and esquires, were made prisoners before the town of Gaieta, and their army, of four thousand soldiers, defeated. They had been employed in besieging the town of Gaieta by sea and land, to the great displeasure of Philip Maria Visconti, duke of Milan †, who had prepared an army and stores, in Genoa, to raise the

* Garganeymè. Q.

† The death of Joan, queen of Naples, followed closely upon that of Louis of Anjou, king of Sicily, in 1434. The following year, Alphonso passed over from Arragon and commenced the siege of Gaieta; and during that siege the battle was fought of which this account is given. The personages here mentioned to have been taken prisoners, are the king Alphonso, his brothers John king of Navarre, and don Henry, grand master of St. James; the prince of Tarento, John Anthony de Marzan, duke of Sessa, Christopher Gaetano, count of Fondi, &c. The name of Garganeymè, I conjecture to be a blunder for Gaetano; but it is a gross mistake to call him son to the prince of Tarento.

siege and revictual the place. The commander of this army for the duke of Milan was the admiral of Genoa, who attempted to enter the port and throw in succours; but the besiegers marched to the shore to combat him,—and though they were far more numerous than he was, fortune favoured him, and he completely routed the Arragonian and Neapolitan forces.

The kings and princes before mentioned were carried by the admiral prisoners to Genoa, then under the protection of the duke of Milan, and were soon after delivered up to him on certain terms agreed upon between him and the Genoese, and also on his promising not to give them their liberty without their consent. This promise, however, he did not keep; for, after he had handsomely entertained them in his town of Milan, he gave them their liberty without ransom, or insisting on any terms, and even made them, on their departure, many rich gifts. When this came to the knowledge of the Genoese, they were very indignant thereat, and not without reason, for they were their inveterate enemies; and they now withdrew themselves from the obedience and protection of the duke of Milan *.

CHAPTER CLXXXVI.—THE CARDINAL OF WINCHESTER AND THE WHOLE OF THE ENGLISH EMBASSY LEAVE ARRAS.—OTHER AMBASSADORS ARRIVE THERE.

The cardinal of Winchester and the English embassy left Arras on the 6th day of September for England, without concluding on any terms with the French, although there had been conferences for several days between them for this purpose, and although the duke of Burgundy had interfered with his council as much as possible to accommodate their differences. The English, notwithstanding, departed for Calais, and thence to England, suspecting greatly, what happened soon after, that Charles, king of France, and the duke of Burgundy, would make peace; for they had perceived, while at Arras, that great cordiality existed between the duke and the French, which was far from pleasing to them.

Ambassadors continued to arrive at Arras from the kings of Navarre, of Dacia, of Spain, of Cyprus, of Portugal, the constable duke of la Puglia, the duke of Milan, the king of Sicily, the king of Norway, and the duke of Brittany. The archbishop of Auch came thither, as did the bishops of Alby, of Usez, of Auxerre, of Alba, of Vicenza, the abbot of Vezelay, the archdeacon of Metz, in Lorraine, procurator for the holy council of Basil, the archdeacon of la Puglia, with numbers of others of note and of authority.

CHAPTER CLXXXVII.—A PEACE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN CHARLES, KING OF FRANCE, AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, IN THE CITY OF ARRAS.

When the ambassadors from king Henry had quitted the city of Arras, without agreeing to any preliminaries for a peace, the two remaining parties, of the king of France and duke of Burgundy, met for some few days at the accustomed place, when, by the exhortations and interference of the cardinals de Santa Croce and of Cyprus, and other prelates and nobles, a peace was finally concluded between them on the following terms.

* "In the year 1435, the town of Gaieta, in the kingdom of Naples, offered to submit itself to the protection of the Genoese, to avoid falling into the hands of Alphonso king of Arragon. In consequence, Francisco Spinola and Ottolino Zoppo are sent with a good garrison to defend the place. Alphonso hastens to besiege it,—and Gaieta, ill provided with provision, is reduced to great distress.

"The Genoese, informed of the situation of the garrison, send thither, on the 22d July, a fleet under the command of Luca Ascréto, a famous captain, to their relief. Alphonso, hearing of this, embarks on board his own fleet, with all the nobility, and eleven thousand combatants. The fleets meet near to the island of Ponza on the 5th August, and the battle lasts from sunrise to night, but victory is on the side of the Genoese. It could not be more complete; the king of Arragon, his two brothers, John king of Navarre, the infant don Henry, with a quantity of nobles, are made prisoners; and of fourteen vessels, only one escaped.

"The besieged, on learning this event, make a sally, drive the enemy from their lines, and deliver the place. The prisoners are carried from on board the fleet to Milan, where the duke entertains the king of Arragon magnificently, enters into a league with him, and gives him and his companions their liberty without ransom. This generosity causes the Genoese to lose the fruit of their victory and enrages them against the duke of Milan. On the 12th December, they rise in arms, kill the governor, drive away the Milanese, and shake off the yoke of the duke."—*Art de Verifier les Dates.*

"We, Philip, by the grace of God, duke of Burgundy, Austria, Brabant, and Limbourg, count of Flanders, Artois, Burgundy, palatine of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Namur, marquis of the holy empire, lord of Frizeland, Salins, and Mechlin, make known to all to whom these presents shall come, that many assemblies and conventions have been holden for the procuring of a general peace, as well in the cities of Auxerre and Corbeil, as latterly in our city of Arras, for this desirable purpose. To this place, our very redoubted lord, king Charles, has sent our most dear and well-beloved brothers and cousins, the duke of Bourbon and Auvergne, the count de Richemont, constable of France, the count de Vendôme, grand master of the household, the very reverend father in God the archbishop and duke of Rheims, chancellor of France, Christopher de Harcourt, Gilbert lord de la Fayette, marshal of France, master Adam de Cambray, first president of the parliament, master John Tudart, dean of Paris and master of requests of the king's household, William Charetier, Stephen Moreau, counsellors of the parliament, John Chastignier and Robert Marlier, secretaries to the said king, as his ambassadors.

"On the part of our very dear lord and cousin, the king of England, there came the most reverend fathers in God the cardinal of Winchester and the archbishop of York, our well-beloved cousins the earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, the reverend fathers in God the bishops of Norwich, St. David's, and Lisieux, and many other churchmen, as his ambassadors. We also came thither in person, attended by many of our blood, and great numbers of our faithful and loyal subjects. Our holy father the pope sent also to this convention the most reverend father in God, and our especial friend, the cardinal de Santa Croce, invested with sufficient powers from him. In like manner, the sacred council at Basil sent thither, as its ambassadors, the most reverend father in God, our dear and well-beloved cousin the cardinal of Cyprus, the very reverend fathers in God the bishops of Verona, of Alby, Nicholas provost of Cracovia, Hugh archdeacon of Metz.

"In the presence of the above ambassadors from our holy father the pope, and from the sacred council at Basil, we, as well as the ambassadors from France and England, have appeared as often as it was thought expedient, and have mutually made overtures and presents to each other. And although the ambassadors from the king of France made great and handsome proposals for the conclusion of a general peace, and such as were thought by the cardinals and prelates to be just and reasonable, and which ought not to have been refused; and although the cardinals de Santa Croce and of Cyprus, together with the other envoys from the pope and council, even pressed the English ambassadors to accede to these terms, remonstrating with them, that in case they would not listen to the conclusion of a general peace, they had been charged by their holy father, and by the sacred council, to summon us to conclude a private peace with our lord the king, in so far as the whole of our personal interests were concerned.

"Nevertheless, the English ambassadors, continuing obstinate in refusing the terms offered them, quitted our city of Arras without coming to any conclusion, or fixing any period for their return thither. For this cause, the cardinal legates, and the other ministers from the pope and council, exhorted and required of us to conclude a private peace with our said lord the king, provided that satisfactory proposals should be made touching the death of our very dear lord and father, (whose soul may God pardon!) by the ambassadors from him, and in his name, so that we should be contented therewith.

"The following proposals from our said lord the king were delivered in a written roll to the said cardinal legates, and other ambassadors from our holy father the pope and sacred council, and by them given to us.

"These are the offers made by us Charles duke of Bourbon and of Auvergne, Arthur count de Richemont constable of France, Louis de Bourbon count de Vendôme, Regnault de Chartres archbishop and duke of Rheims, great chancellor of France, Gilbert lord de la Fayette marshal of France, Adam de Cambrai first president of the parliament, John Tudart dean of Paris, counsellor and master of the requests of the king's household, William Chartier and Stephen Moreau counsellors, John Chastignier and Robert Morlier secretaries, ambassadors from Charles king of France, now in the city of Arras, for and in the name of our sovereign lord king Charles, to my lord the duke of Burgundy and Brabant, respecting

the death of the late lord John duke of Burgundy, his father, and likewise touching other matters, that a treaty of peace and concord may be concluded between them.

"In the first place, the king will declare, or others sufficiently authorised by him shall declare, to the said lord the duke of Burgundy, that the death of the late lord John duke of Burgundy, his father, (whose soul may God pardon!) was iniquitously and treacherously caused by those who perpetrated the deed, and through wicked counsel, which was alway displeasing to him, and continues to be so in the sincerity of his heart. That if he had been aware of the consequences, and of an age to have judged of them, he would have prevented it; but at the time he was very young, having little knowledge, and inconsiderately did not prevent it. He shall entreat my lord the duke of Burgundy that what hatred and rancour he may have conceived against him for this cause may cease, and that henceforward good faith and peace may exist between them,—express mention of which shall be made in the articles that shall be drawn up in consequence.

"Item, the king will deliver up all who may have perpetrated the said wicked deed, or were consenting thereto, and will use all diligence to have them apprehended wherever they may be found, so that they may be punished in body and goods. Should they not be discovered, he will irrevocably banish them the realm of France and Dauphiny, with confiscation of effects, and exemption from profiting by any treaty.—Item, the king will not permit any of them to be received or favoured in any place under his obedience; and will cause it to be proclaimed in all parts of France and Dauphiny, where proclamations have been usually made, that no persons do receive or favour them, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects.

"Item, the aforesaid lord, the duke of Burgundy, shall, so soon as he conveniently can after the signing of the treaty, name those who he has been informed perpetrated the said wicked deed, or were consenting thereto, that they may be proceeded against with diligence on the part of our said lord the king. And whereas the said duke of Burgundy may not at this present moment be sufficiently acquainted with the names of all who were concerned in, or who actually perpetrated, the aforesaid wicked act, at all times that he may receive additional information, he may signify the names of such persons, by his letters patent, or otherwise, to the king, who shall be bound to pursue them, in his royal courts of justice, in the most summary manner.

"Item, the following edifices and religious foundations shall be made for the repose of the souls of the late John duke of Burgundy, of the late sir Archambault de Foix, count de Noailles, who was put to death with him, and for those of others who have been slain on this occasion, or in the wars that took place in consequence of this event,—namely, in the church of Montereau, where the body of the late duke John of Burgundy was first buried, shall be founded a chapel and chapelry, in which a low mass of requiem shall be daily chaunted; which chapel shall be endowed with an annual income of sixty livres parisis in mortmain, and furnished with a chalice, and all other ornaments sufficiently handsome, at the sole expense of the king. The presentation to this chapel shall be vested in my lord of Burgundy, and in his successors the dukes of Burgundy, for ever.

"Item, within the said town of Montereau, or as near to it as well may be, shall be constructed and endowed by the king, and at his expense, a church, with a convent of Carthusians, to consist of a prior and twelve monks, with cloisters, halls, refectories, granges, and all other necessary buildings. This monastery, consisting of a prior and twelve religious, shall be founded by the king with well secured rents in mortmain, to the amount of eight hundred livres parisis, for the maintenance of the monks, the keeping up religious worship, and for the repairs of the convent, church, and buildings, according to the advice of the reverend father in God the lord cardinal de Santa Croce, or whomsoever he may nominate in his stead.—Item, on the bridge of Montereau, where this murder was committed, shall be erected a handsomely-sculptured cross, according to the device of the said lord cardinal or those commissioned by him, at the king's expense, and kept continually in perfect repair by his majesty.—Item, in the church of the Carthusians at Dijon, where at present reposes the body of the said duke John of Burgundy, shall be founded by the king, and at his expense, a high mass of requiem, which shall be daily chaunted for ever at the high altar of this

church, at such an hour as may hereafter be determined upon. And this foundation shall have secured to it good annual rents, in mortmain, of one hundred livres parisis, and shall be provided with chalices and other suitable ornaments.

"Item, these said buildings and foundations shall be begun upon, and take effect, so soon as conveniently may be,—and the masses shall particularly commence the instant the treaty shall be signed. But with regard to the intended buildings at Montereau, they shall be begun three months after that town shall be reduced to the king's obedience, and diligently continued without interruption until the whole of them be perfectly completed within the term of five years.—In respect to the said foundations, proper measures shall be taken concerning them so soon as conveniently may be; and the moment the treaties shall be signed, the high mass in the Carthusian convent at Dijon, before mentioned, shall commence,—and the monks shall be provided with books, chalices, and all other necessary articles. And when the town of Montereau shall be reduced to the king's obedience, the daily low mass shall be sung, at the sole expense of the king of France. Within three days after this town shall have submitted itself, a sufficient sum of money shall be paid to the lord cardinal de Santa Croce, or to whomsoever he may appoint to receive the same for the commencement of the said edifices, and to purchase chalices, books, and every other necessary article. And at the same time the annual income, before declared, of eight hundred and sixty livres parisis, shall be firmly established on lands, in mortmain, as near to the town of Montereau as possible. This income, however, does not include the rent of a hundred livres parisis allotted for the foundation of a high mass at the Carthusian convent at Dijon.

"Item, as a compensation for the jewels, and other personalities that were either stolen or lost at the time of the decease of our late lord John duke of Burgundy, and for the purchase of others, the king of France consents, well and truly, to pay to the duke of Burgundy the sum of fifty thousand golden crowns, old weight, of sixty-four to the marc of Troyes, eight ounces to the marc, having twenty-four karats of alloy, or other current money, by instalments, as follows: namely, fifteen thousand on Easter-day twelvemonth, which will begin the year 1437; fifteen thousand on the Easter-day in the following year,—and the balance of twenty thousand on Easter-day in the year 1439. The duke of Burgundy shall not be prevented by this from persevering in his researches after the rich collar of his late lord and father, nor in his suits against those he may suspect to have it, as well as other valuable jewels, in order to recover them, over and above this said sum of fifty thousand crowns.

"Item, the king, from affection to the duke of Burgundy, agrees that the following lands and lordships shall be firmly settled on the said duke, his direct heirs and successors, whether male or female, namely, the city and county of Mâcon and St. Jangon, as far as the boundaries thereof, with all the towns, villages, lands, and revenues thereto belonging, which at this moment appertain to and are dependant on the domain of the crown of France, without any reservation, excepting the homage due from these fiefs to the crown, and the patronage of the churches and royal foundations, included in the droit de regale, and all other royal prerogatives which may belong from ancient times in this bailiwick to the crown of France. In all other respects the said duke of Burgundy shall hold the county of Mâcon, with its towns, villages, and dependances, and his heirs and successors, for ever, on paying the usual homage to the king and crown of France, as a peerage under the jurisdiction of the king and his court of parliament in a similar manner, and with all the rights and prerogatives attached to the peerage of France.

"Item, on the part of the king shall be yielded up to the duke of Burgundy and to his heirs and successors, to whom, after his decease, shall devolve this county of Mâcon, all profits and emoluments whatever that shall become due from the royal towns of Mâcon and St. Jangon, whether from rights attached to royalty or from bailiwicks in compensation for protection, or by confiscations, fines, profits from the coinage; and all rights of every other description, shall be enjoyed by the said duke and his heirs, during their respective lives, on the terms and conditions following,—that is to say, on the nomination of the said duke of Burgundy, and his heirs after him, of a bailiff of Mâcon, the king shall appoint the same as his royal judge and commissary, to take cognizance of all crimes and suits appertaining to his sovereign jurisdiction throughout the county of Mâcon and its dependances, according to

the usual form and manner in which the royal bailiffs of Mâcon and Saint Jangon have acted in former times,—but henceforth the bailiwick of St. Jangon shall be abolished. And, in like manner, on the recommendation of the said duke and his heirs, shall the king appoint all officers necessary for the good government of this county; such as governor, castellan, provosts, and receivers, who shall exercise such appointments in the king's name, but to the profit of the said duke of Burgundy and his heirs.

"Item, in like manner, all profits from taxes shall be transferred from the king to the said duke, together with the duties on salt, on wines sold by retail, and every other imposition that may have been established in the elections of Mâcon, Chalons, Autun, and Langres, so far as these elections may extend into Burgundy or the county of Charolois, and throughout the whole county of the Mâconnois, included within the boundaries of the aforesaid duchy or county, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs for ever. The recommendation of all officers necessary for the government of the county of Mâcon and its dependances shall belong to the said duke of Burgundy and his heirs, but the commission and institution shall remain with the king of France.

"Item, in like manner shall the king of France transfer to the duke of Burgundy and to his heirs, whether male or female, for ever, as a perpetual inheritance, and as held in chief, the city and county of Auxerre, with all its dependances and appurtenances whatever, in regard to the administration of justice, domains, fiefs, patronage of churches, collations to benefices, as held by the king of France and his court of parliament, with the same rights, franchises, and prerogatives, as the other peers of France.—Item, and together with this cession the king of France shall transfer to the said duke of Burgundy and his heirs for ever, all revenues payable by the city of Auxerre and its dependances, in as ample manner as has been before stated when speaking of the county of Mâcon, as has been already declared. And also, that on the nomination of the duke of Burgundy and his heirs, of persons to fill up the various offices that may become vacant, the king of France shall confirm their nominations, and issue sufficient commissions and authorities accordingly; so that the bailiff of Auxerre nominated by the duke of Burgundy shall have a royal commission to judge and decide on all actions competent to his tribunal within the city of Auxerre and its dependances, in the same form and manner as has been heretofore done by the bailiff of Sens instead of Auxerre; which bailiff of Sens shall not any more interfere in these matters during the lives of the said duke of Burgundy, his legal heirs and successors, but shall refer the same to the bailiff of Auxerre, he having a royal commission for his authority. All the revenues of taxes, and of every sort of imposition, shall be transferred to the said duke of Burgundy in a manner similar to what has been before declared in the article relative to the cession of the same in the county of Mâcon and its dependances.

"Item, in like manner shall the king of France cede to the duke of Burgundy and to his heirs, whether male or female, descending in a direct line for ever, as a perpetual inheritance, the castle, town, and castlewick of Bar-sur-Seine, with all its domains, jurisdictions, fiefs, patronage of churches, with all other rights and emoluments, for him the duke to hold them under the king as a peerage of France, under the royal sovereignty and jurisdiction of the parliament, on his fealty and immediate homage to the king of France. The king shall likewise transfer to the said duke and his heirs all profit from taxes and other impositions, to be received by him from the receivers, who, having been nominated by the said duke, shall be confirmed in their offices by the king.—Item, the king of France shall yield up to the duke of Burgundy and his heirs the county of Burgundy, as a perpetual inheritance to be enjoyed by him and them for ever, together with the patronage of the church and abbey of Luxeuil, with all profits arising therefrom, which the count of Champagne claims as belonging to him, (although the counts of Burgundy, predecessors to the present duke of Burgundy, have pretended the contrary as a cause of quarrel) saying and declaring that this abbey, which is without the kingdom of France and the limits of the county of Burgundy, ought to be under his patronage and protection. To obviate, therefore, all future cause of quarrel, and for the public welfare, the king of France now consents that the patronage of this abbey shall remain wholly with the duke of Burgundy and his heirs.—Item, the king of France shall cede to the duke of Burgundy, and to his legal heirs, whether male or

female, in perpetuity, the castles, towns, castlewicks, provostships of fairs, of Peronne, Mondidier, and Roye, with all their domains, rights, and jurisdictions whatever, with every dependance and appurtenance, to hold them from the king of France as a peerage within his sovereign jurisdiction and that of his parliament, on doing him immediate homage. The king shall also yield up to the said duke of Burgundy, and his heirs, all right to the taxes and other impositions, together with every other claim of profit, in as ample a manner as has been before declared in the preceding articles respecting the counties of Mâcon and Auxerre.

"Item, the king of France shall yield up to the duke of Burgundy, and to the person whom after his decease the said duke shall have declared his heir to the county of Artois, the collection of taxes from the said county of Artois and its dependances, amounting at this time to fourteen thousand francs of annual revenue or thereabout, without hindrance to the said duke or his heir from receiving any further gratuities from the said king or his successors. The duke of Burgundy and his heir shall have the power of nominating such officers for the due gathering of these taxes, as shall be agreeable to them,—and when thus appointed, the king shall grant them letters in confirmation of the same.—Item, the king shall transfer to the said duke of Burgundy, and to his heirs, for ever, all the cities, towns, castles, forts, lands, and lordships now belonging to the crown of France, above and on each side the river Somme; namely, St. Quentin, Corbie, Amiens, Abbeville, and others,—the whole of the county of Ponthieu, on both sides of the said river Somme,—the towns of Dourlens, St. Riquier, Crevecœur, Arleux, Mortaigne, with all their dependances whatever. And all the lands now belonging to the crown of France, from the said river Somme inclusively, comprehending the whole of the towns, as well on the frontiers of Artois, Flanders, and Hainault, as on those of the realm of France and of the empire of Germany, the duke of Burgundy and his heirs to have them in possession for ever, and to receive all the profits of taxes, rights, privileges, and honours attached to them, without the king retaining anything, saving and except the fealty and homage due to him as their sovereign lord, or until this grant shall be bought by the crown of France, on payment of the sum of four hundred thousand crowns of gold, old coin, at the weight of sixty-four to the marc of Troyes, eight ounces to the marc, with twenty-four karats of alloy and one karat for waste, or in any other current coin of equal value.

"The duke of Burgundy shall give sufficient securities for himself and heirs, that they will abide by the terms of this grant, and be ready and willing to receive the said sum for the release of the said cities, towns, &c., whenever it may please the king of France to make an offer of the same, and surrender to the king, or to such as he may commission for the purpose, all the said cities, towns, castles, forts, lands, and lordships specified in the said grant. And also the duke of Burgundy shall acknowledge, for himself and heirs, his willingness to receive the said sum at two instalments,—that is to say, two hundred thousand crowns at each payment; but nevertheless he shall not be bound to surrender to the king any of the said cities, &c., until the last of the four hundred thousand golden crowns be paid.

"During the whole time these said cities, towns, lands, &c., shall be in the possession of the duke of Burgundy or his heirs, he and they shall receive the taxes, and enjoy every right and privilege attached to them, without the smallest deduction or abatement whatever. Be it understood, however, that in this grant of the king, the city and county of Tournay and the Tournesis, and of St. Amand, are not included, but are to remain under the jurisdiction of the king,—with the exception of Mortaigne, which is to be placed in the hands of the duke of Burgundy, as has been before said.—But although the city of Tournay is not to be given to the duke of Burgundy, the sums of money that had been before agreed to be paid, according to the terms of a treaty between him and the inhabitants for a certain number of years, shall be duly reserved,—and these sums the inhabitants shall be bound punctually to pay him.

"Item, forasmuch as the said duke of Burgundy pretends to have a claim on the county of Boulogne-sur-mer, which he has the possession of, the king of France consents, that for the sake of peace, and for the public good, it shall remain to him and his heirs-male only, lawfully begotten by him, with the full and free enjoyment of all its revenues, rights and

emoluments whatever. But in default of this issue male, the county shall devolve to him who shall have the just right thereto. The king shall engage to satisfy all claimants on this said county, in such wise that they shall not cause any trouble to the duke of Burgundy, or to his heirs, respecting it.—Item, in regard to the town, castle, county, and lordship of Gien-sur-Loire, together with the lordships of Dourdan, which, as it is said, have been transferred with the county of Estampes by the late duke of Berry, and the late duke John of Burgundy, they shall, *bona fide*, be placed by the king of France in the hands of the duke of Bourbonnois and Auvergne, for their government during the space of one whole year, and until John of Burgundy count d'Estampes, or the present duke of Burgundy for him, shall have laid before the king or his council a copy or copies of this grant from our late lords of Berry and of Burgundy. When after due examination, should this grant be found good, we duke of Bourbonnois and Auvergne bind ourself to restore the said town, castle and lands of Gien-sur-Loire, without other form of law, to the count d'Estampes, or to the duke of Burgundy, for him as his legal right from the grant of the late dukes of Berry and of Burgundy, without the king alleging anything to the contrary, or any prescriptive right from the lapse of time since the decease of the said duke of Berry, and notwithstanding any opposition from others who may lay claim to the county of Gien, if any such there be, whose right to pursue their claims by legal means shall be reserved to them, against the count d'Estampes.

"Item, the king shall restoration make and pay to the said count d'Estampes, and to the count de Nevers his brother, the sum of thirty-two thousand two hundred crowns of gold, which the lately deceased king Charles is said to have taken from the church of Rouen, wherein this sum was deposited, as the marriage-portion of the late lady Bona of Artois, mother to these noblemen, unless it shall clearly appear that the above sum has been accounted for, and allowed in the expenditure of the late king and for his profit; otherwise these thirty-two thousand two hundred golden crowns shall be paid at such terms as shall be agreed on, after payment has been made of the fifty thousand crowns before mentioned to the duke of Burgundy.—Item, in respect to the debts which the duke of Burgundy says and maintains are due to him from the late king Charles, whether from pensions unpaid, or from gifts and monies advanced by him for the king's use, the said duke shall have free liberty to sue for the recovery of the same in any of the courts of justice.

"Item, the said duke of Burgundy shall not be bound to do homage nor service to the king for the lands he now holds in France, nor for any others that may fall to him by right of succession; but shall remain during his life personally free from all subjection, homage, and obedience, to the crown of France. After the decease of the present monarch, the said duke of Burgundy shall do the usual homages and services to the king's sons and successors to the crown of France, as belong to them of right; and should the said duke of Burgundy depart this life before the present king, his heirs, after showing cause, shall do the usual homages and services to the crown of France.—Item, notwithstanding the duke of Burgundy shall have acknowledged, by writing and speaking, the king as his sovereign, and received the before-named ambassadors from the king, this shall not be of the smallest prejudice to the personal exemption before stated of the said duke during his life. This said exemption shall remain in full force, as contained in the above article, and shall extend to all lands now in the possession of the said duke within the realm of France.

"Item, with regard to the vassals and subjects of the duke of Burgundy, in the lordships he now holds and will possess by this treaty, and of those that may fall to him by succession in the kingdom of France during the king's life and his own, they shall not be constrained to bear arms by orders from the king or his officers, supposing that they may hold lands from the king together with those of the duke. But the king is contented that whenever it may please the duke of Burgundy to order his vassals to arm, whether for internal or external wars, they do obey his commands without attending to any summonses from the king, should he at the time issue such. And in like manner shall all the officers of the said duke's household, and his familiars, be exempted, even should they not be his subjects or vassals.

"Item, should it happen that the English shall make war on the said duke of Burgundy,

his subjects or allies, on account of the present treaty or otherwise, either by sea or by land, the king of France engages to march to his succour with a sufficient force, and to act as if it were his own proper cause.—Item, the king declares, for himself and his successors, that neither he nor they, nor any princes of his blood, shall enter into any treaty of peace with his adversary of England, without having first informed thereof the said duke of Burgundy and his immediate heir, nor without their express consent thereto and comprehension therein, provided they may wish to be comprehended—provided always, that similar promises shall be made to the king of France by the duke of Burgundy and his heir apparent, touching war and peace with England.

"Item, whereas the said duke of Burgundy and his faithful vassals have heretofore borne a cross of St. Andrew as their badge, they shall not be constrained to bear any other badge, whatever army they may be in, whether within or without the realm, or in the presence of the king or of his constable, whether in the royal pay, as soldiers, or otherwise.

"Item, the king shall make all reasonable restitution for whatever losses such as may have been made prisoners on the day of the death of duke John, (whose soul may God pardon!) have suffered, as well as the repayment of their ransoms.

"Item, a general oblivion shall take place of all acts done and committed in consequence of the divisions in the realm, excepting what regards those who perpetrated the said murder of duke John of Burgundy, or were consenting thereto,—for they shall ever remain excepted in whatever treaties may be concluded. Henceforth all persons shall return to their different homes,—namely, churchmen to their churches and benefices, and seculars to their houses and possessions within the realm, excepting such lands and lordships as may be within the county of Burgundy, and which are held by the present lord of Burgundy, or have been in the possession of the late duke, or such as may have been given by either of them to others as confiscations arising from the intestine divisions within the kingdom; for these lands, notwithstanding the present treaty, shall remain in the possession of those who now hold them. But in every other instance, all persons shall return to their houses and lordships, without being called upon by any person or persons for any damages or repairs whatever,—and each shall be held acquitted of all rents from the time he ceased to enjoy them; and in regard to any furniture that may have been taken and carried away by either party, all pursuit after it and any quarrels on the subject are absolutely forbidden.

"Item, it is ordained by this present treaty that all quarrels and rancour, which may have arisen in consequence of the troubles that afflicted the realm, do now absolutely cease; and all private wars are strictly forbidden, without reproach to either party, under pain of being punished as transgressors of this article, according to the heinousness of the offence.

"Item, in this present treaty shall be included, on the part of the said duke of Burgundy, all churchmen, the inhabitants of the principal towns, and others, whatever may be their rank, who have followed his party, or that of the late lord his father; and they shall enjoy the benefit of this said treaty, as well in regard to the general oblivion of all acts done and committed within the realm of France as in the peaceable enjoyment of whatever possessions, moveable and immoveable, they may have within the kingdom or in Dauphiny, which are now withheld from them by these said troubles, provided they be willing to accept of the terms contained in the said treaty, and loyally fulfil them.

"Item, the king will renounce the alliance he had formed with the emperor against the duke of Burgundy, as well as all others with different princes and lords to the same effect, provided the duke of Burgundy shall do the same with his alliances; and the king will also hold himself bounden, and will promise the duke of Burgundy to assist and support him against all who may be inclined to make war against him or otherwise injure him. And in like manner shall the duke of Burgundy engage his promise, saving, however the exemption of his personal service, as has been before declared.

"Item, the king consents to grant letters, that in case he shall violate the articles of the present treaty, his vassals and subjects shall be no longer bound to obey and serve him, but shall be obliged to serve and assist the duke of Burgundy and his successors against him. In this case, all his subjects shall be absolved from their oaths of fidelity toward king Charles, without at any time hereafter being called to account for so doing; and from this moment

king Charles absolves them from all fidelity to him, in case such violation of the treaty shall take place,—and that the duke of Burgundy shall do the same in regard to his vassals and subjects.

"Item, all these promises, obligations, and submissions, of king Charles, respecting the due fulfilment of this treaty, shall be made before the lord cardinal of Santa Croce, legate from the holy father the pope, the lord cardinal of Cyprus, and the other ambassadors from the holy council of Basil, in the most ample manner that can be devised, and on pain of excommunications, interdicts, and all the most weighty punishments of the church, to the utmost power which the said lords cardinals may possess from the pope, provided that the duke of Burgundy shall act in a similar manner.

"Item, the king will give to the duke of Burgundy not only his own declaration, sealed with his seal, but the declarations and seals of the princes of his blood and under his obedience,—namely, the seals of the duke of Anjou, his brother the lord Charles, the duke of Bourbon, the count of Richemont, the count of Vendôme, the count of Foix, the count of Auvergne, the count of Perdiac, and others,—which declarations of the princes shall be incorporated with that of the king, who shall with them promise faithfully to maintain the contents of the said declarations; and should they be infringed on the part of the king, they do severally promise to aid and assist the said duke of Burgundy and his friends against the king. In like manner shall the duke of Burgundy deliver in his declarations.—Item, the king shall also cause to be given to the duke of Burgundy similar declarations under the seals of such churchmen, nobles, and principal towns of the realm under the king's obedience, as the duke of Burgundy shall name, under penalties both corporal and pecuniary on failure, together with such securities for the due performance of their engagements as the lords, cardinals and prelates commissioned by the pope may think proper and advisable.

"Item, should it happen hereafter that omissions, infractions, or attempts to infringe any of the said articles should arise, notwithstanding the present treaty, they shall remain in full force and vigour, and the peace shall not be considered as broken or annulled; but such omissions, infractions, and attempts, shall be instantly amended and corrected, according to the virtual meaning of what has been before declared,—and the guarantees thereof shall see that it be done.

"Item, as we have been again earnestly exhorted and pressed by the said cardinals, and by the ambassadors from the holy council, to incline our ears and attend to the proposals made to us respecting a peace,—which proposals they think just and reasonable, and such as ought not to be refused by us,—remonstrating also with us, that we should make peace with king Charles of France from our love to God, and according to reason and honour, notwithstanding any alliances, oaths, or engagements entered into with our very beloved and dear lord the king of England lately deceased,—the said cardinals and others, ambassadors from the holy council of Basil, urging us to a compliance by many reasons and arguments,—we, therefore, principally through reverence to God, and from the pity and compassion we feel for the poor people of France, who have been such great sufferers in these troubles and divisions within that realm, and in compliance with the admonitions and urgent entreaties of the said cardinals, and the ambassadors from our holy father the pope and the council, which we consider as commands to a Catholic prince and obedient son of the church, have, after calling to our aid and council the highest lords of our blood and lineage, with others of our most faithful vassals and counsellors, made for ourselves and our successors a firm, loyal, and solid peace and re-union with our lord the king and his successors, according to the tenour of the articles above recited, which, on the part of the said king, he and his successors are bounden to fulfil toward us.

"The whole of these articles, so far as they regard us, we approve of and accept; and from this moment consent to and make all the renunciations, promises, submissions, and every other concession demanded from us in the above articles; and we acknowledge our aforesaid lord king Charles of France as our sovereign lord, in as much as regards the lands and lordships we hold in that kingdom, promising for ourself and our heirs on our faith and bodily oath, on the word of a prince, on our honour, and on the loss of our expectations in this world and in that to come, to hold inviolate this treaty of peace, and the

whole of the articles contained in the said treaty, without attempting to invalidate the same either by word or deed, openly or secretly. For the further maintenance of this peace by ourself, and by all others, we submit ourself and them to whatever regulations and ordinances it may please our holy father the pope, and the holy council now assembled at Basil, to promulgate by the lords cardinals and the ambassadors from the said council now present; and we are willing to suffer any censures from the church, should we fail in the due fulfilment of all the articles contained in the said treaty. We renounce all exemptions, whatever may be alleged to the contrary, more particularly to that rule in law which declares that a general renunciation is not equally valid with an especial one, the whole to be fulfilled without fraud, deceit, or any chicanery whatever.

"That this treaty may have every due formality, and be perfectly stable, we have caused our signet to be affixed to these presents. Given at our town of Arras the 21st day of September, in the year 1435." It was also signed by the duke of Burgundy, in the presence of his council.

When the two parties had finally concluded a peace with each other, and when every formality of signing and sealing was finished, the peace was proclaimed with great solemnity through the town of Arras. We need not inquire if this caused the utmost joy, and spread happiness among the people. In general, the clergy, nobles, citizens, and a multitude of peasants who had entered the town, were not content with one day's rejoicing, but made many, shouting and singing carols through the streets.

Duke of Burgundy making oath to the Peace between himself and Charles VII. From illuminations of the period.

Very grand entertainments were given at the palace of the duke of Burgundy to the knights, esquires, the ladies and damsels of both parties, as well in eating and drinking as in dancings and other amusements. In the apartment where this business had been concluded,

the cardinal of Santa Croce, having placed the holy sacrament on an altar and a cross of gold on a cushion, made the duke of Burgundy swear thereon, that he would never more call to his remembrance the death of his late father, and that he would evermore maintain peace with king Charles of France, his sovereign lord, and his allies. After which, the duke of Bourbon and the constable of France, touching the cross with their hands, begged pardon, in the king's name, of the duke of Burgundy for the death of his said father, who gave them his pardon for the love of God. Then the two cardinals, having laid their hands on the duke, absolved him from the oath he had made to the English. In like manner were absolved many great lords of his party, who, with others of the duke's alliance, swore to be on friendship with king Charles and with his allies. In the number was the lord de Launoy, who said aloud, "Here I am who have heretofore taken oaths for the preservation of peace five times during this war, not one of which has been observed,—but I now make promise to God, that this shall be kept on my part, and that I will not in any degree infringe it."

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII.—THE ENGLISH LAY SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF ST. DENIS, WHICH IN THE END SURRENDERS TO THEM BY CAPITULATION.

During the time the English and their allies were in the Isle de France, they besieged the town of St. Denis with a very powerful force. The principal commanders of this enterprise were the marshal de l'Isle-Adam, the lords Talbot, Willoughby, and Scales. George de Richammes, Waleran de Moreul, sir John bastard of St. Pol, his brother Louis de Luxembourg, sir Ferry de Mailly, Robert de Neufville, the bastard de Thian a French knight, the Arragonian, with other notable and expert men-at-arms of France and England, having under them about six hundred combatants. They carried on their attacks with great diligence, and pointed many cannons against the walls and gates to batter them down. They were frequently visited by Louis de Luxembourg, bishop of Therouenne, chancellor of France for king Henry, and governor of Paris and the surrounding country, who was their chief adviser, and urged them on to the completion of the business.

Within the town, on the part of the king of France, were the marshal de Rieux, sir John Foucault, sir Louis de Vaucourt, sir Regnault de Saint Jean, Artus de la Tour, and many more valiant men-at-arms, together with six hundred combatants. On the approach of their enemies, they made every preparation for resistance; and the greater part lodged themselves on the walls, where they remained day and night, to be always ready for their defence. The walls and gates, however, were greatly damaged by the cannon of the English in so many places that their captains resolved to make several attacks on the town at the same time, with the hope of gaining it by storm. In consequence, having armed their men, they formed several divisions, and marched, with scaling ladders and other warlike instruments, to the ditches, which were filled with water. These the men-at-arms crossed, though the water was up to their necks, and, carrying their ladders with them, placed them against the walls, which they ascended without sign of fear. The besieged seeing this, and considering that if the place were taken by storm, they should not only lose the town but their lives also, began to prepare for a vigorous defence.

The marshal de Rieux had posted on different parts of the ramparts detachments under captains, with orders not to quit their posts whatever they might see or hear,—and he had a body of men-at-arms ready to succour such places as should be distressed. The attack was very fierce and, bloody, and lasted for two hours, when many gallant acts were done on both sides. The new knights created on this occasion were Louis de Luxembourg, bastard of St. Pol, who behaved excellently well, Jean de Humieres, Robert de Neufville, and some others. When the assailants had had about four score men, or more, slain in the ditches and under the walls, they perceived they could not carry their point without too serious a loss, and their captains sounded a retreat, carrying off their dead and wounded. The besieged suffered also greatly, and were much alarmed lest the enemy, by continuing the attack, should constrain them more. They nevertheless, in hopes of succour from the constable of France, who was attending the convention at Arras, with many of his officers, repaired the

walls and gates, that had been broken, and prepared to defend themselves as well as circumstances would permit.

The constable, on the conclusion of the peace at Arras, departed thence, accompanied by numbers of the nobility, and went to Senlis. He was anxious to collect a sufficient force to raise the siege of St. Denis; but when he examined his powers, he found that he was unable to do so. The marshal de Rieux, therefore, knowing that the constable was unable to afford him relief, entered into negotiations with the English that he and his captains would surrender the place, on having their lives and fortunes spared, and would also give up the prisoners they had made, among whom was the new knight sir Jean de Humieres. This offer was acceded to,—and the French marched off, escorted by about sixteen hundred cavalry. The English army likewise broke up, and returned to different towns under their obedience, leaving behind such of their captains and men as had been killed in St. Denis. Among the first were sir Louis de Vaucourt, sir Regnault de St. Jean, Artus de la Tour, one called Josselin, and others, whose deaths caused great grief. The town of St. Denis was now under the government of king Henry.

Shortly after this event, the Picards, who had been informed of the peace concluded between the duke of Burgundy and king Charles, took leave of the English captains as soon as they could, and returned without loss to their own country. At the same time, the French took by storm the bridge of Meulan, and put to death about twenty English who guarded it. This success much vexed the Parisians, because it cut off the communication with Normandy, and would prevent them from receiving hence any provisions.

CHAPTER CLXXXIX.—ISABELLA, QUEEN OF FRANCE, DIES IN THE CITY OF PARIS.

In the month of September of this year, Isabella, queen of France, and mother to king Charles, then on the throne, was taken grievously ill at her apartments in the king's hôtel of St. Pol. She had for some time lived in great poverty, owing to the distresses and troubles of the war,—and her disorder increased so much that it caused her death. She was buried in the church of St. Denis, but not with the solemnity and state usual at the funerals of queens of France. When the duke of Burgundy heard of her decease, he had a grand and solemn service performed for her in the church of St. Waast, at Arras, which he personally attended, dressed in mourning. The duke was supported by the count d'Estampes, the count de Vendôme, the heir of Cleves, and many other ecclesiastical and secular lords in mourning. The service was performed by the bishop of Arras.

CHAPTER CXC. — THE CARDINALS AND THE AMBASSADORS FROM THE COUNCIL, LEAVE ARRAS. — THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY APPOINTS DIFFERENT OFFICERS TO THE TOWNS AND FORTRESSES THAT HAD BEEN CONCEDED TO HIM BY THE PEACE.

Soon after peace had been proclaimed in Arras, the cardinals, and those who had accompanied them, departed thence, after having been most honourably entertained by duke Philip. In like manner did all those who had come thither as ambassadors from the holy council and from king Charles. The duke now, while in Arras, appointed many new officers to the towns and castles on the river Somme, and to those within Picardy which had long appertained to the crown of France, but had been yielded to him by king Charles, according to the articles of the treaty lately concluded. Prior to this peace, Arras was in the hands of king Henry; but now the duke appointed other officers, displacing those of king Henry at his pleasure, laying hands on all the public money, nominating new receivers, and causing the inhabitants to swear allegiance to him.

The English officers were much surprised at these proceedings of the duke; for it was through his means that king Henry had obtained possession of the town, and he had lately acknowledged him for his legal and sovereign lord. Seeing that they could no way prevent it, they suffered patiently all that was done. Among others, master Robert le Jeune, who

had for a long time been bailiff of Amiens, and had ruled with a high hand all Picardy in favour of the English, and had even been their counsel at the convention of Arras, and their chief adviser, finding that the tide was now turning against them (through means procured by money) managed so well that he continued in favour with the duke of Burgundy, who made him governor of Arras in the room of sir David de Brimeu, who had held that appointment. Thus in a few days was a total change made in the public affairs of France and England, and just contrary to what had before been.

CHAPTER CXCI. — IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE PEACE OF ARRAS, THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS SOME OF HIS COUNCIL AND HERALDS TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, TO REMONSTRATE AND EXPLAIN THE CAUSES OF THE PEACE HE HAD CONCLUDED WITH THE KING OF FRANCE.

On the conclusion of the peace at Arras, the duke of Burgundy sent his king-at-arms of the order of the Golden Fleece, with another of his heralds, called Franchecomté, to England with letters from the duke to king Henry. These letters contained strong remonstrances to induce the king and his council to conclude a peace with the king of France,—and were also explanatory of the causes which had induced the duke, by the exhortations of the legates from the holy see and from the council of Basil, in conjunction with the three estates of his dominions, to make a peace with king Charles his sovereign lord, and to renounce the alliance he had formerly concluded with the late king Henry of England. They were accompanied by a mendicant friar, a doctor of divinity, who had been charged by the two cardinal-legates to remonstrate publicly with the king of England and his council on the infinite cruelty of prolonging so bloody a war, which laid waste Christendom, and to harangue on the blessings that would ensue, if a lasting peace could be concluded between the two kings.

They all three travelled together as far as Calais, and crossed the sea to Dover; but there they received orders from king Henry, forbidding them to proceed further. Their letters were demanded, given up, and carried to the king at London,—and soon after they were conducted thither. They were met on the road by a herald and a secretary to the lord treasurer, who escorted them to their lodgings in London, at the house of a shoemaker, where they remained, and only went to hear mass, under the care of some heralds and pursuivants-at-arms, who visited them often; for they were forbidden to stir out of their lodgings without a licence or permission. They were, therefore, very much alarmed lest they might personally suffer for the disagreeable news they had brought.

Notwithstanding the mendicant friar and the two heralds had made many requests to those who attended on them, that they might be permitted to address the king and council on the subjects they had been charged with by the two cardinals and their lord, they never could obtain an audience. The lord treasurer of England, however, to whom the letters from the duke of Burgundy had been given, assembled, in the presence of the king, the cardinal of Winchester, the duke of Gloucester, with many other princes and prelates, members of the council, so that the meeting was numerously attended, and laid before them the letters which the duke of Burgundy had written to the king and his council,—but their address and superscription were not in the style he was wont to use. In this he simply styled him king of England—high and mighty prince—his very dear lord and cousin; but forbore to acknowledge him as his sovereign lord, as he heretofore always had done in the numerous letters he had sent him.

All persons were very much surprised on hearing them read; and even the young king Henry was so much hurt at their contents, that his eyes were filled with tears, which ran down his cheeks. He said to some of the privy counsellors nearest to him, that he plainly perceived since the duke of Burgundy had acted thus disloyally toward him, and was reconciled to his enemy king Charles, that his dominions in France would fare the worse for it. The cardinal of Winchester and the duke of Gloucester abruptly left the council much confused and vexed, as did several others, without coming to any determination. They collected

in small knots, and abused each other as well as the duke of Burgundy and the leading members of his council. This news was soon made public throughout London, and no one who was well bred was sparing of the grossest abuse against the duke of Burgundy and his country. Many of the common people collected together, and went to different parts of the town to search for Flemings, Dutchmen, Brabanters, Picards, Hainaulters, and other foreigners, to use them ill, who were unsuspicious of deserving it. Several were seized in the heat of their rage and murdered; but shortly after king Henry put an end to this tumult, and the ringleaders were delivered up to justice.

Some days after, the king and his council assembled to consider on the answers they should send to the duke of Burgundy's letters, when their opinions were divided: some would have war declared instantly against the duke, while others would have him regularly summoned, by letter or otherwise, to answer for his conduct. While this was under discussion, news was brought to the king, that in consequence of the pacification between the duke and king Charles, the duke was to have given up to him the towns, lordships, castles, and forts, of St. Quentin, Corbie, Amiens, St. Riquier, Abbeville, Dourlens, and Montreiul, which had been in the possession and under the obedience of king Henry, who had received their oaths of fidelity, and had appointed officers for their government. This intelligence made bad worse, and the council determined not to send any answer. Upon which, the lord treasurer went to the three messengers at their lodgings, and told the heralds, Toison and Franche-comté, that the king, with the princes of his blood and his council, had seen and examined the letters they had brought,—and that they had been equally surprised at their contents as at the conduct of the duke, for which, if it pleased God, the king would provide a remedy.

The messengers were very anxious to have an answer in writing,—but could not obtain one, although they frequently made this request. They were told they might return to their own country,—and finding they could not do more, re-crossed the sea, and reported verbally to their lord the duke everything that had passed. The mendicant doctor went to those who had sent him, without having had an opportunity of employing his talents. The messengers were very much afraid they should have been ill treated,—for on their journey home, they heard in several places their lord much and loudly abused by the common people, who did not receive them with that civility they used formerly to do.

CHAPTER CXCII.—THE POPULACE OF AMIENS RISE AGAINST THE LEVYING OF SOME TAXES WHICH WERE INTENDED TO BE LAID ON THEM.

At this period, the inhabitants of Amiens deputed an advocate, called master Tristan de Fontaines, to the duke of Burgundy, to endeavour to obtain the remission of a sum of money which the town owed to the duke, or to some of his partisans,—but he was unsuccessful. King Charles and the duke issued new ordinances, ordering that the taxes and subsidies which that place had before paid should be continued on the same footing as formerly. Master Tristan, on his return to Amiens, had these ordinances proclaimed at the usual places,—when a large body of butchers and others of the populace, being discontented thereat, suddenly collected together, with arms and staves according to their condition.

They went thus armed to their mayor, and plainly told him, that they were determined not to pay these taxes, for he well knew that good king Charles would not that they should pay more than other towns under his obedience. The mayor, seeing their rude and bold behaviour, assented to all they said, appeasing them by gentle words; and as they were the masters, he agreed to go with them wherever they pleased through the town. They made captain over them one Honoré Cokin, and went first to the house of master Tristan, with the intent to put him to death; but he, having had from his friends intelligence of this, had escaped. They broke, however, many doors and windows in search of him,—and thence went to the house of one called Pierre le Clerc, provost of the Beauvoisis, who, during the time that master Robert le Jeune was bailiff of Amiens, had enjoyed great power, committed many extortions, and ill-treated several of the inhabitants of that place and the country about, which had caused him to be much hated. They sought him everywhere, but in vain,

—for, having heard of the tumult, he had hidden himself. They demolished his house and furniture, and drank in one night eighteen pipes of wine which he had in his cellars. They also made his nephew their prisoner, and confined him in the belfry.

They committed numerous disorders in the town; and went in large bodies to the houses of the rich, who were forced to give them great sums of money, but more particularly meat and wine. Pierre le Clerc was all this time hidden in the hen-roost belonging to a poor man; but he was discovered to the mob, who went in great solemnity to seek him, and confined him in the town prison, whence they soon after dragged him to the market-place and cut his throat: his nephew suffered the like death. There was not a man now in Amiens who dared to oppose their will and pleasure.

News of these proceedings were carried to the duke of Burgundy, who sent to Amiens John de Brimeu, the new bailiff, and shortly after the lord de Saveuses, who had been lately appointed the governor, with orders to inquire into and correct these abuses. They were followed by the count d'Estampes, with many knights, esquires, and cross-bows; and again the lord de Croy was sent thither with a large force: he also carried with him the archers of the duke's household. Forces from different parts drew towards Amiens, and all the principal lords of Picardy, under pretence of besieging the castle of Bonnes, whither had retreated a body of pillagers.

Honoré Cokin did not securely rely upon his companions, and was doubtful if they would not play him false, notwithstanding that they had been with the count d'Estampes, the governor, and bailiff, to excuse themselves and him for what had passed. They had received courteous answers, and promises, that if they would behave well for the future, they should obtain their pardon. The lords having deliberated on the business, and taken possession of the belfry, with a sufficient guard, (who were to ring the alarm-bell on the first sign of tumult, when all the commonalty were to assemble and join them) advanced to the market-place, having sent detachments to various parts of the town well armed, to prevent any disorders in future. The lord de Saveuses and the bailiff were then ordered to scour the streets with the troops, and to arrest all who refused to retire to their homes. When these regulations had been made, the count d'Estampes, attended by many noble lords and knights, remained in the market-place, which was filled with multitudes of people, and caused a new ordinance to be proclaimed in the names of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, ordering the late subsidies and taxes to be continued, and, at the same time, pardoning all past offences, with the reserve of some few of the ringleaders, who would be named and punished.

When this proclamation was made, Perrinet Chalons, one of the principal rioters, was present, and, hearing its contents, took to his heels,—but orders were instantly given to seize him. He was pursued into the church of Saint Germain, and found kneeling beside a priest saying mass; but, notwithstanding this, he was taken and carried to the belfry. On the other hand, Honoré Cokin, knowing of this meeting, had armed himself, with some of his associates, to attend it; but he was met by the governor and the bailiff, who instantly arrested him and sent him also to the belfry. Twenty or thirty other rebels were made prisoners, in different parts of the town; and this same day Honoré with seven others, his companions, had their heads cut off with a cooper's adze. Perrinet Chalons and two others were hanged and quartered on a gibbet: one was drowned, and about fifty banished the town. There were, afterward, several executed, for the same cause, at different times; and among them a celebrated pillager, who had been very active in his occupation. These executions brought the inhabitants of Amiens under the most perfect obedience.

CHAPTER CXCIII.—THE FRENCH OVERRUN AND PILLAGE THE COUNTRY OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AFTER THE PEACE OF ARRAS.—THE MARSHAL DE RIEUX TAKES MANY TOWNS AND CASTLES FROM THE ENGLISH IN NORMANDY.

When the French ambassadors were returned to king Charles, and had shown him the treaty they had concluded at Arras with the duke of Burgundy, by which, among other articles, the duke acknowledged the king as his sovereign lord, he was much pleased, and ordered peace to be proclaimed in all the usual places. Soon after, the French in the town of Rue marched away,—and the government of it was given up to the commissaries of the duke of Burgundy. Another party of French, however, collected in Santerre, and in the Amiennois, where they plundered many places belonging to the duke of Burgundy and his friends; they even robbed all they met in those parts, nobles and others. The duke, therefore, ordered some troops to march against these marauders, who, hearing of it, retreated from that country.

The English at this period laid siege to the bridge of Meulan, which the French had lately won, but, from some obstacles that arose, gave it up. In another quarter, the marshal de Rieux and Charles des Marêts gained the town of Dieppe, and some others in Normandy, in the following manner. Soon after the conclusion of the peace at Arras, several valiant French captains, such as the marshal de Rieux, Gaucher de Boussach, the lord de Longueval, and others, having with them from three to four hundred tried soldiers, marched, by the invitation of Charles des Marêts, on the Friday preceding All-saints' day, to escalade the strong town of Dieppe, seated on the sea-coast, and in the plentiful country of Caux. Charles des Marêts entered the town secretly, with about six hundred combatants, on the side toward the harbour, and thence hastened to destroy the gate leading toward Rouen,—by which the marshal entered with his men-at-arms on foot, and with displayed banners.

It was about day-break when they arrived at the market-place, shouting out, "Town won!" which cry greatly surprised the inhabitants, who began to shoot and to throw stones from the house-tops. As there were many in the town and on board of the vessels in the harbour, the French waited until nine or ten o'clock before they began to attack the houses,—but they were all won, with little loss to the French. The lieutenant-governor, Mortimer, fled with many others of the English, but the lord de Bloseville* was taken. At the first onset, only three or four of the English garrison were killed,—but several were made prisoners, with all those who had supported their party. The property of the inhabitants was confiscated, excepting, however, those willing to take the oaths of fidelity and allegiance to king Charles. There were in the harbour numbers of vessels, the greater part of which fell into the hands of the French. The day the town was taken, proclamation was made for all foreigners to leave it, except such as were willing to take the oaths,—and Charles des Marêts was unanimously appointed governor for the king of France.

The whole of the English throughout Normandy were greatly troubled and vexed at this capture, and not without cause, for the town of Dieppe was wondrous strong, and excellently situated in one of the most fertile parts of that country.

Shortly after, a body of French cavalry, to the amount of from three to four thousand, arrived at Dieppe and in the neighbourhood, under the command of Anthony de Chabannes, Blanchefort, Poton le Bourguignon, Pierre Regnault and other captains. They were soon joined by Poton de Saintrailles, John d'Estouteville, Robinet his brother, the lord de Monstrieul-Bellay, with other noble lords and commanders. To them came also a leader of the common people, called Le Kirennier, with about four thousand of the Norman peasantry, who united themselves with the French forces, and took oaths, in the presence of the marshal de Rieux, to wage a perpetual warfare against the English. When these troops had been properly arranged, they took the field in good array on Christmas-eve, and marched to

* Q. Bonville? Sir William Bonville served under Henry V., and again under Henry VI., in the year 1443, with twenty men-at-arms and six hundred archers. He was then seneschal of Guienne, but may possibly have been in Normandy at this time. In the year 1450, he was summoned to parliament as lord Bonville of Chuton. He afterwards joined the York party, and was beheaded after the second battle of St. Albans.

Fecamp *, which, by means of the lord de Malleville, was surrendered to the marshal, on promise of remaining unmolested. John d'Estouteville was made governor thereof; and on the morrow of Christmas-day the army advanced to Monstier-Villiers, which was also surrendered by a Gascon called Jean du Puys, who had been placed there by the English. The marshal made a person called Courbenton its governor.

The successes were now increasing on all sides in Normandy,—and many of the nobles took the oaths of fidelity to the marshal. The army was now marched to Harfleur, and made on it a vigorous assault; but they were repulsed by the garrison, with the loss of forty of their men killed,—the principal of whom were the lord de Monstrieul-Bellay and the bastard de Langle. The marshal had determined to renew the attack on the morrow; but the townsmen concluded a treaty to surrender, on condition that the four hundred English in the place should depart in safety with their baggage and property. The English captain, called William Minors, conducted his men and baggage out of the town,—and the inhabitants took the oaths of allegiance. At the same time, the following towns surrendered to the king's obedience, Le Bec Crespin, Tancarville, Gomerville, Les Loges, Valmont, Grasville, Longueville, Lambreville, and very many forts, with little loss to the French.

The count de Richemont, constable of France, now joined this army, to whom, on his arrival, the towns and castles of Charles-Maisnil, Aumarle, St. Germain-sur-Cailly, Fontaines-le-bourg, Préaux, Blainville, and others, surrendered, in all of which garrisons were placed; and thus, at this season, was the greater part of the country of Caux conquered by the French. It is true, that they were forced from want of provision to leave these parts,—but their captains, before they departed, posted strong garrisons along the frontier.

Charles des Marêts and Richarville were present at all these conquests: they took the field from Dieppe, and joined the marshal de Rieux, the lord de Torsy †, Poton le Bourguignon, Broussart, Blanchefort, John d'Estouteville, and other captains renowned in war. To them, likewise, attached himself Le Kerennier with six thousand of the peasantry, to accomplish their work of driving the English out of the country.

CHAPTER CXCIV.—THE ENGLISH SUSPECT THE BURGUNDIANS WHO ARE WAGING WAR WITH THEM AGAINST THE KING OF FRANCE: THEY NO LONGER CONVERSE OR KEEP COMPANY WITH THEM.—OTHER MATTERS BRIEFLY SPOKEN OF.

When the English in France were perfectly assured that a treaty had taken place between the duke of Burgundy and king Charles, they became very suspicious of the Burgundians, and guarded as much against them as they had done before against the French. Notwithstanding they had been on the greatest intimacy together, they had no longer confidence in each other,—and although there was no open warfare between them, the English and Burgundians were mutually taking measures in secret to gain advantages over each other. The English guarding the frontier toward Calais even attempted to take the town of Ardres by surprise,—and the Burgundians in Ponthieu made a similar attempt in regard to the castle of Crotoy, keeping outwardly fair appearances. Each were, however, much displeased at these attempts, and made preparations for open war.

During this time, La Hire was quartered at Gerberoy ‡; and, in conjunction with Poton de Saintrailles and sir Regnault de Fontaines, collected about six hundred combatants, whom they led toward Rouen, in the hope of entering that town by means of friends within it,—but they failed in their enterprise. They and their men, being much tired, retreated to a large village, called Le Bois, to refresh themselves, but not without sir Thomas Kiriel, and the other English captains in Rouen, gaining intelligence thereof. He and his companions therefore speedily armed, and fell on the French at this village unexpectedly, with about a

* Fécamp,—a city of Normandy by the sea, diocese of Rouen.

† William d'Estouteville, lord of Torcy, made prisoner at the siege of Harfleur in 1429, ransomed himself by the alienation of great part of his estates, and died in 1449. John d'Estouteville, here also mentioned, was his son, and succeeding him in his lordship, was made provost of Paris and master of the cross-bows.

‡ Gerberoy,—in the Isle de France, four leagues from Beauvais.

thousand combatants, who soon put them to the rout; for the French had not time to mount their horses, nor draw up in battle-array. The greater part fled the way they had come,—but a few of their leaders, attempting to rally them, were conquered by the English. Among the prisoners were the lords de Fontaines, Alain Geron, Alardin de Monssay, Jean de Bordes, Garnarde and many others, to the amount of upward of sixty. Eight or ten only were killed: the rest saved themselves by flight. La Hire was wounded, and lost his equipage. The English gained almost all their horses,—for the greater part dismounted, and escaped into a wood hard by.

At this time, king Henry of England sent an embassy to the emperor of Germany; but the ambassadors, passing through Brabant, were arrested by the officers of the duke of Burgundy: they were, however, as I was informed, soon set at liberty, because the king of England and the duke had not declared war against each other. About this time also, by the exertions of sir John de Vergy, and some French captains under him, the English were driven out of the two strong towns they held in Champagne, on the frontiers of Bar, namely, Nogent-le-Roi and Montigny. In like manner, those of Pontoise surrendered their town into the hands of the lord de l'Isle-Adam, which had before been under the command of the English; for though this lord de l'Isle-Adam had carried on the war for the English, and had even been made marshal of France by king Henry, within a short time he had turned against him. The English lost also the castle of Vincennes, and other places they held in the Isle de France, and now began to perceive how much they suffered from the duke of Burgundy having quitted them, and from his union with France. They therefore conceived a greater hatred against him and his friends than against their ancient enemies the French.

CHAPTER CXCV.—KING HENRY SENDS LETTERS TO THE HOLLANDERS, TO DRAW THEM TO HIS PARTY.—A COPY OF THESE LETTERS.

In this year, king Henry of England sent letters, sealed with his seal, to the mayor, sheriffs, counsellors, burghers and commonalty of the town of Ziric-zee, to entice them over to his party against the duke of Burgundy, a copy of which follows.

"Henry, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, to our very dear and great friends the burgomasters, sheriffs, counsellors and commonalty of the town of Ziric-zee, health, and perpetual love and affection. Very dear and great friends, how much advantage and profit arises to kingdoms from an uninterrupted alliance and confederation between kingdoms and great lords their prosperity fully evinces, and of which you have had experience. In recalling to mind the very ancient friendship and alliance that has so long subsisted between our predecessors the kings of this realm and the princes who have ruled over Holland, Zealand and Frizeland, we have observed that commerce has flourished and public tranquillity been preserved through means of this friendship, to the overthrow of hatreds, jealousies, and internal divisions. Being most heartily desirous that such an alliance and friendship may continue, we shall pursue the steps of our predecessors, as well through affinity of blood as from old attachment to those princes of Zealand, who have worn our order of the Garter in the same manner that emperors and other royal persons, through affection to us, have done.

"Having taken this opportunity of notifying to you that our friendship and love continue the same, and which we shall ever cultivate, preferring old friends to the making of new ones, as being far more honourable as well as profitable,—we frankly inform you, that we understand that, under pretence of a peace, divers novelties and changes have taken place in our kingdom of France, to the great prejudice of us and of our state, by infringing the general peace of the two realms, so loyally and faithfully concluded between our late very dear lords, our father and grandfather, the kings Henry and Charles, lately deceased, whose souls may God pardon! and between the greatest nobles of the two kingdoms, as we have in full remembrance. From this cause, various rumours are abroad, as if some countries were about to break off their confederations and alliances with us, but for which we know not of any reasons that should induce them so to do. We are anxious, therefore, for our satisfaction, to

learn your intentions on this subject, as we make known ours to you; and most affectionately entreat you to accept of our wish that our former friendship may be preserved, and that you will inform us of your intentions by the bearer of these presents, whom we send purposely to you; or should you be willing to send any envoys to notify to us your inclinations, we shall attend to them with a hearty good will. Very dear and great friends, may the Holy Spirit have you under his protection.

"Given under our privy seal, at our palace of Westminster, the 14th day of December, in the year of Grace 1435, and of our reign the 14th."

The address on the letter was, "To our very dear and great friends the burgomasters, sheriffs, counsellors, and commonalty of the town of Ziric-zee."

On the receipt of this letter, the only answer the burgomasters gave the messenger was, that they would consider of it; and then they sent it to the duke of Burgundy and his council, who were very much displeased at the conduct of the English toward him and his country, in this as well as in other matters.

CHAPTER CXCVI.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY DETERMINES TO MAKE WAR ON THE ENGLISH.

While affairs were growing worse every day between the English and Burgundians, the duke and some of his most able counsellors thought that it would be more advisable to consider on some private means to prevent the two countries going to war; for that it would be better for all parties the duke should remain in peace, and neuter as to the war with France. To accomplish this, sir John de Luxembourg, count de Ligny, who had not as yet taken the oaths of fidelity to king Charles, was sent for to the duke. At his request, sir John offered to write to his brother, the archbishop of Rouen, who was one of the principal advisers of king Henry, and his chancellor for the kingdom of France.

The business was immediately commenced, and the archbishop despatched to king Henry in England. It was there resolved, that, for the welfare of the two countries, they would remain in peace; and the archbishop sent word to his brother, that his request would be complied with,—and that England would give good security not to undertake any enterprise against the territories of the duke of Burgundy, provided the duke would give similar security to king Henry. Sir John de Luxembourg, on receiving this information in writing, sent it to the duke of Burgundy, and desired to know by the messenger whether he were willing to proceed further in the matter. The duke made answer, by the bishop of Tournay, that he would not; for that the English had of late behaved in a very hostile manner toward him and his subjects, and in various parts had defamed his person and his honour. They had overthrown from four to five hundred of his combatants on the borders of Flanders, and had also attempted to gain the town of Ardres by surprise. This had been confessed by four of the party who had been beheaded for it in that town. They had also done many other acts of hostility, which could not longer be passed over in silence.

When the bishop of Tournay had given this answer to the messengers from the count de Ligny, they requested of the duke to have it in writing, which he complied with, and signed it with his own hand; but before the messengers were departed, the duke was strongly exhorted by several of his council to make preparations for a war against the English in defence of his honour. In consequence, he shortly after had letters written and sent to king Henry of England, in which he stated the acts done on his part against himself and his subjects since the signing of the peace at Arras, which were so disagreeable and offensive to his honour that they could not longer be borne nor dissembled. He added, that if anything should have been done inimical by him, no one ought to be surprised; for he had received too many insults and neglects not to warrant him therein, which had been very displeasing to him.

When these papers had been examined by king Henry and his council, they were perfectly convinced that a war with the duke of Burgundy was inevitable, and gave immediate orders for the reinforcement of all the frontiers of the Boulonnois and of Crotoy, and warned those countries to be ready for whatever attempts might be made on them. In like manner did

the duke of Burgundy strengthen all his towns on the frontier. The king of England sent declaratory letters to several parts of France, and the principal towns, to explain the cause of quarrel between him and the duke of Burgundy, which, in substance, contained excuses for the charges made against him by the duke, of the hostilities carried on against himself and subjects. He also stated the letter sent to Ziric-zee, as an instance of his wish to avoid any quarrel. With regard to the alliance he was desirous of forming with the emperor of Germany, he had a right so to do without being called to an account for it; and as for the summons that had been issued to raise a large army to wage war against the duke, he did not deny but that such summons was issued, though no cause for it was mentioned; and he had a right to assemble an army, and employ it wheresoever he pleased. He concluded by saying, that the charges made against him by the duke of Burgundy were groundless, as would be apparent to all from the acts done against him and his subjects by the said duke and his allies. This declaration shall, if it please God, be thrown back on him from whom it came.

CHAPTER CXCVII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, BY THE ADVICE OF HIS PRIVY COUNSELLORS, RESOLVES TO MAKE AN ATTEMPT TO CONQUER CALAIS.

Soon after the duke of Burgundy had sent his despatches to England, charging king Henry and his subjects with the many hostile acts they had done against him, he knew that a war must take place, and held many councils to consider on the best means of conducting it. The council were much divided in their opinions: some were for the duke beginning the war, and assembling the whole of his forces, not only to oppose the English, but to make an attempt to conquer Calais, which was his own inheritance. Others were of a different opinion; for they thought again and again on the commencement, and what might be the end of the war,—saying, that the English were so near many parts of their country, that they could invade it with advantage whenever they pleased; and they knew not what dependence and aid could be expected from king Charles, his sovereign, and the princes he was now connected with, in case any misfortunes should befal him.

This matter having been debated for many days, it was at length determined that the duke should commence hostilities, and require the assistance of his countries of Flanders, Holland, and the rest, to aid him in the conquest of Calais and the county of Guines. The principal advisers of this measure were, master Jean Chevrot, bishop of Tournay, the lord de Croy, master Jean de Croy, his brother, sir Jean de Hornes, seneschal of Brabant, the lord de Chargny, the lord de Crevecoeur, Jean de Brimeu, bailiff of Amiens, and many others.

Several great lords, who had constantly served the duke of Burgundy in his wars, were not called to this council,—such as sir John de Luxembourg, the lord d'Antoing, the vidame of Amiens, the bastard of St. Pol, the lord de Saveuses, Hugh de Launoy, the lord de Mailly, and several others of high rank and power, as well in Picardy as in the other territories of the duke, who thought that, since they had been thus neglected, they were not bound to serve with their vassals in the ensuing war with that alacrity they would have done had they been summoned.

When war had been resolved on, the duke went to Ghent, and assembled in the banqueting-hall the sheriffs and deacons of the trades. He caused them to be harangued by master Goussenin le Sauvage, one of his counsellors at the castle of Ghent,—how the town of Calais had belonged to his predecessors, and that it was his lawful inheritance, as part of his county of Artois, although the English had long held it by force, and against his right: of this they might be truly informed, by examining the report formerly made by Collart de Comines, high bailiff of Flanders, or by others of his counsellors: that the English, since the peace of Arras, had done many hostile acts against him and his subjects, which had much vexed him; and that they had, in various proclamations, defamed his person and honour, which he could not longer, without disgrace, suffer from them. For this reason he had visited them, to request that they would afford him aid in men and money to conquer the town of Calais, which, as master Goussenin added, was very prejudicial to all Flanders; for that the Flemings who went thither to purchase wool, tin, lead, or cheese, were forced to pay in

money according to what alloy the English pleased to put on it, or in ingots of refined gold and silver, which was not done in other countries; and this the deacons of the trades vouched to be true.

When this harangue, which was very long, was concluded, the majority of the sheriffs and deacons, without deliberation, or fixing a day to consult with the other members of their body, consented to support the war, and would not listen to some wise and ancient lords, who were of a contrary opinion. But what is more, when news of this was spread through the other towns of Flanders, the whole country was eager for war; and it seemed to many to proceed too slowly,—for they were impatient to display how well provided they were with arms and warlike habiliments. They proceeded thus arrogantly and pompously; for in truth it seemed to them that Calais could not be able to withstand their arms. The duke of Burgundy made similar applications to the other towns and castlewicks in Flanders for their aid in the war, and all liberally supported him. He also went to Holland, to solicit from the Hollanders shipping against Calais, who complied with the greater part of his demands. He thence returned home to make great preparations for his war against the English, and to conquer Calais.

While these matters were going forward, several enterprises had been undertaken by the English and Burgundians against each other. The duke of Burgundy, on his return to Picardy, sent thence six hundred combatants, under the lord deTernant, sir Simon de Lalain and other captains, to reinforce the lord de Isle-Adam at Pontoise, and to guard the frontier against the English, who were making a sharp attack on that town, although it was but lately won from them by the lord de l'Isle-Adam. A party of French joined these Picards, and made frequent attempts to gain the city of Paris.

During this time, king Charles's queen was brought to bed of a son, to whom the king gave the baptismal name of Philip, after the duke of Burgundy.* The sponsors for the duke were Charles duke of Bourbon and Charles d'Anjou, brother to the queen. When the christening was over, the king sent a pursuivant with letters to the duke of Burgundy, to inform him of what he had done, and to express a wish that it might be agreeable to him. The duke was much pleased with the news, and made the pursuivant presents becoming a prince. The duke, in the mean time, continued to make requests throughout his dominions for succours of men and money, to carry on with effect his war against the English.

CHAPTER CXCVIII.—THE CITY OF PARIS IS REDUCED TO THE OBEDIENCE OF CHARLES KING OF FRANCE.

[A. D. 1436.]

At the beginning of this year, the count de Richemont, constable of France, the bastard of Orleans, the lords de la Roche, de l'Isle-Adam, de Ternant, sir Simon de Lalain, his brother Sausse, with other French and Burgundian captains, collected a force of about six thousand combatants, and marched from Pontoise toward Paris, in the hope of gaining admittance, through the intrigues of the lord de l'Isle-Adam, with the partisans of the Burgundian faction within that city. Having remained there from four to five hours, seeing they could not succeed, they quartered themselves at Aubervilliers, Montmartre, and other places around. On the morrow, they attacked the town of St. Denis, wherein were from four to five hundred English, and won it by storm. About two hundred English were slain, and the rest fled to the abbey, where they were besieged, but soon surrendered on having their lives spared, with the reservation of some of the natives, who were to remain at the discretion of the conquerors.

The next day, which was a Thursday, sir Thomas Beaumont, lately arrived at Paris with six hundred fighting men from Normandy, marched from Paris to St. Denis, to inquire into the state of the French. When they perceived him, they made a sally with a large force, and almost immediately defeated him. Three hundred and eighty were killed or made

* This prince, the second son of Charles VII., died in his infancy.

prisoners, and among the last was sir Thomas: the rest escaped by flying to Paris, pursued to the very gates. The Parisians most inclined to the duke of Burgundy, namely, those in the quarter of the market-place, and some few of the university, with Michael Lallier and others of the principal citizens, seeing the great loss the English had suffered, and so large a force of French and Burgundians under their walls, assembled in parties, and resolved to drive out the English and admit the others into their town. This they made known to the lord de l'Isle-Adam, that he might inform the other captains of their intentions. He sent notice thereof to the constable and the nobles, who, eager to gain Paris, marched from St. Denis in handsome array, very early on the Friday morning. In the mean time, Louis de Luxembourg, bishop of Therouenne, the bishops of Lisieux and of Meaux, the lord Willoughby, and others of the English party, suspecting that the commonalty were about to turn against them, posted their men in the street of St. Antony, near to the Bastille, which they filled with provision and warlike stores. They kept their men armed, and on their guard, to retreat thither should there be occasion.

When the French and Burgundians were come before Paris, to the gate of St. James, on the other side of the Seine toward Montlehery, they sent the lord de l'Isle-Adam to hold a parley with the inhabitants on the ramparts. He displayed to them a general amnesty from king Charles for all that was passed, sealed with his great seal,—admonishing them, at the same time, to surrender instantly to their lawful king and lord, at the request of the duke of Burgundy, as they were now reconciled, for that they had been ever steadily attached to the duke, and under his government they would still remain. The Parisians, hearing these soft speeches from the lord de l'Isle-Adam and his confederates, were so much pleased that they agreed, shortly after, to admit them into the city. Ladders were now hastily placed against the walls, by which the lord de l'Isle-Adam mounted and entered the town. He was followed by the bastard of Orleans and numbers of their men. A large body of the Burgundy faction and of the commonalty met them, shouting, "Peace! Long live king Charles, and the duke of Burgundy!"

Soon after, the gates were thrown open, and the constable entered, with the other lords and their men-at-arms. They advanced toward the Bastille, whither the bishops and those of the English party had retreated, with a show of making some resistance; but it was vain, for their enemies were too numerous. They were, therefore, repulsed at the first onset, and a few killed and made prisoners. Barriers were now erected before the gate of the Bastille with large timber, and men-at-arms posted in the Tournelles and adjoining parts, to prevent the English from making any sallies. All their effects were now seized and plundered,—and those who had been their principal supporters were imprisoned, and their property confiscated. New officers were also appointed, in the name of king Charles, for the government of the town.

The bishop of Therouenne, lord Willoughby, and the others in the Bastille, held a parley with the French; and, by means of the lord de Ternant and sir Simon de Lalain, it was concluded that, on the surrender of the Bastille, those within should be allowed to depart in safety, with all their effects. They had a passport from the constable, under which they went by land and water to Rouen. The Parisians, at their departure, set up a grand shouting at them, crying out, "à la queue! *" Thus was the city of Paris reduced to the obedience of king Charles. The English, after passing the gate leading to the country, went round to embark at the back of the Louvre. The bishop of Therouenne lost all the rich ornaments of his chapel; and the greater part of his jewels and valuable rings fell to the lot of the constable. However, he was much favoured by the lord de Ternant and sir Simon de Lalain; and they restored to him some of his wealth, which was dispersed in different parts of the town.

The standard of the duke of Burgundy was displayed at all the gates, as an inducement for the Parisians to turn to his party. Some new knights were created on this occasion by

* In the French Dictionary of Richelet, it is thus explained: *à la queue leu leu*, (*Continenti serie ludere*) a kind of play, which means, "the tail of the wolf." To play *à la queue leu leu*, is said when children place themselves in a file, and the leader, making a half-wheel round, drags the rest after him, endeavouring to catch hold of the last in the file.

the constable, from the country of Picardy, namely, Sausse de Lalain and Robert de Neufville, with others of the French. The constable remained for a long time in Paris after this conquest,—and with him the lord de Ternant, who was made provost. The aforesaid sir Sausse de Lalain, the bastard of Orleans, and others of the French and Picards, now returned to the places they had come from.

CHAPTER CXCIX.—ARTHUR, COUNT DE RICHEMONT, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, MAKES WAR ON THE HEIR OF COMMERCY.

In this year, the count de Richemont, constable of France, advanced into Champagne with a large body of troops to make war on the heir of Commercy and others, who were disobedient to king Charles, and had greatly annoyed that and the surrounding countries. On his arrival, he took Laon, some leagues from Rheims, and thence marched to Braine *, belonging to the lord of Commercy; but as it was too strong and well garrisoned, and refused to submit, he passed on to Saint Menehould, in the possession of Henry de la Tour, who gave it up on capitulation.

The constable was here joined by the youth Everard de la Marche, who made an agreement with him for his men to lay siege to Chavensy†. The constable gave him several of his captains and their men: with these he commenced the siege of Chavensy about eight days after Easter, by erecting a strong block-house, wherein he quartered about four hundred of his troops and a number of common people, who came thither at times from the low countries. Everard had with him the constable's lieutenant named Jean de Malatrait, sir John Geoffry de Conurant, and the provost of the marshals, Tristan de l'Hermite, and also Pierre d'Orgy, Yvon du Puys, the Arragonian Estienne Diest, le grand Pierre, and others, men of renown, who remained full four months carrying on a severe war against this garrison, which, nevertheless defended themselves with prudence and ability.

While this was going forward, a party of the besieging army kept the open country, with the intent of harassing in other places the heir of Commercy, who was always on his guard, and well attended by men-at-arms. He learnt from his spies, that his adversaries were quartered at the village of Romaigne‡, in Champagne; and before they could be prepared to resist him, he made a sudden attack on them at eight of the clock in the morning, and totally defeated them. About sixty were slain, among whom were Alain Geron bailiff of Senlis, Geoffry de Morillon, Pierre d'Orgy, Alain de la Roche, Olivier de la Jouste, the bastard of Villebranche, and many other gentlemen. Six score were made prisoners,—and in the number was one Blanchelaine.

The heir of Commercy § retreated after this defeat,—and when news of it was carried to the besiegers of Chavensy, they were greatly surprised. Everard de la Marche ‖ was not cast down by this misfortune, but gained to his party the count de Vernembourg, who in person, attended by his two sons, and accompanied by four or five hundred combatants, went to this siege. He carried with him, likewise, sir Hugh Tauxte and sir Herault de Gourgines, governors of Ainville¶, the children of Brousset, and many more great lords, who remained at this siege until the night of St. John's day,—when the besieged made a grand sally, and set fire to the quarters of the besiegers. They were successful in throwing the enemy into confusion, and slew from two to three hundred, among whom were Estienne Diest and the Arragonian. Another skirmish took place, when one of the sons of the count de Vernembourg was killed, and the great block-house set on fire by means of rockets. The besiegers, having suffered severely in these sallies, decamped, when their quarters were burnt.

* Braine,—near Compiègne.

† Chavensy. Q.

‡ La Romaigne,—near Rethel in Champagne.

§ Robert de Sarbuck, lord of Commercy, son of Amé, lord of Commercy, and Mary, daughter of John lord of Chateau-Vilain, married, in 1417, Jane countess of Roucy and Braine; and John, their eldest son, here called the heir of Commercy, became count of Roucy and Braine by the donation of his mother in 1439.

‖ Everard III., de la Marck, lord of Aremberg, &c. and by marriage of Sedan, was of a younger branch of the family of the counts of la Marck, dukes of Cleves, &c.

¶ Ainville, on the frontiers of Champagne and Lorraine.

Angillebert de Dolle and Girard de Marescoup commanded in Chavensy, during this siege, for the lord de Commercy, with about two hundred fighting men. During this time, the constable had reduced to obedience the towns of Nampteuil-sur-Aine*, Han-les-Moines†, Bourg‡, and other castles, on his presenting himself before them.

CHAPTER CC.—THE BISHOP OF LIEGE AND THE LIEGEOIS DESTROY BOUSSEUVRE§, AND OTHER FORTS THAT HAD MADE WAR AGAINST THEM.

At the end of the month of April, the bishop of Liege raised a large force to combat and reduce to obedience several forts in the forest of the Ardennes, held by a set of plunderers, who had done much mischief to the inhabitants of his territories. The principal leaders and supporters of these marauders were Jean de Beaurain, Philipot de Sergins, the lord d'Orchimont, and others, who made the castle of Boussenoch, Villers opposite to Mousson, Aubigny, Beaurain, Orchimont, and several other castles in these parts, their retreats. Some of them gave out that they were attached to the king of France, others to the duke of Burgundy, but the greater part to sir John de Luxembourg, count de Ligny; while two of them, John de Beaurain and Philipot de Sergins, made war on their own account, to recover sums due to them for services they had done the Liegeois.

The bishop, through the aid of the nobles of the country, assembled from two to three thousand horse, and from twelve to sixteen thousand infantry, well equipped, and armed each according to his rank: he had also three or four thousand carts laden with provision, military engines, and stores of all kinds. The bishop, on quitting Liege, advanced to Dinant‖, and thence across the river Meuse. Having marched through woods for five leagues, his forces halted two days at Rigniues¶, to wait for the baggage, which travelled slowly on account of the badness of the roads. At this place, the bishop formed his army into four divisions, namely, two of cavalry, and the same number of infantry,—and, riding down their fronts, admonished every one to perform his duty well.

He despatched part of his cavalry to post themselves before the castle of Boussenoch, while he followed with the main body, and on his arrival surrounded it on all sides, placing his bombards and engines against the walls and gates of the castle, in which were about twenty pillagers, greatly surprised to see so large an army before the gates. The Liegeois set instantly to work, and soon drained the ditches by sluices which they cut, while others brought faggots and filled them, so that they began to storm the place with such vigour that the bulwark was instantly won. Those within retreated to a large tower, and defended themselves for a long time; but it was of no avail, for they were overpowered by fire and arrows, and surrendered at discretion to the bishop, who had them all hanged on trees near to the castle, by a priest who acted as their captain,—and he, after hanging his companions, was tied to a tree and burnt, and the castle razed to the ground.

The bishop, after this exploit, marched away toward the upper Châtelet; but many of his army wanted to march to Hirson** and other places of sir John de Luxembourg,—because, they said, he was the supporter of those they were now making war on. But this same day the bastard of Coucy met the bishop, and said that he was sent by sir John de Luxembourg to assure the bishop that sir John was only desirous of living on neighbourly terms with him, and to request that he would not suffer any injuries to be done to his country or vassals; that if anything wrong had been done to the Liegeois by those who gave out that they were dependent on him, he wished to be heard in his defence, and would refer the matter to friends of either side as arbitrators. At the same time, letters were brought from the duke of Burgundy to the bishop, to require that he would not do any injury to sir John de Luxembourg, nor to the lord d'Orchimont, which put an end to their intended plan.

The bishop, with a part of his army, then marched to the castle of Aubigny, when, finding

* Nampteuil,—near Rheims.

† Han, near Rheims.

‡ Bourg, near Rheims.

§ Bousseuvre,—is called afterward Boussenoch. Q.

‖ Dinant, on the Meuse, sixteen leagues from Liege.

¶ Rigniues. Q.

** Hirson,—or Herisson, a town in Picardy, election of Guise.

that the garrison had fled through fear of him, he ordered the castle to be burnt. From Aubigny he went to upper Châtelet, wherein a body of his men were, for the garrison had abandoned it,—and it was destroyed as the others had been. The bishop had intended marching to Villiers; but his intention being known to the inhabitants of Mousson and Ivoy, they destroyed the castle of Villiers, fearful of the damages that would be done to the country should the Liegeois once enter it. On hearing this, the bishop took the road to Beaurain, which castle John de Beaurain, its lord, had lately repaired and strengthened with the addition of four towers: one he called Hainault, another Namur, the third Brabant, and the fourth Rethel, because it was from those countries he had gotten the money to build them. However, when he heard of the march of the Liegeois, he was afraid to wait their coming, and fled with his men, but not before he had set the castle on fire. This did not prevent the bishop from completely demolishing it to its foundations; then, without proceeding further, he marched his men back to their own country, and went himself to the city of Liege.

At this season, the town of Gamaches in Vimeu, which had long been held by the English, surrendered to the lord d'Aussi* and to sir Florimont de Brimeu, seneschal of Ponthieu, by means of certain friends they had in the town. The seneschal regarrisoned it with men-at-arms for the duke of Burgundy. In like manner, the English were driven out of Aumarle, which surrendered to a gentleman called David de Reume, attached to king Charles. About the same time, the constable laid siege to Creil, in the possession of the English, and erected a block-house at the end of the bridge on the road to the Beauvoisis, wherein he remained for a long time, but at length marched away in disgrace, which grieved him much,—for he had lost many men, together with very large quantities of military stores and artillery.

CHAPTER CCI.—THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF ORCHIMONT ARE DESTROYED BY EVERARD DE LA MARCHE†.

Bernard de Bourset kept quiet possession of the town of Orchimont and its castle,—but one day, having as usual sent out a detachment of about fifty to lay waste and plunder the country of Liege, they were observed and pursued by the Liegeois, under the command of the provost of Rebogne. Their passage being cut off on the way they meant to have returned, they fled for Dinant, and entered Bouvines, thinking they should be safe there, but were mistaken, inasmuch as they were detained prisoners. Although the officers of justice from Liege made frequent applications to those of Bouvines to have them punished according to their deserts, they were set at liberty, for these two towns did not much love each other.

While this matter was passing, Everard de la Marche, who was in alliance with the bishop of Liege, and had also many subjects of complaint against these pillagers, assembled in haste as many men as he could,—and, being joined by some forces from Dinant and the surrounding country, advanced to Orchimont, and took the town by storm. Bernard had at this moment but few men with him, and therefore retreated to the castle, whither he was gallantly pursued by the Liegeois. They pressed him so hardly that, at the end of four days, he surrendered, on capitulation, to Everard de la Marche. The castle and town were after this razed to the ground, to the great joy of all the neighbouring country,—for they had been inhabited by a set of wicked vagabonds, who had annoyed all within their reach.

CHAPTER CCII.—THE ENGLISH MAKE EXCURSIONS FROM CALAIS TOWARD BOULOGNE AND GRAVELINES.—LA HIRE CONQUERS GISORS, AND LOSES IT SOON AFTERWARDS.

While the war was on the point of breaking out between the English and Burgundians, for each party was now watching the other, the English suddenly came before Boulogne, thinking to win it by surprise,—but it was too well defended. They burnt part of the

* John IV., son of David *sire et ber* d'Auxi, killed at Azincourt, and of Margaret de la Tremouille. He was lord of Fontaines sur Somme, *seneschal of Ponthieu*, knight of the Golden Fleece, and finally master of the cross-bows of France.

† See before, page 30.

shipping in the harbour, and then retreated to Calais with all they could collect, without loss. Shortly after, they again assembled a force of five or six hundred combatants, and set out on a foraging party toward Gravelines. The Flemings in that quarter collected, and attacked the English, contrary to the will and advice of the gentlemen who commanded them, namely, Georges des Ubes and Chery Hazebrouch. The consequence was, that they were conquered,—from three to four hundred killed, and full six-score prisoners, whom the English carried with them and their forage to Calais, and to other places under their obedience. The remainder saved themselves by flight as speedily as they could.

At this time, La Hire was posted at Beauvais and Gerberoy,—and, by means of intelligence which he had kept up in the town of Gisors, he gained admittance, with the forces under his command, and won the place. Part of the garrison retired into the castle, and hastily sent off messengers to Rouen, and to other towns, to state their situation and demand succours. On the third day, so strong a reinforcement came, the town was reconquered,—and La Hire and his companions marched off at a quicker step than a pace, with the exception of twenty or thirty who had remained behind. These were put to death or detained prisoners by the English, together with a great number of the inhabitants, because they had afforded assistance to their enemies.

CHAPTER CCIII.—THE MEN OF GHENT, AND THE FLEMINGS, MAKE GREAT PREPARATIONS FOR THE SIEGE OF CALAIS.

The men of Ghent were not idle all this time. They issued a summons throughout their castlewicks and dependencies, for all burghers, whatever their rank might be, (reserving, however, the vassals of their prince,) to appear within three days before the sheriffs of Ghent, and have their names and surnames enrolled, under pain of losing their franchises. They were also ordered to provide themselves with arms and all necessary habiliments for war. They likewise caused it to be proclaimed, that those who had for their misdeeds been condemned to perform certain pilgrimages, would be excused from doing them until their return from the war, and fourteen days after; and also that those who had quarrels should be placed under the safeguard of the law, and all who dared to infringe it should be punished according to the custom of the town of Ghent. It was also forbidden for any one of that country, whatever his rank, to carry, or have carried away, any armour, or habiliments for war, under pain of banishment for ten years.

When these proclamations were issued, there was much bustle in Ghent and its dependances in preparations for the war,—and every town and village knew exactly how many men they were to provide to make up the quota of seventeen thousand, which the city of Ghent had promised to deliver to their prince in the course of the present year; and each family knew also the exact amount of the taxes it was to pay for the support of the war. Summonses were next issued through their castlewicks, that a third more carts and waggons were to be provided than had been necessary for the late expedition to Hamme on the Somme; and these demands were proclaimed in all the usual places by officers sent from Ghent. But as these matters did not seem to the men of Ghent to be pushed forward with the expedition they expected, they sent another proclamation to their officers, declaring, that if within three days from the date thereof there were not sent to their commissary in Ghent the number of carriages required, they would order the deacon of the black-hoods and his attendants to the different towns and villages to seize on all the best carts and carriages without exception, and at the expense of those who should neglect to send them to Ghent by the time specified. This second proclamation caused such an alarm among the farmers and peasants, lest the black-hoods should be sent, that they made such despatch in forwarding their carriages to the appointed place that the townsmen of Ghent were well satisfied with them. The regulations for their arms were as follow: each was to provide himself with a short mallet of lead or iron, having points on its head, and a lance; that two mallets would be reckoned as equal to one lance; that without such arms they would not pass muster,—and those who should be found defective would be punished.

The inhabitants of Bruges, and the other towns, made likewise very grand preparations to join the army; and for two months the majority of such as had been ordered on this service had not done a single day's work at their trades. Thus the greater part of their time was occupied in spending their money in large companies at taverns and ale-houses, which very frequently caused quarrels, when several were killed or wounded. The duke of Burgundy, in the meanwhile, was busily employed in preparing for his attack on Calais.

During this time, there lived one Hannequin Lyon, a native of Dunkirk, but who for his demerits had been banished from Ghent, and becoming a fugitive turned pirate, and by his good fortune and activity increased in wealth, so that he now possessed eight or ten vessels, well armed and victualled, under his command. He made war indiscriminately on the flags of all nations, and was much feared on the coasts of Holland and Flanders. He called himself The Friend of God and the Enemy of all Mankind. At length, he met with the fate that people of his way of life generally experience,—for, when he was at the highest pinnacle of his fortune, he lost his life and his wealth in a tempest at sea.

CHAPTER CCIV.—SIR JOHN DE CROY, BAILIFF OF HAINAULT, IN CONJUNCTION WITH OTHER CAPTAINS, ATTACK THE ENGLISH AND ARE DISCOMFITED BY THEM.

At this time, sir John de Croy, bailiff of Hainault, assembled, on the borders of Picardy and the Boulonnois, about fifteen hundred combatants, the principal leaders of whom were, the lord de Waurin, sir Baudo de Noyelle, sir Louis de Thiembrune, Robert de Saveuses, Richard de Thiembrune, the lord Deulez, the bastard of Roucy, with several more, well experienced in war. They intended to march them against Calais and other places dependent on the English, and for this reason had their rendezvous at a village called le Wast, two leagues from St. Omer. They marched thence one night to forage the country of the enemy,—but this same night the English had formed an expedition to do the like in the Boulonnois, to the amount of about two thousand men. Neither of them knew of the other's intent, nor did they take roads likely to meet; but on sir John de Croy's approaching the English border, he despatched some expert men-at-arms, well acquainted with the country, to gain intelligence. They fell in with the rear of the English detachment near the bridge of Milay, about daybreak, and, on reconnoitring them, found that they were very numerous. When returned to sir John, they made him acquainted with what they had seen, and that the English were advancing toward the Boulonnois. A council of the captains was called to determine how they should act, when it was resolved to pursue and attack them during the time they would be engaged in plundering the villages, if they could overtake them in time, otherwise to combat them wherever they should meet.

It was ordered that sir John de Croy, accompanied by a body of the most able men-at-arms, should advance with the greater part of the archers, and that the main body should follow near, under the banner of sir Louis de Thiembrune. Scouts were again sent forward, who rode long before they saw the fires which the enemy had made by burning different villages and small towns. Some prisoners whom they had taken had given information to the English of their being abroad, who in consequence had collected their men on a small eminence between Gravelines and Campagne *. It might be at this time about ten o'clock, but the greater part of the English were assembled lower down, and could not well be seen.

The main body of the Burgundians, on perceiving the enemy, were very eager for the combat, because the advanced party had already begun the engagement, and from sixty to eighty of the English on the hill were slain, and the others put to flight; but when, on advancing, they perceived so large a body on the other side of the declivity rallying the runaways, they were surprised and fearful of the event, and halted for the arrival of the main body. In the mean time, the English recovered courage on seeing the enemy afraid to follow up their victory, and made a well-ordered and firm charge upon them. The Burgundians could not withstand the shock, were thrown into confusion, and instantly wheeling round, fled in haste for the castles under their obedience.

* Campagne-les-Boulonnois, a village of Artois, near St. Omer.

The English, who had been half conquered at the first onset, pursued them, full gallop, as far as the town of Ardres, and even within the barriers. Upwards of a hundred were slain or made prisoners: among the first was Robert de Bournonville, surnamed the Red. In the last were, Jean d'Estreves, Bournonville, Galiot du Champ, Maide, Houttefort, Barnamont, and many others, men of note. The English pursued their enemies with such eagerness that five or six were killed close to the ditches of the town,—and among them was one of very high rank. The lord de Waurin, sir Baudo de Noyelle, sir Louis de Thiembrune, Robert de Saveuses, who had that day been knighted, and several more, saved themselves in Ardres. Sir John de Croy had been wounded by an arrow at the first onset, and his horse killed. He and the lord Deulez retired to the abbey of Lille, much troubled and hurt at his defeat. The others escaped to divers forts and castles in the neighbourhood.

When the English had ceased pursuing, they collected together, and returned with their prisoners to Calais, and to other places under their government. The count de Mortaigne came out of Calais to meet them, and gave them a most joyful reception, blaming greatly, at the same time, those who, by flying, had put them in such imminent danger.

CHAPTER CCV.—THE FLEMINGS MARCH TO THE SIEGE OF CALAIS—AND MARCH BACK AGAIN.

At the beginning of the month of June, duke Philip of Burgundy, having completed his preparations for the siege of Calais, as well in men as in warlike stores, went without state to Ghent and other places in Flanders, that he might hasten the march of the troops from that country. On the Saturday after Corpus-Christi-day, a general muster was made in Ghent, before the duke, of all who were to join his army from that town and its dependencies, namely, from the towns of Alost, Grammont, Dendermonde, and Mene *, (with those of the five members of the county of Alost, containing seventy-two country towns and lordships,) of Boulers, Sotengien, Tournay, Gaures, and Rides, with those from Regnaits, and the regalles of Flanders, situated between Grammont and Tournay. These troops remained in the market-place, where they had been mustered, from eight o' clock in the morning until noon, when they marched out of the town, taking the road to Calais. The duke accompanied them as far as the open country, where he took leave of them, and went to Bruges, to hasten their contingent of men.

The weather was so exceedingly oppressive that two of the Ghent captains died of the heat. They were named Jean des Degrez, deacon of the watermen, and Gautier de Wase-Reman, captain of Westmonstre, with several others of low degree. The commander-in-chief of this division of the Flemish army was the lord de Comines; of that of Bruges, the lord de Fienhuse; of those from Courtray, sir Girard de Guistelles; of those from the Franc, the lord de Merque; of those from Ypres, Jean de Comines. The first night, they halted at Deijnse and Peteghem, which are not far distant from Ghent, and remained there on the morrow to wait for their baggage and stores. On the ensuing Monday they departed, and continued their march until they came to the town of Armentieres, when they quartered themselves in the meadows without the town, with those from Courtray and Oudenarde, who were within the castlewick of Ghent, and had joined them on the march. The lord d'Antoing was their leader and commander-in-chief, as being hereditary viscount of all Flanders.

When they remained at Armentieres, twenty-one of their men were arrested, and hung on trees in front of head-quarters, for having robbed some peasants. The Ghent division then advanced to Hazebrouch, in the country of Alleu, where they destroyed the mill of d'Hazebourch, because he had, as they said, led on the Flemings ungallantly when they were lately defeated by the English near to Gravelines; but he excused himself by declaring, they would not attend to his advice, nor obey his orders. Thence they advanced to Drinchaut †, where they were met by their prince, the duke of Burgundy, and the count de Richemont, constable of France, who had come thither to wait on the duke. Both of them

* Mene. Q. Mechlin, or Menin ?

† Drinchaut,—a village near Dunkirk.

visited the Ghent men, and partook of a collation at their head-quarters. The army marched through Bourbourg, and quartered themselves near to Gravelines, where they destroyed the mill of Georges de Wez, for the same reason they had done that of Cherry de Hazebourch.

At this place they were joined by the forces from Bruges, Ypres, the Franc, and other towns in Flanders, and formed a handsome encampment, placing the tents regularly according to the towns they came from—which made a fine sight, and at a distance had the appearance of a large town. The carriages were innumerable, to convey these tents, baggage, and stores; and on the top of each was a cock to crow the hours. There were also great numbers of peasants to drag the culverines and other engines of war; and the majority of the Flemings wore plain armour, according to the custom of their country.

Flemish Troops. From painted windows of the period.

On their departure, they all mustered under arms before the duke and constable, who viewed them with much pleasure; and on this day a wolf ran through the ranks of the division from Bruges, which caused a great alarm, and a cry of "To arms!" on which the whole took the field, when there might be full thirty thousand wearing helmets. They crossed the river at Gravelines, and fixed their quarters at Tournehem, not far distant. The weather was at this time dreadfully severe, with rain, and such high winds that they could not pitch their tents, but were forced to lie on the ground. Three Picards were arrested and hanged by the Ghent men for robbing the landlord of an hôtel of his provisions.

The count d'Estampes here joined the army of Flanders with the men-at-arms the duke of Burgundy had ordered on this expedition; and on a Friday, the whole encamped before the castle of Oye *, in possession of the English. This place soon surrendered to the duke, and to the men of Ghent, who ordered nine-and-twenty to be hanged the same day in front of the castle; and afterward, twenty-five suffered the like sentence, with the exception of three or four that were respited at the request of the duke. The castle was, on its surrender, burnt and razed to the ground.

With regard to the Picards and Burgundians now with the army, although very expert plunderers, they could not lay hands on anything; for the Flemish commanders would on no account suffer such things, or, when known, pass them over with impunity; and what was worse, when they chanced to get any things from the enemy, it often happened that, with their spoil, their own private property was taken from them also. When they complained of this, they only received additional blows, which obliged them to be silent and suffer all, from the greater power of the Flemings, but it was most impatiently.

* Oye,—a small town and territory between Gravelines and Calais.

The Flemings were so presumptuous, that they thought nothing could be done without them; and even imagined that the English, from fear of them, would abandon Calais, and fly to England. This was frequently the subject of their conversations with the Picards, adding, that they well knew, that when the English should be informed of their lords of Ghent being in arms against them, they would not run the risk of being conquered by them, but make a timely retreat; that it was negligence in the fleet not to have advanced prior to their arrival, before the port of Calais, to cut off their escape. They needed not to have been so uneasy on this head, for the English were well inclined to defend themselves,—and, in truth, king Henry and all England would just as soon have lost their thirty years' conquests in France as the single town of Calais, as I have been credibly informed, and as they full well showed by their defence shortly afterward.

When the castle of Oye had been demolished, the whole army decamped, to take post between the castle of Marque and Calais. At the same time, the duke of Burgundy and his men-at-arms made an excursion before the town of Calais, whence issued out a party of horse and foot, and a considerable skirmish took place; but in the end the English were repulsed, and the Picards and Flemings drove away a large booty in cows, sheep, horses, and other things. The duke staid with his men-at-arms some time near Calais, until the armies were returned to their quarters, and then went to his own tent before the castle of Marque, as the Picards were about to make a serious attack on it. The bulwark was won, to the great astonishment of the garrison, who displayed, on the side toward Calais, the banner of St. George, ringing at the same time all their bells, and making the most horrid noises and cries.

The assailants, fearful that the garrison would escape by night, placed a strong guard all around; and, on the morrow, pointed many great engines against the walls, which damaged them in several places. They were then jointly attacked by the Picards and Flemings; but they defended themselves obstinately by throwing down stones from the battlements, with which and with arrows they killed and wounded so many that the assailants were glad to retreat. The besieged demanded a truce for a parley, which was granted them, when they offered to surrender to the duke on the sole condition of not being hanged,—but that they would submit in other respects unconditionally. These terms were accepted, and all persons forbidden to enter the castle under pain of death, unless ordered so to do. The garrison was conducted by the four chief Flemish officers to the head-quarters of the Ghent division; and it was determined to make reprisals, in order to have some Flemish prisoners in Calais exchanged. In consequence, one hundred and four English were delivered over to the bailiff of Ghent, who carried them thither to be imprisoned.

The greater part of the common men now entered the castle and took whatever they could find; but some of the Ghent men, placing themselves at the gates, seized on all articles that had been taken, as they repassed, and laid them in a heap, saying they were so ordered by the sheriffs of Ghent,— but, when night came, they loaded the whole on carts, and carried it whithersoever they pleased. They were, however, charged with this before the sheriffs, and were banished from Ghent, and the country of Flanders, for fifty years. This sentence raised great murmurings, and was nearly the cause of a general mutiny among the Flemings. On the following day, several men were beheaded because they had been taken with the English: six were Flemings, and the seventh a Hollander; after which the castle was demolished and razed to the ground.

The army now decamped, and fixed their quarters on the spot where, it was said, Jacques d'Artavelle was formerly encamped when king Edward won Calais after the decisive battle of Cressy. Duke Philip was encamped hard by with his chivalry and men-at-arms, but nearer to Calais. A severe skirmish took place this day with the English, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides. La Hire, who had come to visit the duke of Burgundy, was wounded by an arrow in the leg. Many engines were also pointed, to throw stones and balls into the town of Calais, which were returned with such interest from the ramparts, that the enemy were glad to retreat to a greater distance.

The duke of Burgundy was encamped on the downs, among the sand hills; and as he was one day riding, with few attendants, to reconnoitre the towns, a cannon-shot fell so near him that it killed a trumpeter and three horses, one of which belonged to the lord de Saveuses.

The English made frequent sallies on horseback and on foot, and many severe skirmishes happened between the two parties, the details of which would be tedious to relate, or to make mention of those who behaved the worst or best: but I have heard from very good authority, that the lords de Habourdin, de Crequi, and de Waurin, were much applauded for their conduct in these several skirmishes, as well as other valiant men of note from Picardy. The English, however, carried off the palm of the day. At times, the Picards repulsed them back to the barriers in visible confusion.

With regard to the Flemings, they were not much afraid of these English,—and thought, that if there were but three Flemings against one Englishman, they should easily gain their point. The duke of Burgundy was attended on this occasion by his nephew of Cleves, the count d'Estampes, the lord d'Antoing, commander of the Flemings, the lord de Croy *, the lords de Crequi, de Fosseux, de Waurin, de Saveuses, de Habourdin, de Humieres, d'Inchy, de Brimeu, de Launoy, de Huchin, the brothers de Hastines and de Fremessen, with numbers of other lords and gentlemen of his household from Burgundy, Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, Artois, and other parts of his dominions; but the duke had not assembled half of his forces from Picardy, in regard to men-at-arms. He had even sent back great part of those who were mustered, to the surprise of many who wished him well; for they thought that it would have been more to his advantage to have retained them than double the number of common men.

Sir John de Croy †, who commanded in the Boulonnois, was ordered to quarter himself and men nearer to Calais, on the other side, toward the bridge of Nieullay, when much conversation took place between them and those in the town. The duke, shortly after, countermanded him, and sent him before Guines, where he quartered his detachment near to the walls and gates, and pointed many large engines against them, which damaged them much. Sir John de Croy was accompanied by sir Galois de Rancy, Robert de Saveuses, and other men of note, who attacked the enemy so vigorously that, for fear of being taken by storm, they abandoned the town and withdrew into the castle, whither they were pursued, and the attack was renewed with more courage than ever. Before they came to Guines, the fortress of Vauclingen had surrendered to sir John, on condition that the English should retire in safety, with part of their baggage. On similar terms was Sangate castle yielded up to Robert de Saveuses, who had marched thither during the siege of Guines,—and he regarrisoned it with his men.

During all this time, the duke of Burgundy was encamped before the strong town of Calais, wondering what was become of his fleet, which ought to have arrived some time. The Flemings were also much discontented, and began loudly to complain of the duke's council, and against the admirals of the fleet, namely, sir John de Hornes, seneschal of Brabant ‡, and the commander de la Morée; but the duke appeased them with gentle words, saying that they would soon arrive, as he had lately had letters from them, and that hitherto the wind had been against them, which had prevented their sailing sooner. There came daily vessels from England to Calais, in sight of their enemies, some days more, others less, laden with fresh provisions, reinforcements of men, and warlike stores; and the opposite parties were not so near each other but that the English turned out every day their cattle to graze, which vexed their adversaries very much, and was the cause of frequent skirmishes, in hopes of seizing some of them.

The lords and men of Ghent, perceiving that the Picards were in the habit of carrying off these cattle, thought within themselves that they were strong, well made and armed, and might as well have their share also. On a certain day, therefore, about two hundred assembled, and went as secretly as they could toward the marshes before Calais, to forage; but they were seen and known from their dress by the English, who were not well pleased at the attempt to carry off that whereon they lived, and instantly attacked them with such

* Anthony, lord of Croy and Renti, count of Porcean, Guisnes, &c., son of John II. killed at Azincourt, was grand chamberlain of Burgundy, and grand master in 1463.

† Brother of Anthony lord of Croy, made count of Chimay in 1473, before which he was lord of Thou-sur-Marne.

‡ John de Hornes, lord of Bausignies, &c., admiral and grand chamberlain to the duke of Burgundy, descended from the grandfather of William lord of Hornes, who was killed at Azincourt.

courage that twenty-two were killed on the spot, and thirty taken prisoners. The remainder fled in haste to their quarters, saying they had suffered a great loss, and caused much confusion, for they thought they had narrowly escaped. There were frequent alarms in the quarter of the Flemings, for at the smallest noise they were on the alert and under arms, to the great vexation of their lord the duke of Burgundy,—but he could not prevent it, for they would have all things according to their good pleasure.

At this time, a herald, called Cambridge, came from England to the duke, and, having saluted him very respectfully, said, "that his lord and master, Humphry duke of Gloucester, made known to him, by his mouth, that, with God's pleasure, he would very shortly combat him and his whole army, if he would wait his arrival,—and, should he decamp thence, that he would seek him in his own territories,—but he could not fix on any day for coming, as that would depend on the winds, which are unsteady, and he could not cross the sea at his pleasure." The duke replied, "that there would be no necessity for the duke of Gloucester to seek him in any other place but where he was, and that, unless some misfortune should happen, he would there find him." After these words, the herald was magnificently feasted, and rich gifts were made him, with which he returned to Calais.

On the morrow, the duke of Burgundy went to the head-quarters of the Flemings, where, having assembled their captains and the nobles of Flanders, he caused them to be harangued by master Gilles de la Voustine, his counseller in the courts of Ghent, on the challenge he had received from the duke of Gloucester, by his herald, and the reply he had made,—on which account he requested them, as his dear friends, to remain, with him and assist him in the defence of his honour. Those present immediately promised to comply with his demand in the most liberal manner,—as did those from Bruges and the other towns of Flanders. It was also determined at this meeting to erect a high block-house on an eminence near Calais, to enable them to view from it the proceedings of those in the town. It was instantly begun with oak and other wood,—and some cannon were placed thereon to fire into Calais, and a strong guard ordered for its defence. The English were not well pleased at this, for they were afraid lest their sallies should be cut off: to obviate which, they made an immediate attack on it with a large body of men; but it was well defended by the Flemings, under the conduct of some able warriors (le bon de Saveuses was one) who had gone thither; and as numerous reinforcements to the Flemings were continually pouring in, the English retreated to Calais without effecting anything, and leaving some dead behind them.

On the morrow and following days, there was much skirmishing at the palisades of the town. In one of them, a half-witted knight, the lord de Plateaux, was made prisoner: notwithstanding his folly, he was a determined and brave man-at-arms. On Thursday, the 25th of July, the fleet, which had been so anxiously expected, was discovered at sea. The duke of Burgundy mounted his horse, and, attended by many lords and others, rode to the sea-shore. When, a barge having advanced as near as the surf would permit, a man jumped out, and coming to the duke, informed him that the fleet in sight was his own. This spread universal joy throughout the army, and several ran to the downs to see it, but their captains made as many return to the camp as they could. The following evening-tide commissioners, appointed for this purpose, quitted the fleet, and sunk four vessels in the mouth of the harbour of Calais, that were filled with immense stones, well worked together and cramped with lead, in order to choke up the entrance, and prevent any supplies from entering the harbour from England. The fleet kept up, in the mean time, a constant fire against the vessels in harbour, and sunk one. The next day two other vessels, filled with stones like the others, were sunk at the mouth of the port. But to say the truth, all these sunken vessels were so improperly placed that when the tide was out many remained on the sand, scarcely covered with water. The English hastened from the town at ebb tide, as well women as men, and with strong efforts, pulled them to pieces, and what wood they could not convey into the town they burnt and destroyed, notwithstanding a continual fire from the fleet, to the great astonishment of the duke and his admirals.

Sir John de Hornes, seneschal of Brabant, the commander de la Morée, and other lords from Holland, set sail with the fleet on the morrow, and were soon out of sight, on their return to whence they had come; for indeed they could not with safety remain long before

Calais, on account of danger from sea, which sailors say is more imminent between Calais and England than elsewhere. They had also received information that a fleet was on the point of sailing from England, against which they would be unable to make head. The Flemings were much discontented at their sailing away, and murmured among themselves, saying they were betrayed by the ministers of their prince, for they had been promised, on leaving Flanders, that Calais should at the same time be besieged by sea and land, so that their leaders had difficulty enough to pacify them.

In the mean time, the duke of Burgundy had sent to summon men-at-arms from all parts of his dominions, and was impatiently expecting their arrival to assist him in opposing the troops that were coming from England. He ordered the ground to be examined by such as were well acquainted with those parts, for a spot whereon he might best offer battle to his enemies on their arrival; and to be better prepared for every event, he summoned a grand council of his advisers, together with the principal leaders of the commonalty, on the 27th of July, and laid before them the whole of his intended operations, with which they were perfectly satisfied. But these were wholly deranged, a few days afterward, by the commonalty from Ghent; for on the day the council was held, the English made a grand sally from Calais, both horse and foot, and advanced unexpectedly to the block-house before mentioned: the cavalry were posted between the camp and the block-house, so that no immediate aid could be sent thither. There were from three to four hundred Flemings in the block-house,—and the cries of "To arms!" were re-echoed through the army, which caused great confusion and alarm. Multitudes rushed from all sides to relieve the block-house, and even the duke of Burgundy himself went thither on foot. But the English made a most vigorous attack, and the defence was but indifferent, so that the block-house was won before assistance could arrive.—About eight-score Flemings were killed, and the greater part of the rest made prisoners,—and full half of them were put to death before the gates of Calais, because the Flemings had slain an English knight whom the Picards had taken prisoner while on horseback at this rencounter. The capture of the block-house and its consequences were grievous to the duke of Burgundy, and the Flemings retreated to their camp disconsolate and vexed at the death and capture of their friends and companions.

This same day, they collected together in different parts, and said among themselves that they were betrayed, for that not one of the promises which had been made them were kept; that they daily had some of their number killed, without their nobles attending to it, or endeavouring to prevent it. In short, they worked upon themselves so much by this kind of conversation, that they determined, in spite of every remonstrance, to decamp and return home; and some of them wanted even to put to death several of the duke's ministers. The duke, on hearing of their intentions, was much troubled, and vexed at the disgrace that would fall on him should he now decamp, after the challenge sent him by the duke of Gloucester by his herald, and the answer he had returned. He went, therefore, to the head-quarters of the Ghent division, and there assembled a large body of the malcontents, whom he entreated in the most pressing manner to remain with him until the arrival of the English, which it was now ascertained could not be long; adding, that should they depart without waiting for the enemy and offer him battle, they would cover themselves and him with indelible disgrace, and such as no prince ever had incurred. With such language did the duke and his council harangue the Ghent men, but it was all in vain, for they were most obstinately bent on departing, and listened with a deaf ear to all that was said; notwithstanding, some of their captains answered courteously for them, making excuses for their conduct,—but for which the lower ranks little thanked them.

The duke, perceiving the difficulty in which these commoners had involved him, and the blame which would be cast on him for their departure, it need not be asked whether he was grieved at heart, for hitherto all his undertakings had succeeded to his wish, and this, which was of the greatest consequence, he failed in. He was, however, obliged to endure the rudeness and folly of the Flemings,—for he could not alter their dispositions, although he made repeated attempts to detain them for a few days only. When he perceived that it was labour in vain to make further requests, he agreed with the lords of his council to decamp with the Flemings,—and informed them, that since they would not remain longer, he wished

them to wait until the morrow, when they should pack up their baggage, and march away in good order, with their arms, that they might not be harassed by the enemy, and that he would escort them as far as the river of Gravelines. They returned for answer, that they would comply with this order; but the greater number said, they were in sufficient force not to need any escort.

Several of the ringleaders of this mutiny were anxious to go to the duke's quarters, to put to death the lord de Croy, sir Baudo de Noyelle, Jean de Brimeu bailiff of Amiens, and others of the ministers, saying, that it was by their advice that this enterprise had been undertaken, which was not possible, as they affirmed, to be achieved, considering the manner in which the business had been carried on. These three lords, hearing of the mutiny of the Flemings and the plots against their lives, left the army privately, with few attendants, and hastened to the quarters of sir John de Croy before Guines.

The Flemings began on the Saturday and Sunday to strike their tents, and to load their baggage for the march. The Ghent men were the principals in the mutiny,—and after their example, the whole of the army and its followers packed up their baggage; but from the suddenness of the departure, a very great quantity of provision and wine were left behind,—and it was necessary to stave many pipes of wine, and of other liquors, to the great loss of the merchants.

Several large engines of war and other stores belonging to the duke of Burgundy were lost, because there were not enough of carts or waggons to carry them away; and for the like cause, a number of things belonging to the Flemings remained behind. They broke up their camp with loud shoutings, bawling together, "We are betrayed! *Gauwe, Gauwe!*" which words signified nearly, "Let us return to our own country." Having set fire to their huts, they began their march toward Gravelines in a most disorderly manner. The duke, overwhelmed with sorrow, put himself and his men-at-arms in battle-array to cover the retreat of the Flemings, and kept on their rear until they were at a sufficient distance, to prevent them from being attacked by the English in Calais sallying out against them. He formed his men-at-arms into a rear-guard, and thus followed the army, which was already advanced as far as the castle of Marque.

The Flemings then marched, in a more orderly manner, to quarter themselves near to Gravelines, on the same spot they had occupied before. The men of Bruges were, however, very much displeased at this shameful retreat, and from not having horses to carry their large cannon and other engines of war which they had brought with them, they put them on carts, and had them drawn by men to their former encampment near to Gravelines. This day the duke sent orders to sir John de Croy to break up his siege of the castle of Guines, and join him with his men-at-arms without delay. Sir John, on receiving this order, and hearing of what had passed in the main army, made instant preparations to obey it, and marched off in good array, but was forced to leave behind many large engines, and a quantity of other things, from want of means to convey them off.

The garrison of Guines were very much rejoiced at their departure, for they were hardly pressed, and would have been obliged to surrender in a few days had the Burgundians remained. They made a sally when the enemy was marching away, shouting after them. The garrison of Calais were likewise well pleased at their departure, and issued out of the town to collect what had been left behind, and made a considerable booty. They also sent messengers to England with information of this event.

The duke of Burgundy was lodged in Gravelines, very much mortified at what had happened, and complained bitterly of the disgrace the Flemings had put on him to those of his lords who had accompanied him. They consoled him as well as they could, and advised him to bear it patiently, as it was the chance of fortune in this world. At the same time, they recommended him to reinforce all his towns on the frontier with steady men-at-arms, stores and provisions, as soon as possible, to resist his enemies, who were daily expected from England, and who would, as he might suppose, make every attempt to injure him, in return for what he had done to them; and that he himself should retire to one of the towns in the interior.

The duke of Burgundy issued summonses for all bearing arms to be ready prepared to

defend such parts of his dominions as should need it. He then entreated some of the nobles present that they would remain in the town of Gravelines, which, unless well guarded, would, if taken, be very prejudicial to the whole country, promising them, on his honour, that should they want assistance, or be besieged, he himself would come to their succour, cost what it would. The lord de Crequi, the lord de Saveuses, sir Simon de Lalain, his brother sir Sausse, Philibert de Vaury, and other valiant men-at-arms, complied with his request, and remained in Gravelines. On the other hand, sir Louis de Thiembrune with his brother Guichart were sent to Ardres, and others into the Boulonnois, where the towns and castles were garrisoned according to their strength and importance. Some lords of the council were present at this meeting who had advised the expedition to Calais, but greatly hurt at its unfortunate termination, which they could not help: they were, nevertheless, forced to hear many severe observations made thereon.

When the council broke up, and the above dispositions for the defence of the country had been arranged, the duke again solicited the Flemings to wait a few days longer for the arrival of the enemy,—but they refused to remain from the fear they now had of the English; and some of their captains waited on the duke the last day of July, to demand leave to return to their own country. The duke, seeing that he could no way detain them, gave permission for their departure; for he was satisfied they would never act well against the enemy from want of courage. They marched from Gravelines, by short days' marches, to their different towns; but those from Ghent refused to enter their town unless each man had a robe given him at the expense of the magistrates. This was an ancient usage on the return of the townsmen from war; but now the magistrates refused compliance, because it seemed to them that they had behaved very ill. On receiving this answer, they did enter the town, but much discontented and with murmuring. On marching from before Calais, they had set fire to and destroyed the forts of Balinghen* and of Sangate.

The duke of Burgundy, on leaving Gravelines, went to Lille, and thence issued a proclamation for every person who had been accustomed to bear arms to hold himself ready to march whithersoever he might please to order, to oppose his adversaries the English, who were about to disembark at Calais. In truth, the duke of Gloucester arrived with his army before Calais just after the Burgundian army had decamped.

CHAPTER CCVI.—SIR FLORIMONT DE BRIMEU, SENESCHAL OF PONTHIEU, CONQUERS THE TOWN OF CROTOY.

While the duke of Burgundy was employed on the expedition against Calais, sir Florimont de Brimeu, seneschal of Ponthieu, Richard de Richaumes, governor of the town of Rue, Robert du Quesnoy, governor of St. Valery, and others in the neighbourhood of Crotoy, collected together about four hundred combatants, and marched them by night to an ambuscade on the shore near the town and castle of Crotoy. Robert du Quesnoy ordered about thirty of his men to embark very early in a boat and row towards the town, to induce the English to pursue them. This they executed,—and when they thought that they were within sight of the enemy, they made pretence as if their boat were aground, and that they could neither advance nor retire, notwithstanding the efforts ten or twelve of the crew pretended to make to get her afloat.

The English, observing this from the ramparts, thought to take advantage of their situation, and made a sally, in hopes of taking them prisoners; but they were immediately surrounded by those in ambush, who attacked them with vigour, killing on the spot more than sixty-four, and making prisoners from thirty to forty. The party of the seneschal lost several. Thus was the garrison of Crotoy much weakened,—and when the seneschal learnt from his prisoners that but few men-at-arms were in the town, he collected a reinforcement of men from the adjoining parts, and within a few days made an attack on Crotoy, which he took by storm with little loss of men. The townsmen retreated to the castle,—before which the seneschal fixed his quarters, and pointed his engines against it, but without doing any

* Balinghen—is called before Vauclingen.

damage, for it was wondrous strong. When the seneschal had remained before it some length of time, finding his attempts to conquer it vain, he dislodged, after he had destroyed the fortifications of the town, and marched back his men to the places they had come from, carrying with them all the plunder they had gained in Crotoy.

The English had afterward at Crotoy two boats, called "Gabarres*," with which they much harassed the town of Abbeville, and especially the fishermen. In consequence, the inhabitants of Abbeville sent by night a party toward Crotoy in a boat, whence some of the crew by swimming fastened grappling-irons to each of these gabarres,—the cords of which being fixed to the Abbeville boat, they towed them to Abbeville, to the vexation of the English.

CHAPTER CCVII.—HUMPHRY DUKE OF GLOUCESTER ARRIVES AT CALAIS WITH A LARGE ARMAMENT.—HE ENTERS FLANDERS, ARTOIS, AND OTHER TERRITORIES OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AND DOES MUCH DAMAGE TO THEM.

A few days after the decampment of the duke of Burgundy and the Flemings, the duke of Gloucester arrived at Calais with about ten thousand fighting men to combat the duke of Burgundy, had he waited for him. Since that it was otherwise, he followed the duke to Gravelines, and thence marched into Flanders, and through several towns and large villages, namely, Poperingues, Bailleul, and others, whose suburbs he burnt and destroyed, for no one opposed him,—but the people fled on all sides, and none of the Flemings dared wait his coming. He drove, therefore, away great numbers of cattle, with little or no loss of men,—but they suffered much from want of bread. He passed le Neuf-châtel, and burnt Rimesture and Valon-Chapelle. Having entered Artois, he advanced to Arques† and Blandêques‡, where some skirmishing passed,—and he set fire to every town and village that lay in his way. Marching through the jurisdiction of St. Omer, he committed great waste on all sides; and when near to Tournehem, Esprelecques, and Bredenarde§, some skirmishes took place between him and the different governors: Cavart and other companions of de Langle were wounded. Many captains were expelled by force from their castles; and there were more killed and wounded near to Ardres than had been in all Flanders.

The duke of Gloucester now retreated toward Guines and Calais, on account of sickness in the army, occasioned from want of bread, of which they had not a sufficiency; and many good women saved their houses by giving bread, and even got in return cattle, of which the army had plenty, and which they were driving from Flanders. They were rather embarrassed with them; for, not finding water to give them, they wandered abroad and were lost,—and those who went in search of them were very frequently surprised by the enemy when at a distance from their vanguard.

While these things were passing in Artois and Flanders, sir Thomas Kiriel and lord Faulconbridge assembled at Neuf-châtel d'Incourt about a thousand combatants, whom they led across the Somme at Blanchetaque, and quartered at Forest-montier; thence they advanced to Broye, on the river Authie, where they remained four days, and took the castle by storm, which, however, was not very strong, nor of much value,—but it belonged to the vidame of Amiens. Part of the garrison were slain, and from five to six of the English. This capture created great alarm in the country round, for they feared the enemy would keep possession, as at the time there were but few men-at-arms in those parts. The English having found in this and in other towns much wealth, and made many prisoners, they returned by way of Blanchetaque, the same road they had come, to their different garrisons, without any loss worth mentioning; but they committed very great waste on the lands of their enemies.

* Gabarre—is a flat-bottomed boat, used in Holland and on canals.

† Arques,—diocese of St. Omer.

‡ Blandêques, diocese of St. Omer.

§ Bredenarde, diocese of St. Omer.

CHAPTER CCVIII.—THE FLEMINGS AGAIN TAKE UP ARMS, AFTER THEIR RETREAT FROM CALAIS TO THEIR TOWNS.

Not long after the Flemings were returned home, news was brought them that a large fleet of English ships was off the Flemish coast, near to Biervliet, with intent, as was supposed, of invading the country. The principal towns remanded the men who had been disbanded, and instantly marched with a powerful army and artillery toward Biervliet, and encamped near the sea to wait for the English, who were off the coast. This fleet, however, was not stationed there for the purpose of covering an invasion, but merely to alarm the Flemings, and prevent them from opposing the duke of Gloucester, who was with his army in the neighbourhood of Poperingues and Bailleul. It had on board no men-at-arms, but only mariners to manage and defend it, which made them no way anxious to enter any of the enemy's ports; and, after hovering along the coast for a few days, it made sail for Calais.

When the fleet was gone, each company of Flemings marched back to its town, excepting those from Ghent, who being discontented at the blame thrown on them, for being the principal cause of the retreat from Calais, would not lay down their arms, and wanted to introduce many reforms, and were in so mutinous a state that it was necessary for their prince to go thither. On the duke of Burgundy's arrival in Ghent, he ordered their remonstrances to be laid before him. Some contained demands why Calais had not been besieged by sea as well as by land, according to a promise made,—and why the English fleet had not been burnt, as had been determined on.

To these demands the duke ordered answers to be given, that it was impossible, as every seaman knew, to besiege Calais on the sea-side, by reason of the danger of the vessels being driven on shore and captured by the enemy. Add to this, that the Hollanders had not kept their promise of assisting him in this business with their shipping. With respect to burning the English fleet, the men and vessels ordered on this service at Sluys had been constantly wind-bound in that harbour, during the whole time. In regard to their other demands, namely, to order three governors of Ghent to make a procession through the country, with a sufficient force to re-garrison all their towns with native Flemings, and to put an end to the quarrels between Bruges and Sluys, and several other points insisted on by them, the duke made such satisfactory answers that they were contented with them; and each laid down his arms, and retired to his home, although they had shown great signs of violence at the beginning. They caused the duke's archers to lay aside their staves, saying that they were strong enough to guard him.

Sir Roland de Hautekirque, sir Collart de Comines, sir Gilles de la Voustine, Enguerrand Auviel, and John Daudain, were afterward banished Ghent, because they had declined to appear with the other citizens to remonstrate; and the Ghent men wrote to their castlewicks, that whoever would arrest any one of the above persons, and deliver him into their hands, should receive three hundred livres tournois as a reward, besides all reasonable expenses.

Many ordinances were published for the more effectual guard and defence of the country; and several governors were appointed, under the chief command of the lord d'Estrenhuse, such as the lord de Comines at Ghent, sir Gerard de Tournay at Oudenarde, and sir Gerard de Guystelles at Courtray. Other nobles and men-at-arms were posted in different towns, according to their rank, as well on the frontier toward Calais as elsewhere, and on board of their fleet. It was also proclaimed that no person should, on account of the war, quit the country, under a heavy penalty,—and that every one should provide himself with arms suitable to his rank; that all the principal towns and forts should be repaired, and well supplied with provision and warlike stores; and likewise that the ditches and ramparts should be examined, and, where weak, strengthened and rebuilt at the charge of the country, or of those who were bounden to keep them in proper repair. It was at last necessary, in order to keep the commonalty in good-humour, that the duke should say publicly to them, that he was perfectly satisfied with their departure from before Calais, and that they had returned by his permission and by his orders. They were most anxious to have this disgrace wiped away from them, because they knew full well that all cried shame on them for it.

When all things had been restored to order, the duke of Burgundy returned to Lille, whither came to him the lord de Chargny with other noble and valiant men, bringing with them from near Boulogne about four hundred combatants, who were dispersed in the garrisons on that frontier. Shortly after, the lords d'Ansy and de Warembon came thither with three or four hundred men, who did much mischief to the countries of Artois and Cambresis, near to Tournay. The lord de Warembon led them afterwards to garrison Pontoise, where they remained for a considerable time.

Throughout all France the poor people and the church were sorely oppressed by this war, for they had no defenders; and notwithstanding the peace concluded at Arras, the French and Burgundians in the countries of Beauvoisis, Vermandois, Santois, Laonnois, Champagne, and in the Rethelois, made frequent wars on each other on the most unreasonable pretences, by which the country was wasted and destroyed, and the inhabitants suffered more than before this peace was made. The poor labourers had no other resource than pitifully to cry out to God, their Creator, for vengeance on their oppressors. But the worst was, when they had obtained letters of favour from any of the captains, they were frequently not attended to by others, even though of the same party.

About this time sir John de Hornes, seneschal of Brabant, who had had, with the lord de la Morée, the command of the duke of Burgundy's fleet before Calais, was met near the sea-coast, by a party of Flemings, where he was attending his private affairs, and accompanied by a few servants, who put him to death, to the great sorrow of the duke of Burgundy.

When the duke had appeased the disaffected Flemings, as has been told, and when he thought all was harmony among them, the men of Bruges suddenly rose in arms, and marched with a large body to besiege Sluys, near to which place they remained a long time. They began by murdering one of the officers of their prince, called Vaustre d'Estembourg, because he would not join the commonalty in arms before Sluys, where they remained upwards of six weeks. Their leaders were Peter de Bourgrane and Christopher Myneer; and one among them, named George Vauderberques, made the duchess of Burgundy and her son quit their carriage, in order that they might search it,—when they arrested the lady of sir John de Hornes, which much troubled the duchess, although the lady did not suffer anything further. Sir William and sir Simon de Lalain were with these ladies,—but by some negotiation between them and the duke, they returned to their homes, and were pardoned for this and other offences, because he thought that he should want their services hereafter.

CHAPTER CCIX.—LA HIRE CONQUERS THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF SOISSONS.—OTHER MATTERS.

La Hire about this period won the town and castle of Soissons by storm, from the governor, Guy de Roye, on the part of sir John de Luxembourg, who, not having taken the oaths to king Charles as the other Burgundian captains had done, conformable to the peace at Arras, was considered by the French as an enemy. The king, however, had granted him a delay for a certain time, to consider of it, and had during that period forbidden his captains to make war on sir John, provided he and his party should abstain from war also. When news of this event reached sir John de Luxembourg, he was much angered,—for the greater part of Soissons and its dependencies appertained by legal descent to his daughter-in-law, Jane de Bar, countess of St. Pol. He reinforced all his other castles with men and stores, to prevent any similar accident from befalling them. On the other hand, Guy de Roye, who held the castle of Maicampre, between Chargny and Noyon, placed a strong garrison within it, and carried on a severe warfare against La Hire, in the Soissonnois, Laonnois, and other parts attached to king Charles. Similar reprisals were made by La Hire and the king's friends on those of sir John de Luxembourg,—and thus was the country oppressed and ruined, as well by one party as by the other.

After the duke of York had gained the town of Fécamp, by the surrender of John d'Estouteville, it was reconquered by the French from the English,—and nearly at the same

time the duke of York gained, after a long siege, St. Germain-sur-Cailly *, when about twelve of the French were hanged. In like manner were the towns of Fontaines-sur-Preaux †, Bourg ‡, Blainville §, Préaux ||, Lillebonne ¶, Tancarville **, and other strong places reconquered, and the greater part destroyed by the English. After this, they continued to waste all the corn countries round Harfleur, with the intent of laying siege to it as speedily and as completely as they could.

CHAPTER CCX.—THE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD, SISTER TO THE COUNT DE ST. POL, RE-MARRIES OF HER OWN FREE WILL.—THE KING OF SICILY NEGOTIATES WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY FOR HIS LIBERTY.—THE ENGLISH RECOVER THE TOWN OF PONTOISE.

In this year, the duchess of Bedford, sister to the count de St. Pol, married, from inclination, an English knight called sir Richard Woodville, a young man, very handsome and well made, but, in regard to birth, inferior to her first husband, the regent, and to herself. Louis de Luxembourg, archbishop of Rouen, and her other relations, were very angry at this match, but they could not prevent it ††. About the end of the following November, Jacqueline of Bavaria, who had married Franche de Borselline ‡‡, died, after a long and lingering illness. She was succeeded by the duke of Burgundy in all her possessions.

The king of Sicily duke of Anjou §§, the duke of Bourbon, the constable of France, the chancellor, and many other noble princes and great lords, visited the duke of Burgundy, about St. Andrew's day, at Lille, where he held his court. He received them most honourably. During their stay, a treaty was proposed for the liberty of the king of Sicily, for he was still a prisoner to the duke of Burgundy, as has been before mentioned,—and some of his children were hostages for him in Burgundy. This treaty was concluded, on condition that the king of Sicily would engage to pay a certain sum of money for his ransom, for the security of which he was to pledge four of his towns and castles in his duchies of Lorraine and Bar, namely, Neuf-châtel in Lorraine, Clermont in Argonne, Princhy |||| and Louye ¶¶, which were to be given up to the duke when demanded. The duke of Burgundy, shortly after, placed his own garrisons and captains in these towns and castles. Thus did the king of Sicily recover his liberty and his children; but he had only the two eldest sent to him at first, with a promise that the two others should follow, provided there was not any default of payment. In order that no delays might arise, sir Colard de Saussy and John de Chambly bound themselves, with the king of Sicily, for the due performance of all the articles of the treaty.

When this business was over, the constable of France treated with sir John de Luxembourg, who was then at Lille, that all matters in dispute between him and La Hire, on the subject of the capture of Soissons, should be referred to arbitrators, and that an end should be put to the warfare now raging between them. The term for taking the oaths of allegiance to the king of France, or for declaring for one or other of the parties, was prolonged for sir John de Luxembourg until St. John Baptist's day ensuing, on his promising to abstain from all hostilities during that time.

During these feasts, William de Flavy, who had been driven out of Compiègne by the constable of France, found means to re-enter it, with a large body of men-at-arms, and kept possession a long time; in which at length he was confirmed by king Charles, in spite of all the attempts of the constable to reconquer it. At this period also, the English regained by storm the town of Pontoise. The attack commenced at day-break, when great

* St. Germain-sur-Cailly,—in Normandy, diocese of Rouen.

† Fontaines-sur-Préaux,—diocese of Rouen.

‡ Bourg Baudorion,—diocese of Rouen.

§ Blainville, diocese of Rouen.

|| Préaux, diocese of Rouen.

¶ Lillebonne,—diocese of Rouen.

** Tancarville, near Lillebonne.

†† Sir Richard Woodville paid a fine of £1000 to the king for marrying the duchess of Bedford without a license. He was afterwards created earl of Rivers, and was father to the lady Elizabeth, queen to king Edward IV.—*Parl. Hist.*

‡‡ Francis, or Frank de Borselle.

§§ René duke of Bar, who had been made prisoner as related in vol. i. page 595, soon afterwards succeeded to the duchy of Anjou and to the claims of this house on Sicily and Naples, by the death of his brother, Louis III.

|||| Princhy,—Princy, in the Gatinois, near Montargis.

¶¶ Louye,—in Maine, diocese of Mans.

part of the garrison, consisting of about four hundred combatants of the lord de l'Isle-Adam and de Warembon's men, saved themselves by flight, leaving their baggage and effects behind them: which conquest was very hurtful to the country of the Isle de France and the adjoining parts, for the English placed a very strong garrison in Pontoise, whence detachments made excursions, and frequently to the very gates of Paris.

CHAPTER CCXI.—JAMES I. KING OF SCOTLAND IS MURDERED IN HIS BED-CHAMBER DURING THE NIGHT BY HIS UNCLE THE EARL OF ATHOL.—OTHER MATTERS.

About this time a very cruel and surprising event took place in Scotland. While the king resided at Perth in the middle of his realm, and held his court at an abbey of Jacobins, situated on the river Tay, a conspiracy was formed against his life by some who hated him. The leader was his own uncle the earl of Athol*.

The earl came to Perth the second Wednesday in Lent, which was one of the ember weeks, accompanied by about thirty men, and an hour after midnight made for the king's bed-chamber, who was unsuspicious of what was intended. They instantly broke open the door, and having gained an entrance, most barbarously assassinated him with upward of thirty wounds, some of which went through his heart. During this transaction, his queen, sister to the earl of Somerset, endeavoured to save him, but was villanously wounded in two places by some of the murderers. When the deed was done, they hurried away, to save themselves by flight. The cries of the queen, and of her attendants, soon made the matter publicly known throughout the palace and town, when crowds hastened to the king's bed-chamber, where they found him mangled and dead, and the queen wounded. Great sorrow and lamentations were shown on the occasion,—and on the morrow the king was interred at the Carthusians'.

Shortly after, the nobles and great lords of Scotland were summoned, and agreed with the queen that the murderers should be immediately pursued, which was instantly executed,—and the assassins were arrested, and put to death in various ways, and with divers torments. The earl of Athol, as principal, although uncle to the king, had his belly cut open, his bowels taken out and burnt before his face: his body was then quartered, and the four parts sent to four of the greatest towns of the realm. Sir Robert Stuart, having been very active in the business, was hung on a gibbet and then quartered. Sir Robert Graham was put into a cart, having a gallows erected within it, to which was fastened one of his hands, namely, that with which he had assassinated the king, and thus led through the streets. He was surrounded by three executioners, who kept pinching his thighs, and other parts of his body, with red-hot pincers, and was afterwards quartered. All the rest were horribly tormented before they were executed; and this act of justice was done within forty days of the king's murder.

The reason of the earl of Athol's committing this atrocious deed was, that on the king's return from his imprisonment in England, where he had been for a long time detained, as mentioned in my first book of this history, he had put to death many great lords, (as well those related to him by blood as others,) who had been members of the regency during his absence, for not having exerted themselves more expeditiously for his ransom. In this number were some very near relatives to the earl of Athol, who, though before this act he kept up the appearance of loyalty, had for a considerable time been plotting this assassination, which he put in practice as you have seen.

King James left a son about twelve years old, who was crowned king of Scotland, with the unanimous assent and approbation of the three estates of the realm. He was placed under the governance of a knight of great renown, called sir William Crichton†, who had

* "Walter earl of Athol had innumerable favours and honours conferred upon him by the king and royal family, yet he was the chief actor in that horrid murder of his nephew king James I. for which he was most justly condemned and executed, and all his estates and honours were forfeited to the crown. The title of Athol was suspended till king James II. bestowed it upon his uterine brother, sir John Stewart of Balveny," &c.—*Douglas's Peerage of Scotland.*

† Lord chancellor of Scotland.

been his tutor during the life of the king his father. This young monarch had a vermilion mark down one cheek, and a white one down the other.

Within a short time, the queen carried away suddenly, from the knight above named, the king her son, out of the castle of Edinburgh, and put him under other governors, namely, the great lords of the country. This regency put to death the earl of Douglas* and his brother, called David de Combrebant†, for having, as they said, formed a conspiracy against the young king, to depose him from his throne. King James had six sisters, the eldest of whom was married to the dauphin of France, son to king Charles; the duke of Brittany had another; the third married the duke of Savoy's son; the fourth married the lord de Vere in Holland. The queen also married a young Scots knight called sir James Stuart, and had by him several children‡.

It has happened, that since I had written the foregoing account, I have received more authentic information respecting the execution of the earl of Athol. It was as follows. He was stripped quite naked, all but his drawers in the streets of Edinburgh, and hoisted several times up and down a high gibbet by means of a pulley, and then let fall to within two feet of the ground. He was then placed on a pillar and crowned with a coronet of hot iron to signify that he was king of the traitors. On the morrow, he was seated on a hurdle, naked as before, and dragged through the streets; after which, he was put on a table, his belly cut open, and his entrails drawn out, and thrown into a fire before his face and while he was alive. His heart was then cast into the fire, his body quartered, and the quarters sent to the four principal towns in the kingdom as has been mentioned before. The rest of his accomplices were grievously tortured prior to their execution,—and several of their near relations and intimates, though perfectly innocent, were executed with them; and such severe punishments were not remembered to have been ever before inflicted in a Christian country.

The duke of Burgundy at this time held many councils with the three estates of his dominions, to consider on the best means of opposing the English, whom he expected daily to invade them. It was determined to garrison every town as well those inland as on the sea-shores; and all the nobles, and others who had been accustomed to bear arms, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march with their captains in defence of their country, under the orders of John of Burgundy, count d'Estampes commander in chief.

Many of the inhabitants of the city of Lyons now rebelled against the officers of the king of France, because they were overloaded with taxes and gabelles; but several of them suffered death for it, and others were imprisoned by the royal officers. The Parisians were also accused of intending to betray that city to the English, when master James Joussel and master Mille des Faulx advocates in the parliament, together with a pursuivant, were beheaded, and their effects confiscated to the king.

In this year also the Ghent men rose in arms in considerable numbers and slew one Gilbert Pactetent, head deacon of the trades, for having, as they said, prevented Calais from being stormed; and they moreover accused him of treason, because their cannon and other engines had fired but little during that siege. They also insisted, among other extravagant demands, that an order should be proclaimed, forbidding any beer to be brewed within three leagues of Ghent; but as the sheriffs and other municipal officers had intermixed among them, with the banner of France displayed, in the Friday market-place, and had addressed them in moderate and good-humoured terms, telling them, that they would consider on their

* "William VI. earl of Douglas, third duke of Touraine, &c. a youth of a fine genius and noble spirit, and of great expectation. Soon after his father's death, he came to a meeting of the parliament at Edinburgh with a splendid and numerous retinue, and behaved with all due obedience and submission. He was in great favour with the young king, and gave all the marks of a sincere, generous, and loyal disposition. However, it seems his grandeur made him be looked upon with a jealous eye by the faction at the time, though he was then only about sixteen years of age. He and his young brother were invited to an entertainment in the castle of Edinburgh by chancellor Crichton. They went without the least suspicion or distrust, and were both barbarously assassinated, with their trusty friend sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, in the king's presence, who had the tragical event in the utmost abhorrence, and wept bitterly, but had not the power to prevent it. This happened on the 24th November, 1440."—*Douglas's Peerage of Scotland.*

† Combrebant. This must be meant for sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld.

‡ Mr. Pinkerton says, that Margaret was married to the dauphin,—Isabel to Francis duke of Brittany,—Eleanor to Sigismund archduke of Austria, Mary to the count de Boucquan, son to the lord of Campvere,—Jean to the earl of Angus, and afterwards to the earl of Morton. See note, p. 142, Hist. of Scotland.

demands, and provide for them in such wise that they should be contented, the mob dispersed quietly to their homes, and laid down their arms.

Many councils were held by the sheriffs and magistrates on these requisitions, which were declared useless, and impossible to be carried into effect. They likewise resolved to leave things in the state in which they had prospered so long, without making any unreasonable reformation.

CHAPTER CCXII.—LA HIRE, POTON, WITH MANY OTHER FRENCH CAPTAINS, ARE NEAR TAKING ROUEN.—THEY ARE ATTACKED AND DEFEATED BY THE ENGLISH, WHO SURPRISE THEM IN THEIR QUARTERS.

In this year, several French commanders assembled a body of men on the frontiers of Normandy, to the amount of eight hundred or a thousand, namely, La Hire, Poton de Santrailles, the lord de Fontaines, Lavagan, Philip de la Tour, and others. They marched toward Rouen with the expectation of entering it by means of some of the inhabitants, who had promised them admittance,—but failed, from a considerable reinforcement of English having lately arrived in the town. The French captains, finding their enterprise could not be accomplished although they were close to Rouen, retreated with their men to refresh and quarter themselves at a large village called Ris, only four leagues distant from it. While they were there, the lord Scales, lord Talbot, sir Thomas Kiriel, and other English captains, having had information where they were, collected about a thousand combatants and instantly pursued them,—and, before they were aware, attacked them on different sides, having surprised their quarters.

The French, unable to collect together, were very soon defeated. La Hire, however, having mounted a horse belonging to one of his men-at-arms, attempted to rally them, but in vain, and then fled. He was briskly pursued, and severely wounded in several places, but escaped by the aid of some of his men. The lord de Fontaines, Alain Geron, Louis de Basle, Alardin de Mousay, John de Lon, were made prisoners; and the other nobles, with the rest of the army, saved themselves chiefly in the woods, but they lost all their baggage, and the greater part of their horses. With regard to the killed, they did not amount to more than eight or ten.

CHAPTER CCXIII.—THE TOWN OF BRUGES REBELS AGAINST ITS LORD AND HIS OFFICERS.—A GREAT CONFLICT AND SLAUGHTER IS THE CONSEQUENCE.

[A. D. 1437.]

At the beginning of this year, the populace of Bruges revolted against the officers of their lord the duke of Burgundy, and suddenly put to death Maurice de Versenaire, and his brother, James de Versenaire, sheriffs and magistrates of the town, because they had gone to wait on the duke at Arras. They were sought for in the houses in which they had hidden themselves, on hearing that the mob intended to murder them; and this event greatly alarmed the principal inhabitants. The duke of Burgundy was much vexed on hearing what had passed at Bruges, and held many councils to consider how he could most effectually punish this outrage against his authority. He was advised to send secretly some trusty persons to Bruges, to learn from those supposed to be attached to his party how he could punish the offenders. Those of the highest rank wrote letters, in consequence, to the duke, to excuse themselves from having been any way concerned in the late business, and to offer their services to assist him in punishing those who had done these murders.

The duke now made known his intention of going to Holland on his private affairs, and that he would pass through Bruges in his way, when he should see how he could best accomplish his object. He therefore assembled a large body of men-at-arms, with their captains, from Picardy, to the amount of fourteen hundred combatants, and, attended by many noble lords, departed from Lille, and lay at the town of Rousselaire. On the morrow, he sent his harbingers to Bruges to prepare his lodgings, escorted, as usual, by a detachment from the

above-mentioned men-at-arms. They entered the town, and took up their quarters as they could. The duke immediately followed them with the main army, receiving hourly intelligence from his friends in the town. In truth, the principal inhabitants would have been rejoiced to see those who had committed the before-mentioned atrocious acts properly punished,—for they were men of low degree, who wished to throw things into confusion that they might master the richer ranks. The commonalty were alarmed when they heard of the duke's coming, being fearful that this armament was brought, as was the truth, against them. In consequence, they assembled by companies in divers parts of the town, and gave out that the duke and his Picards were only coming thither to plunder and destroy it. The chief inhabitants, hearing this, were more uneasy than before: the whole town was now in arms.

A large party of the commonalty collected under arms in the market-place, and sent off a detachment to the gate leading to Rousselaire, through which the duke was to enter. It was on Whitsun-Wednesday; and when the duke came to the gate, thinking to enter, he was surprised to find both that and the barriers closed, and the townsmen armed and accoutred for war. They refused to admit the duke but with few attendants, which he would not agree to, saying that he and his army would enter together. A long conference now took place between the two parties in the town.

The duke had with him sir Roland de Hautekirk and sir Colart de Comines, whom the men of Bruges disliked exceedingly, with many nobles of renown in war; such as the count d'Estampes, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, the lord de Therouenne, the lord de Humieres, the lord de Haubourdin, the lord de Saveuses, the lord de Crevecœur, James Kiriel, the lord de Lenternelle, Pierre de Roubaix, and others, who were astonished at the conduct of the Bruges men toward their prince. Some advised him to arrest those who had come through the barriers to the conference, and to behead all who had been concerned in these disturbances; but this was negatived, for fear those within the town would retaliate on the harbingers and their escort. However, after a space of two or three hours, it was concluded that the duke might enter; but before he made his entrance, he posted at the gate Charles de Rochefort, sir John bastard of Dampierre, Melides Breton, with others of his gentlemen, and a party of archers.

The duke entered the town in handsome array, attended by many nobles and warriors; but when he was about to dismount at his hôtel, and when four or five hundred of his men-at-arms had passed the gate, the townsmen (who, as I have said, were there under arms, and in great numbers), closed the barriers and gate, shutting out the remainder of the duke's army. The duke was very angry when he heard of this, and caused the magistrates to be informed, that since they would not permit his people to enter with him, he would return to them,—but the magistrates excused themselves as well as they were able. In the mean time, the duke drew up those who had been allowed to follow him, in good array, in the old market-place, when a quarrel took place between them and the townsmen, and battles ensued in different parts of the town. The duke was advised to retire with part of his men towards the gate by which he had entered, to attempt gaining it, in order that he might have the support of the rest of his army, or make his retreat should it be thought necessary.

This was done, and he detached a body to the ramparts, to attack those at the gate on the flank, while he marched in person down the great street. The enemy set up a grand shout, and made a desperate attack,—but suddenly they fled from the gate, were pursued, and many slain. The lord de l'Isle-Adam had dismounted, and was advanced beyond some of the archers, who did not behave to please him in pursuing the townsmen, concluding, at the same time, that he should be followed by others, which was not the case, or at least by a very few,—so that, seeing him thus alone, a party of the townsmen surrounded him, and, before any succour could arrive, put him to death, and tore from him the order of the Golden Fleece which he had on. The duke of Burgundy, and in general all who had accompanied him, were much grieved at his death, but now there was no remedy for it. At this moment there was not one but was in danger of suffering the like,—for the commonalty were in multitudes under arms ready to surround them on all sides, who were but a handful of men

in comparison to them. The duke, nevertheless, was in good spirits, and only regretted that he had not the rest of his troops to give combat to these Bruges men, now in absolute rebellion. Those with him were very uneasy, and those without much vexed at their situation: the last heard from some of their companions the disagreeable state their lord was in, and also saw eight or ten of their fellow-soldiers, pursued by the townsmen, leap from the ramparts to save themselves in the ditches wherein they were drowned.

This confusion and affray, in the town of Bruges, lasted a full hour and half, when the duke was informed that the mob were preparing to fall on him in immense numbers and with artillery, so that resistance would be vain. He was advised to make a desperate attempt to gain possession of the gate, cost what it would, before this mob should arrive. He advanced, therefore, to the gate, with all the men he now had; and the enemy, as before, retreated from it. Large hammers were got from a smith's house hard by, with which the bolts and bars were broken,—and on opening the gate the army rushed out with a hearty good-will; but the duke, mounted on a handsome courser, had remained steady in the midst of the tumult, though nearly approached by the enemy, and, like a good shepherd, saw all his men out of the gate before him, and then took the road to Rousselaire, whence he had marched that morning, much hurt that affairs had turned out so ill, and sincerely grieved at the loss of the lord de l'Isle-Adam and others of his people.

The greater part of the army were so panic-struck with what had happened, that it was with difficulty they could be marched in any order. Neither sir Roland de Hautekirk nor sir Colart de Comines had entered the town with the duke, who lost that day, in killed, upward of a hundred of his men. They were all interred together in a grave in the hospital churchyard, except the lord de l'Isle-Adam, who was buried apart,—and his body was afterward removed, with great solemnity, into the church of St. Donât at Bruges.

Two hundred prisoners were made by the townsmen, and on the Friday following, thirty-two of them were beheaded; the rest had their lives saved by the intercessions of the churchmen and foreign merchants, who earnestly exerted themselves in the business. At the end of eight days, they set at liberty all the attendants of the duke, with their baggage; but they hung and quartered the blacksmith, for having given hammers to break down the gates: his name was Jacob van Ardoyen. On the side of the townsmen, there were not more than twelve killed; and among the Picards, none of name but the lord de l'Isle Adam and an usher of the apartments to the duke, named Herman. The Bruges men remained night and day under arms, and in very great bodies, not only within the town, but through all parts of their jurisdiction. They shortly after pulled down the house of a citizen called Gerard Reubs.

With regard to the duke of Burgundy, he went to Rousselaire, and thence to Lille, where many councils were held to consider how he could reduce the town of Bruges to his obedience. It was proposed, in order to accomplish this the sooner, to have it proclaimed through all the adjoining towns and villages, that no persons should carry any provisions to Bruges under pain of being reputed an enemy to the prince. This was done; and the men of Bruges, though surprised and fearful of the consequences, did not relax in continuing the business they had begun.

CHAPTER CCXIV.—THE BASTARD DE LA HIRE MAKES AN EXCURSION THROUGH THE COUNTRIES OF PERONNE, ROYE, AND MONDIDIER, WHERE HE COMMITS GREAT WASTE.

At this season, the bastard de la Hire was posted in the castle of Clermont in the Beauvoisis, with about sixty or four score combatants, with whom he sorely harassed the adjoining countries, more particularly the castlewicks of Peronne, Roye, and Mondidier, belonging to the duke of Burgundy. Thither they made frequent excursions, carrying away each time to their garrison great plunder in cattle and other effects, notwithstanding the peace concluded at Arras between the king of France and the duke. One day, they came before the town of Roye, and drove off cattle, and whatever else they could lay hands

on, to the castle of Clermont. They were usually accompanied by several garrisons as well from Mortemer *, belonging to William de Flavy, as from others. The governor of Roye for the duke of Burgundy, was a valiant nobleman, called Aubert de Folleville, who, hearing of th ir enterprise, assembled with all speed as many men-at-arms as he could collect, and instantly pursued them, in the hope of recovering the plunder they were carrying away. He overtook them at a village called Boulogne, and immediately charged them; but they had seen him coming, and had placed an ambuscade, who sallied out against sir Aubert, and, from their superior numbers, defeated him and put him to death. Many gentlemen were likewise killed, such as the souldan de la Bretonnerie, his nephew Hugh de Bazincourt, the bastard d'Esne, Colart de Picellen, Jacques de Bruyiere, Jean Basin, Simon le Maire, and several more: the rest saved themselves by the fleetness of their horses.

The duke of Burgundy was greatly vexed at this defeat, and at similar inroads being made on his territories,—and to oppose these pillagers, the count d'Estampes reinforced the garrisons of Peronne, Roye, and Mondidier with men-at-arms.

CHAPTER CCXV.—KING CHARLES OF FRANCE ORDERS HIS CAPTAINS TO RECONQUER SOME TOWNS AND CASTLES FROM THE ENGLISH.—HE MARCHES IN PERSON AGAINST MONTEREAU-FAUT-YONNE, AND RECAPTURES IT.

In these days, king Charles sent orders to his nobles and captains, scattered throughout the realm, to meet him, on an appointed day, at Gien-sur-Loire, as he was resolved to regain some of the towns and castles the English held near to Montargis and in the Gâtinois. The king was met at Gien by the constable of France, sir Jacques d'Anjou, the count de Perdiac, the count de Vendôme, the bastard of Orleans, and others. It was there determined in council, that the constable and the count de Perdiac should advance to Château-Landon † with their men, and besiege it. This was instantly executed, and the place surrounded on all sides, to the great alarm of the English garrison. They were so far inland, that they had little hopes of being relieved, and were beside badly provided with provision and stores: notwithstanding, they made show as if they meant to defend themselves to the last.

When the constable summoned them to surrender on having their lives spared, they made answer, that they were not so advised, and that it would cost him dear before such an event happened. However, on the third day, they were so courageously attacked, that the place was taken by storm, when the greater part of those within were hanged, especially such as were natives of France: the rest had their liberties on paying ransoms. When this business was finished, the two lords marched their army to besiege Nemours; which held out for about twelve days, when it surrendered, on the inhabitants and garrison having their lives and effects spared, and being allowed to march off to Montereau.

While these things were passing, sir Gascon de Logus, bailiff of Bourges, in Berry, in company with other captains, laid siege to the town and castle of Terny, held by the English, which, after a few days, surrendered, on the garrison having their lives and fortunes spared. When they marched away, sir Gascon, mounted on a spirited courser, escorted them part of the road; but, on spurring him, the horse turned short round, and the knight fell with such force that he was killed on the spot,—and Poton de Saintrailles was, by the king, appointed bailiff of Bourges in his stead. Shortly after, the king, with his company, went from Gien to Sens in Burgundy, and thence to Braye-sur-Seine. From this place, he sent the lord de Gaucourt, sir Denis de Sailly, Poton de Saintrailles, Boussac, the bastard de Beaumanoir, with other captains, and about sixteen hundred fighting men, to Montereau-faut-Yonne. They posted themselves on an eminence opposite the castle, on the side toward Brie, and raised there a large blockhouse, which they fortified as strongly as they could, placing therein a numerous garrison.

* Mortimer,—a village in the election of Mondidier.
† Château-Landon,—in the Gâtinois, three leagues from Nemours.

The constable, the count de Perdiac, the bastard of Orleans, sir James de Chabannes, with their men, advanced on the side toward the Gâtinois, and took up their quarters near to the town. After them came the lord de Valogne, sir Anselm de la Tour, bailiff of Vitry, Regnault Guillaume, bailiff of Montargis, who posted themselves on the island, between the two rivers, so that the place was surrounded on all sides by the army of the king of France; and they pointed so many cannons against the walls that they were soon greatly damaged. The commander-in-chief, within the town and castle, for the king of England, was sir Thomas Gerard, having under him Mondo de Montferrant, Mondo de Lausay, and other valiant captains, together with three or four hundred combatants, who made as vigorous a resistance against their enemies as their circumstances would permit. They had great hopes of succour from the English commanders in Normandy, according to their promises.

The king of France now arrived at Montereau from Bray-sur-Seine, grandly accompanied, and was lodged in the blockhouse before mentioned. He had with him six or seven thousand, well tried and well equipped, fighting men. On his arrival, the greatest exertions were made to approach the town,—and the cannons, and other engines, were continually in action; the king even did not spare himself in the labours of this siege. At the end of six weeks, or thereabouts, from the commencement of the siege, the town was won by storm, with little loss to the assailants. With regard to the besieged, from twenty to thirty were killed, and as many made prisoners, the greater part of whom were hanged. The king, on making his entry, strictly forbade any mischief being done to the persons of the inhabitants, men, women or children, who had retired within churches or monasteries; but as for their effects they were plundered, as is usual when any place is taken by storm.

Many new knights were made at the storming, namely, the young count de Tancarville, son to sir James de Harcourt, Robert de Bethune lord de Moreul, and others. The king and most of the princes were lodged in the town; and, about fifteen days afterward, those in the castle surrendered to the king, on having their lives and fortunes spared. The bastard of Orleans was then appointed governor, who regarrisoned it with his own men. When this business was settled, the king and dauphin, with great part of the princes, went to Melun. The men at arms separated, in companies, to divers places, but most of them went to Paris.

CHAPTER CCXVI.—THE MEN OF BRUGES MAKE FREQUENT EXCURSIONS FROM THEIR TOWN, AND LAY THE LOW COUNTRIES UNDER CONTRIBUTION.

We must now return to what was going forward at Bruges, the inhabitants of which continued their mad and foolish rebellion against their prince. They made frequent sallies in large bodies to forage the low country, and to destroy the houses of all whom they suspected as enemies. Among others, they took the castle of Koecklare, held by the bastard of Baïileul, and did great damage to it. On the other hand, when they remained within the town, they committed many acts of injustice on such as they knew were of a contrary way of thinking to themselves. In the number of their wicked deeds, they caused the deacon of the handicraft trades to be beheaded, on a charge which they made against him of intending to deliver up the town to the Ghent men. But all the principal and most wealthy citizens had left Bruges, and gone to other places for fear of them.

The commonalty next collected a body of three or four thousand, and marched against Sluys, with every implement of war to lay siege to it, for they had an implacable hatred against it. The duke of Burgundy and sir Simon de Lalain were in that place, with a certain number of combatants; notwithstanding this, the men of Bruges remained before it three-and-twenty days, and made many attacks on the barriers and gates,—in which numbers were killed and wounded on each side, but more especially on that of Bruges. The duke of Burgundy, during this time, was assembling a large force of the nobles and men-at-arms in Picardy, and in his lordships near to St. Omer, with intent to give them battle. But in the interim, the Bruges men, fearful of the consequences, prevailed on those of Ghent to mediate between them and the duke, and returned quietly to Bruges.

CHAPTER CCXVII.—THE ENGLISH RECOVER THE TOWN OF FECAMP IN NORMANDY.

At this period, the English laid siege to the town of Fecamp in Normandy. They remained before it about three months, when it capitulated, on the garrison and townsmen having their lives and fortunes spared. It was, however, within a few days after, reconquered by the French. A severe warfare was now carrying on throughout Normandy, and frequent skirmishes took place between the parties, one of which deserves notice*.

La Hire, Poton de Saintrailles, the lord de Fontaines, L'Avagan, and other captains, had one day collected about six hundred fighting men, and advanced toward Rouen, in the expectation of gaining some advantage over their adversaries the English. Having failed, they returned toward Beauvais; but as they and their horses were much fatigued, they halted at a village called Ris, to refresh and repose themselves.

During this time, sir Thomas Kiriel, with a body of English, surprised the village, and defeated them completely, with little loss, before they could arm and collect together. The lord de Fontaines, Alardin de Moussay, with numbers of others, were made prisoners; La Hire, with difficulty, escaped by the goodness of his horse,—but he was severely wounded in many places. Poton de Saintrailles, and others, escaped also,—but they lost the greater part of their horses and arms. The English, after this victory, returned to Rouen: joyful at their success, however, they soon after lost the town of Fecamp, as has been related.

CHAPTER CCXVIII.—THE LORD D'OFFEMONT MAKES LA HIRE HIS PRISONER WHILE HE WAS PLAYING AT BALL AT BEAUVAIS.

While these matters were passing, the lord d'Offemont, who had not forgotten the ill treatment he had suffered from La Hire, when he was made prisoner and ransomed at Clermont in the Beauvoisis, as has been mentioned, assembled a body of about six score combatants, under his brother-in-law the lord de Moy, the bastard de Chauny, and other captains. By means of the lord de Moy he led them to the city of Beauvais, of which La Hire was governor, and was at this moment playing at ball in the court of an inn having the sign of St. Martin. The lord d'Offemont hastened thither with his men, for he had learned where La Hire was, from his spies; but La Hire hearing of his approach, had hidden himself in a stable under the manger, where he was found and taken, after some search, by the lord d'Offemont's men, together with one called Perret de Salle-noire. They were instantly mounted behind two men-at-arms, and told, that if they made the slightest noise, or cry to be rescued, they would that moment be put to death. Without further delay, they were carried through the gates of the town; but several of his men, and the common people, assembled to pursue them and attempt their deliverance, when some skirmishing took place with arrows. They were first carried to the castle of Moy, and thence to Meulan, where they were detained a considerable time. They were afterwards removed to the castle of Ancre†, belonging to the lord d'Offemont, and kept prisoners.

The king of France and many of his officers were very angry at this capture, for it had taken place on the territories of France; but the nobles who had accompanied the lord d'Offemont excused themselves by saying, that they had done this service to the lord d'Offemont from their near relationship in blood to him. The king wrote very pressing letters to the duke of Burgundy in favour of la Hire, that he might be set at liberty, and that no personal harm might be done to him. In short, the matter was so strongly urged that the duke of Burgundy found means, partly by threats, that the whole of their quarrel should be submitted to his decision, after it had been discussed before his council. The discussion lasted for several days, in the presence of the duke at Douay, when, as well perhaps to please the king (who had very strongly written to him,) as because he did not think the mode of

* This expedition and failure have been before related in chapter ccxii, with very little variation: in the first, it was to gain Rouen by surprise and treachery.

† Ancre,—or Albert, a small town in Picardy, diocese of Amiens, four leagues from Peronne.

making La Hire prisoner fair or honourable, but just the contrary, the duke made up the quarrel, and the lord d'Offemont had his castle of Clermont restored to him, and a sum of money paid, but not so much as he had been forced to give for his ransom. Perret de Sallenoire was ordered to pay one thousand crowns for his liberty. Thus were all differences settled between them, and they were made friends.

At the same time, peace was made between La Hire and sir John de Luxembourg, who had hated him mortally, as well for his having taken Soissons as for other damages he had done to different parts of his territories; and they remained to all appearance good friends ever after. La Hire soon returned to the king of France, and related all the kindness and favour the duke of Burgundy had shown him, from his regard to his majesty. This was very agreeable to the king, who entertained La Hire very splendidly, and gave him, at the same time, wherewithal to discharge the greater part of his ransom, and the other expenses he had incurred.

When La Hire's men heard that they were to quit the castle of Clermont, they set about repairing an old fortress called Thoys, belonging to the lord de Crevecœur, wherein they placed themselves, and again began to harass all the country near to Amiens and Pecquigny, more especially the lordships of those who had been assisting in the capture of La Hire, their captain. The principal leader, both in the reparation of the castle and in their oppressions of the country, was one who called himself Philip de La Tour.

CHAPTER CCXIX.—CHARLES KING OF FRANCE MAKES HIS FIRST ENTRY INTO PARIS AFTER ITS REDUCTION.—THE PREPARATIONS FOR IT.

On Tuesday the 12th of November, in this year, king Charles of France was lodged in the town of St. Denis. He was accompanied by his son the dauphin of Vienne, the constable of France, the lord Charles d'Anjou, the counts de Perdiac, de Vendôme, and the young count de Tancarville, sir Christopher de Harcourt, the bastard of Orleans, and a very great number of nobles, great lords, knights, and esquires. La Hire was also there, in very grand state.

The provost of merchants and the sheriffs of Paris came out as far as La Chapelle to meet him, attended by the citizens, cross-bows, and archers of the town, dressed in robes similar to those of the peers. When they met the king, the provost presented him with the keys of Paris, which the king delivered to the care of the constable. The provost and sheriffs then expanded a blue canopy, studded with flowers-de-luce of gold, over the king's head, and thus supported it as he proceeded. He was next met by the governor of Paris, attended by his common sergeants, having each of them a hood half green and half crimson. After the sergeants came the notaries, attorneys, advocates, and commissaries of the Châtelet. Then came persons representing the Seven Virtues and the Seven Deadly Sins, dressed in character, and on horseback: they were followed by the judges of the parliament, of the court of requests, the presidents, and by crowds of people.

Thus nobly accompanied, did the king make his entry into the city of Paris by the gate of St. Denis. Three angels supported a shield bearing the arms of France over the gate, above which were placed angels singing, and underneath was written in large characters,

"Most excellent and noble king,
The burghers of this loyal town
To you their grateful offering bring,
And bow before your royal crown."

At the Little Bridge was a fountain, over which was a pot having a flower-de-luce, whence spouted good hippocras, wine, and water: two dolphins were playing in the fountain,—and above the whole was a terrace, vaulted with flowers-de-luce, which exhibited a representation of St. John Baptist pointing to the Agnus Dei, surrounded with angels singing melodiously. In front of Trinity Church was a pageant of the passion of our Lord, and how Judas hanged himself. Those who exhibited this did not speak; but acted as in a pantomime. The acting was good, and very affecting.

At the second gate were the figures of St. Thomas, St. Denis, St. Maurice, St. Louis of France, and Ste. Genevieve in the middle. There was likewise a representation of the holy sepulchre, of the resurrection of JESUS CHRIST, and of his meeting Mary Magdalen. Item, at St. Catherine's, in the street of St. Denis, was a representation of the descent of the Holy

ENTRY OF CHARLES VII. INTO PARIS.—From the Colbert MS. of Monstrelet, engraved in Montfaucon's Monarchie Française, iii. 39.

Ghost on the Apostles. Before the Châtelet was the annunciation of the angel to the shepherds, singing, "Glory be to God on high," &c. Suspended below the gate were represented the attributes of justice, with divine law, the law of nature, and the law of man. On the opposite side, against the slaughter-houses, were exhibited the last judgment, paradise, and hell: in the centre was St. Michael weighing souls in a balance. Item, at the foot of the Great Bridge, behind the Châtelet, was represented the baptism of our Lord, and St. Margaret issuing out of the mouth of a dragon.

When the king came to the front of the church of Notre Dame, he dismounted, and was shortly harangued by the members of the university. The following prelates were waiting for his arrival before the great door: the archbishop of Toulouse and of Sens, the bishops of Paris, of Clermont, of St.Mangon, near Montpellier, the abbots and superior clergy of St. Denis, of St. Maur, of St. Germain near Paris, of Sainte Magloire, and of Sainte Genevieve. The king made the usual oaths in the hands of the bishop of Paris, and then entered the church,—where had been erected three arches, like to those at Amiens the last day of the year, covered with tapers and wax lights.

When the king had offered up his prayers, he went to the palace, where he lay that night. He was escorted on his entrance by about eight hundred archers, well equipped and in handsome array, under the command of the count of Angoulême. The king and the dauphin were dressed in plain armour, all but their heads: on that of the king was a tourmole*

* Tourmole. Q. Not in any of my dictionaries.

covered with silversmith's-work. His horse's housing was of dark blue velvet, richly embroidered with large flowers-de-luce in gold, which reached to the ground. The head-piece was of polished steel, bearing a handsome plume of feathers. He was preceded a few paces by Poton de Saintrailles, carrying the royal helmet on a staff supported by his thigh, having a rich crown on the top, and in the centre was a double flower-de-luce. His horse was led by a gentleman on foot, named Jean d'Olon,—and the canopy was all the while borne over his head. The king was followed by his pages, very richly dressed, and ornamented with silversmith's-work, as well as their horses.

A little before Poton rode the constable of France, the counts de Vendôme and de Tancarville, and others of the high nobility, handsomely mounted and richly dressed. At a short distance behind the king was the dauphin, his armour covered over with silversmith's-work, as well as his horse, and his pages and their horses also. He was accompanied by his uncle the lord Charles d'Anjou, the counts de Perdiac and de la Marche, and followed by the bastard of Orleans in plain armour,—but his horse's accoutrements were highly ornamented. He had on a rich scarf of gold, which fell down on the back of his horse. He commanded the king's battalion consisting of about a thousand lances, the flower of the men-at-arms, most handsomely dressed out, themselves and horses.

With regard to the other knights, esquires, and gentlemen present at this ceremony, they were very numerous, and richly equipped at all points, and their horses loaded with silversmith's work. Among these, but after the princes, sir James de Chabannes and the lord de Restelant had the reputation of being most handsomely dressed, themselves, their attendants, and horses. The crowd of common people was so great that it was difficult to walk the streets; and they sang carols in all the squares, and other places, as loud as they could, for the welcome return of their natural lord and king, with his son the dauphin. Many even wept for joy at this happy event.

The king and the dauphin, as I have said, when the ceremonies were over, went to the Palace, where they were lodged,—and the lords, knights, and others in different houses in Paris as well as they could. It was proclaimed in the king's name, by sound of trumpet, that no one, whatever his rank, should ill treat the Parisians in body or effects, on pain of instant death.

On the morrow, the king displayed to the populace, in the Holy Chapel, the relics of the true cross of our Saviour, and the lance which had pierced his side while on the cross: after which he mounted his horse, and went to lodge at the New Hotel, near the Bastille,—and the dauphin did the same at the Tournelles. They remained for a considerable time in Paris, during which, many new regulations were made for the better government of the realm: and several new offices were created at Paris, as well in the court of parliament as elsewhere.

Some days after the king's entry into Paris, the counts de la Marche and de Perdiac (sons to Bernard count d'Armagnac, formerly constable of France, who had been basely murdered by the Parisians) went to the spot where their father had been buried, attended by many lords, as well spiritual as temporal, and had the body taken up, put into a leaden coffin, and carried to the church of St. Martin-des-Champs, where a solemn service, attended by the members of the greater part of the colleges and university of Paris, was performed for his soul. On the morrow, the coffin was placed on a car covered with black, and conveyed out of the town with much solemnity, and thence conducted by his two said sons, and a numerous company of friends and attendants, to the county of Armagnac.

CHAPTER CCXX.—THE COMMONALTY OF BRUGES BECOME MORE MODERATE IN THEIR PROCEEDINGS, AND SEND AMBASSADORS TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TO SUE FOR PEACE.

The men of Bruges now began to feel that they had greatly offended their prince the duke of Burgundy, and were much alarmed; for, as none of the great towns in Flanders would afford them support or assistance, they could not long withstand the duke. They knew also, that they were not in great favour with the Ghent men; and each day brought

them intelligence of the mighty preparations their lord was making to subjugate them, in which he would have the aid of Ghent. For these and other reasons, they found means to send ambassadors to the duke at Arras, to endeavour to conclude a peace. The business was discussed at length, and occupied much time,—during which, those of Bruges relaxed in their excursions, and ceased harassing the country as they had hitherto done.

CHAPTER CCXXI.—THE LORD D'AUXY AND SIR FLORIMONT DE BRIMEU, SENESCHAL OF PONTHIEU AND OF ABBEVILLE, MARCH TO LAY SIEGE TO CROTOY.

About the middle of October, in this year, the lord d'Auxy, commander-in-chief on the frontiers of Ponthieu and Abbeville, together with sir Florimont de Brimeu, seneschal of the same, and a bold and hardy knight of Rhodes, called sir John de Foix, assembled a certain number of combatants. These they marched before the castle of Crotoy, held by the English, with the hope of conquering and putting it under the obedience of the duke of Burgundy within a short time, from the intelligence of a peasant,—who had lately, as he said, been in the castle, and the garrison had so wasted their corn and flour, that he gave them to understand they would not be able to hold out, from famine, more than one month.

On this report, which was afterward found to be untrue, they fixed their quarters in front of the castle, within the old inclosure of the town. They demanded assistance from different lords, who sent them some men-at-arms. They were also much aided with provisions and money from Abbeville, the inhabitants of which were very desirous that Crotoy should be conquered, for the garrison had frequently done them great mischief. They sent intelligence of what they were about to the duke of Burgundy, and required his support. The duke despatched some of his household to examine into the matter, and they reported to him, that unless the place were blockaded by sea, it would be impossible to reduce it by famine. Upon this, the duke wrote letters to the governors of Dieppe, St. Valery, and of the adjoining seaports, to hire as many vessels as they could to blockade the entrance to the river Somme; and went himself to the castle of Hêdin, whither he sent for sir John de Croy, bailiff of Hainault, who had been formerly governor of Crotoy, to ask his opinion as to the probability of its being conquered.

The duke ordered sir John to join the lord d'Auxy and his companions, with a body of men-at-arms, and to take the chief command of the siege. He went thither also himself, with few attendants, to examine into the state of the business, but made no long stay. That his men might be undisturbed by the English in their quarters, either by sea or land, from Crotoy, he ordered a large blockhouse to be erected, wherein they might be more securely lodged. It was very substantially built, and surrounded with ditches, under the directions of a knight called sir Baudo de Noyelle. When this was done, other works were erected, and the whole provided with a sufficiency of all sorts of stores and provision. In the interim, several skirmishes passed,—and in one of them the lieutenant-governor of Crotoy was taken prisoner by the lord d'Auxy.

Intelligence of these preparations of the duke of Burgundy was carried to king Henry of England and his council, who were not well pleased thereat; for they were sensible of the great advantage of Crotoy to facilitate their landing a force in Picardy. It was therefore resolved to provide a speedy remedy against them; and letters were instantly despatched to the governor of Rouen, ordering him to collect as large a body of men-at-arms as he could in Normandy, and to march to the relief of Crotoy. This order was immediately published, and four thousand combatants, as well horse as infantry, speedily assembled, under the command of lord Talbot, lord Faulconbridge, sir Thomas Kiriel, and others. They advanced to the abbey of St. Valery, where they quartered themselves, having brought provision with them.

While this army was collecting, the duke of Burgundy, having had information of the intentions of the English, had previously summoned from Picardy and his other dominions the greater part of his nobility and men-at-arms, who might amount to eight hundred or a

thousand fighting men. They marched from Hêdin, and had arrived at Abbeville the day before the English came to the abbey of St. Valery. The duke of Burgundy was attended on this expedition by the count d'Estampes, his nephew of Cleves, the count de St. Pol, and other nobles. Sir John de Luxembourg had also, in obedience to his summons, joined him at Hêdin,—but he excused himself to the duke for not bearing arms, because he had not then sent back his oath of alliance with the English, and could not therefore with honour then take part against them: but this excuse, as I was informed, was not well received by the duke of Burgundy, who remonstrated with him on the occasion,—how he was bound by his oath to serve him, as his vassal; that he wore his order, and had always been attached to his party; for all these reasons, therefore, he could not honourably refuse to serve him, more especially as it was to repulse his enemies, who had invaded several parts of his dominions. Notwithstanding the duke's arguments, sir John de Luxembourg returned home with his permission, and obtained from the duke letters of remission to this effect. When the duke, on his arrival at Abbeville, was assured of the coming of the English, he reinforced that town with all sorts of stores and provision, and there might be with him from eight hundred to a thousand expert and well-tried men-at-arms. When the duke asked them if they thought they could hold out the place against the enemy, they replied, that they had no doubt of so doing. The duke determined not to make any engagement of fighting the English on an appointed day, and to avoid a general action; to guard all the defiles and fords, and to attack them in their quarters, or wherever they should meet them to their disadvantage, and to endeavour to cut off their supplies. These plans were not, however, carried into execution.

The English, having fixed their quarters in the abbey of Saint Valery, immediately crossed the river at a ford above Crotoy, to the number of three or four hundred, and foraged the whole of the country round the blockhouse, and even as far as the town of Rue. They made prisoners of some men-at-arms, with their horses and baggage, without meeting with any to oppose them. The whole army marched on the morrow very early, and crossed the river in good order: about two thousand of the infantry had the water above their middle and drew up in battle-array on an eminence above the town, and in sight of those within the blockhouse, who were expecting an attack every moment, and in consequence made preparation for their defence. On this occasion, the following were created knights in the blockhouse: James de Craon, lord of Dommart in Ponthieu, Aymon de Moucy, lord of Massy, Eustache d'Inchy, the tall bastard of Renty, Anthony d'Ardentin, lord of Bouchanes, Harpin de Richammes, Gilles de Fay, and some others.

The English, who had been unmolested on their march, advanced to Forest-monstier*, two leagues distant, and there quartered themselves.—Two days after they took the field, and halted at a large village called La Broye†, on the river Authie, which was full of all kinds of provision: they remained at this village four or five days, whence parties of a hundred or six score went daily foraging all the villages within half a league of their quarters. While they remained at la Broye, a party went to set fire to a considerable village called Angien, close to Hêdin, although the duke had detached a large body of men-at-arms to Hêdin for the defence of that place and the surrounding country; but, to say the truth, the English did little mischief. On their departure from la Broye, they burned it down, and advanced to Auxi, where they staid three days, making thence excursions in small parties to forage all the country round, and without the smallest hindrance on the part of their adversaries, of whom it is necessary now to speak.

The duke of Burgundy remained in Abbeville, but had detached the greater part of his men to garrison and defend the principal towns and castles in that part of his territories. He one day sent the lord de Croy and Jean de Brimeu, bailiff of Amiens, to inspect the blockhouse at Crotoy, and to learn if those within were firmly resolved to defend it.—On their arrival, they soon discovered that the greater number would gladly be out of it, could they do it with honour. It was therefore concluded by the duke and his ministers, on hearing this report, that to avoid worse happening, all the artillery and stores should be packed up, and the men-at-arms retreat with them to the town of Rue, after they should

* Forest-monstier,—election of Dourlens, near Abbeville. † Broye, bailiwick of Hêdin.

have set fire to the blockhouse. The garrison, however, did not make so honourable a retreat,—for without any reasonable cause, nor seeing the enemy near them, great part mutinied, and sallied out of the blockhouse in the utmost confusion and disorder, leaving behind the artillery, the most part of their armour, and much other baggage, and thus they marched to Rue. Some of their captains took great pains to rally and bring them back, but in vain. Fire had been secretly set to the outworks, which soon communicated with the blockhouse and consumed it. The English made a sally from the castle, shouting after them as they would have done to a ribald mob.

Shortly after, the captains, who were (as may be supposed) the most valiant and renowned belonging to the duke of Burgundy, left the place, ashamed of the conduct of their men, and went to Rue, and thence to other places under their obedience. The principal among them were, sir John de Croy, bailiff of Hainault, sir Florimont de Brimeu, sir Jacques de Brimeu, sir Baudo de Noyelle—all four bearing the order of the Golden Fleece; sir Waleran de Moreul, the lord d'Auxi, sir Galois de Renty, the lord de Fremesen, sir Robert de Saveuses, sir Jacques de Craon, sir Jean d'Arly, with a great number of knights and esquires from Picardy, who were much blamed for this dishonourable retreat. They excused themselves by throwing the fault on the archers, whom they said they could not restrain.

The English heard of this event the day it happened, and were greatly rejoiced. In consequence, they resolved to recross the Somme and return to the places they had come from, and burned down the town of Auxi, which was a fair and considerable place. They took the road to Crotoy, and lodged at Nonnion*: on the morrow, they recrossed the Somme at the place where they had crossed it before, and quartered themselves at the abbey of St. Valery, and thence returned to Rouen and other parts under their command, carrying with them many prisoners, horses, cattle, and all the plunder they had made. They had done great damage to the country by burning seven or eight towns and villages, without meeting with any opposition from their adversaries, who had hanged only thirty or forty foragers that had straggled at too great a distance from the main body.

When the English were departed, the duke of Burgundy retired to Hêdin, where he dismissed all his men-at-arms excepting those appointed to guard the frontiers.

CHAPTER CCXXII.—A LARGE BODY OF MEN-AT-ARMS, UNDER THE COMMAND OF SEVERAL FRENCH CAPTAINS, HARASS THE COUNTRY OF HAINAULT.—THEY ARE NICKNAMED SKINNERS.

When king Charles had resided some time in Paris, he departed for Tours in Touraine. After he was gone, several of his captains set out for the frontiers of Normandy, as they found great difficulty to maintain themselves,—namely, Anthony de Chabannes, Blanchefort, Gaultin de Bron, Floquet, Pierre, Regnault Chapelle, Mathelin d'Escouvet, and others. On assembling together, they mustered about two thousand horse, and took the road through the country of Vimeu, to cross the Somme at Blanchetaque, and quarter themselves in the country of Ponthieu. Thence they advanced toward Dourlens, and stationed themselves at Orville, and in the villages round, belonging to the count de St. Pol. They went next toward Braye, and recrossed the Somme at Cappy, to lodge at Lihons in Santerre, committing great mischiefs wherever they passed. They were not satisfied with seizing on provision, but ransomed all they could lay hands on, peasants and cattle. They even attacked the castle of Lihons; but it was well defended by sir Waleran de Moreul and his men within it.

After remaining there some time, and committing the greatest disorders and waste, they advanced toward the lands of sir John de Luxembourg count de Ligny, in the Cambresis, who had not yet taken the oaths of allegiance to king Charles. Nevertheless, they did him no mischief, because he was always well provided with men-at-arms,—and they mutually exchanged sealed agreements not to molest each other. The French, however, committed

* Nonnion. Q.

much waste in other parts of the Cambresis, and thence went to fix their quarters at Solesmes*, in Hainault.

Sir John de Croy, at that time bailiff of Hainault, assembled the nobles of Hainault, and sent to the principal towns for reinforcements to defend the country against these French, who, in the vulgar tongue, were called Skinners. The reason why this name had been given them was, that whoever was met by them, whether French, Burgundian or English, he was indiscriminately stripped of all his clothes to his shirt; and when he, thus naked, returned to his home, he was told that he had been in the hands of the Skinners, and much laughed at for his misfortune. This name was in vogue a long time; and thus the name of Armagnac was forgotten, which had lasted so long.

While these Skinners were quartered at Solesmes and in the adjoining villages, a party of them advanced farther into Hainault, beyond Quênoy, to seek for pillage. In the course of this expedition they accidentally met the bailiff of Lessines named Colart de Sennieres, with three or four hundred men whom he had assembled in his village, and was marching them toward Quênoy-le-Comte, in obedience to the summons of the countess-dowager and of the before-mentioned bailiff of Hainault, who was there collecting all his forces together. It was very early in the morning when the French fell in with these men, and instantly charged them most courageously. The Hainaulters were much surprised at the suddenness of the attack, and although some of them made a resistance and prepared for the combat, they were very soon defeated, and the greater part made prisoners or cruelly put to death. Colart was killed on the field, with about eight score of his men. The prisoners were ransomed as if they had been enemies to France: the rest escaped by the nimbleness of their heels.

The nobles of Hainault were greatly alarmed at this defeat, insomuch that the bailiff sent information of what had happened to the duke of Burgundy requiring from him aid, when the duke sent him a strong reinforcement of men-at-arms. The bailiff again assembled a greater force than before in Quênoy, as well from Valenciennes, as from the other great towns, to pursue and combat these Skinners; but they, hearing of it, quitted the country and made for Guise, and thence proceeded toward Champagne, committing waste wherever they passed. Before they left Hainault, they gave up several prisoners without ransoms, in consequence of the duke of Burgundy's writing to request it. He had also sent to them a gentleman of his household, called Meliades, who was a Breton, and much beloved by these French captains.

CHAPTER CCXXIII.—A GREAT FAMINE IN FRANCE.

In this year of 1437, wheat and all sorts of corn were so extravagantly dear throughout all France and several other countries in Christendom, that what had usually being sold for four sols French money was now sold for upwards of forty. This dearth created a famine, so that very many poor died of want,—and it was a pitiful sight to witness the multitudes in the large towns dying in heaps on dunghills. Some towns drove the poor out of them, while others received all, and administered to their wants as long as they were able. The foremost in this act of mercy was the city of Cambray. This dearth lasted until the year 1439, and was the cause of many strict regulations respecting corn, which by many lords and towns was forbidden to be carried out of their jurisdictions under the most severe penalties.

A proclamation was made in Ghent ordering a stop to be put to the brewing of beer, and other liquors, from corn, and all the dogs of poor people to be killed, and that no one should keep a bitch-dog unless spayed. Such and other like ordinances were issued in several parts, that the poor, and beggars, might be supplied with a sufficiency to support nature.

* Solesmes,—a village of Hainault, under the government of Quesnoy.

CHAPTER CCXXIV.—THE POPULACE OF GHENT AGAIN TAKE UP ARMS, EXCITED THERETO BY THE ARTISANS.

At this time the Ghent men, in great numbers, rose in arms, through the instigations of the artisans. The reason they gave for this was, that the garrison of Sluys had plundered the flat country round,—the inhabitants of which had made their complaints to them, at the same time requesting them to punish the pillagers. They had also taken up arms against Bruges, to know whether they would peaceably separate from those of the Franc*, and allow them to become one of the four departments of Ghent. They wanted likewise to march against Sluys, and carry away the posts that had been placed in the bed of the river Lieve, to prevent merchandise from passing up or down. They had further designs of visiting all Flanders, to see who were their friends and willing to support them in the maintenance of peace in the country, that the poor might have work in all the towns. Should the sheriffs and inhabitants of Ghent refuse to co-operate with them, they had resolved to undertake the matter themselves, with the aid of their allies. They declared, they would not lay down their arms until they should have accomplished their undertaking. The deacon of these artisans, at this time, was one Pierre Hemubloc. The sheriffs explained the whole of this business to the townsmen, to the deacon of the weavers, and to those of the other trades, at the usual place, before the town-house, that they might fully consider it, each with their brother-tradesmen, and lay the whole of their deliberations, on the morrow, before the magistracy. Each trade, in consequence, had a meeting at their different halls; and the deacons waited on the magistrates on the 9th day of October.

After many debates, the demands of the artisans were acceded to, owing to their own importunities, and those of their supporters, but not without great murmurings on the part of the principal inhabitants, because Bruges was at that time treating for peace with the duke of Burgundy at Lille, whither Ghent had sent ambassadors, and because they thought that this was only a pretext to seize the properties of the rich. The artisans, having carried their point, immediately hastened to the corn-market, with displayed banners, and were instantly joined by the tailors, old-clothes-sellers, and all the inferior tradesmen. They were followed by the twenty-seven banners of weavers, the bailiff with the magistracy, preceded by the banner of Flanders, and crowds of common people, so that, in the whole there were eighty-two banners. The magistrates soon departed, and the other banners after them in the usual procession; but the artisans and their friends withdrew to the Friday market-place, in front of the hall of appeals, where they remained all night, in the resolution of taking the field on the morrow.

The better part of the weavers, however, and the more substantial inhabitants, were of a contrary opinion, and left the artisans, being averse to go to war. Upon this, a quarrel arose between them, which nearly caused a battle; the artisans retired to one side of the market-place from the others, telling those to follow them who were of the same opinion. Several joined them,—and they then all marched away in handsome array for Marienkirk, on the road to Bruges, where they encamped under tents and pavilions. At this time also, there were great riots in several places, on account of the debasements of the new coinage of 1433 as well as the old coinage, and for the heavy taxes which had been imposed for the expedition to Calais.

No English wool was now exported to Flanders, which threw very many out of work and bread: more especially the town of Ypres suffered from this, as their principal manufacture was working up these wools into cloth. On the other hand, corn and every necessary of life were extravagantly dear; and provision became more scarce in Flanders from the war carrying on by those of Bruges: moreover, the townsmen of Sluys had fixed stakes in the bed of the Lieve, so that a stop was put to the transport of merchandise on that river. The rich took every care of their money, for they perceived that the poorer sort, now having arms, would probably live by plunder, and that few of them would return to their trades or

* Franc, a part of the Low Countries, comprehending the castlewicks of Bergues, Bourbourg, and Furnes. It was thus called from being exempted from the jurisdiction of Bruges, on which it formerly depended.

cultivate the fields. They also made but little show of wealth, from expecting daily that a general war would take place in one quarter or another.

The men of Ghent next issued a summons to all the inhabitants of towns and villages throughout their jurisdictions, to appear there immediately in arms, and the same number as when ordered to march to Calais. The sheriffs laid this summons before the commonalty and inhabitants, for them to advise thereon. As this was not willingly attended to, some went to the sheriffs to obtain a delay, or that they might send fewer in number,—but the sheriffs told them they must immediately obey. During this time, the Ghent men had chosen a commander named Rasse Rouven, a citizen of Ghent, of about thirty years old; to assist whom they appointed a council of twelve persons, who had never been in the magistracy of that town. Four of these counsellors were selected from the citizens at large, four from the weavers' company, and four from the artisans; but the person whom they had chosen for commander refused to take the office. Item, on the 9th day of October, it had been proclaimed in the sheriff's court, that all foreign merchants must appear within three days in the town of Ghent sufficiently well armed, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects. Several did appear within the time prescribed; but others sent excuses that urgent and lawful business prevented them, and entered into a treaty to pay a sum of money to be excused.

Those who had, in obedience to the summons, gone to Ghent, after remaining there three days without being any way employed, returned to their homes. On the 27th day of this same month of October, they were again summoned to appear under pain of losing their citizenship, and paying the forfeiture. On this same day, eight soldiers from Sluys were taken prisoners, who, under pretence of making war on the Bruges men, had pillaged the country. The men of St. Laurence-au-bloc had taken them, under the proclamation that had been made, that all pillagers should be arrested and brought to justice, and that when they could not be taken alive they should be put to death. These they disarmed, and, retaining their armour and clothes, led them to the Ghent army at Marienkirk in their pourpoints,—and, the ensuing day, they were beheaded, according to the sentence of the sheriffs. Their bodies, at the request of the head deacon, were given to the Austin-friars, who buried them. Four men were expelled the army of Ghent for having robbed some villages.

The before-mentioned Rasse, who had been elected commander in chief, went to the duke of Burgundy at Arras for his commission, provided his appointment were agreeable to the duke. He left behind him in Ghent three lieutenants: one chosen from the burghers, called Jean l'Estauble,—one from the trades, called Jean Cacialle,—and the third from the company of weavers, called Jean de Sterque. On Monday, the 4th day of November, Rasse returned with his commission, as captain-general of the Ghent men, signed by the duke of Burgundy. He had taken the oaths of allegiance before the lords of the council at Lille, and took similar oaths in the presence of the army in the hands of the bailiff and sheriffs of Ghent, to be true and loyal to the prince, to preserve his rights as well as those of the town,—to observe law and justice, and to keep the people in peace and union. The twelve counsellors took the same oaths.

On the 5th of November, the captain-general Rasse, with two deputies from each banner and from the municipality, went from Marienkirk to Ghent, at the request of those who had taken up arms, and arrested several persons who had principally governed that town,—namely, Louis de Holle, who had been first sheriff, Lievin de Jagre, who had often served that office and been treasurer, Gilles le Clerc, advocate, Jean l'Apothicaire, who had been treasurer and sheriff of Ghent, and Jacques la Jaschere, formerly deacon of the trades. These they confined together, as prisoners, in the palace of the prince, calling them traitors, and would have done the same to others, but they had fled.

The commander-in-chief ordered proclamation to be made for all who had served any offices in Ghent for the last ten years to join, without delay, the army at Marienkirk. It was now greatly augmented, for those within their jurisdictions came handsomely equipped and attended, with the exception of those from Courtray,—and their tents and pavilions had, at a distance, the appearance of a large town. The army appeared under arms on the

6th instant, and wanted to go to Ghent and bring back with them the prisoners; but their captain restrained them, saying, that it had been ordered that they should remain in prison until the army were returned home, when ample justice would be done on them according to the evidence that a general investigation of their deeds through Flanders should produce.

Their commander would have been glad that his army had been diminished, saying, that he would establish peace and justice everywhere, with but a fourth part of the present numbers. The troops, however, would not be separated, but declared they would remain together in brotherly love. They wanted to march and post themselves between Bruges and Sluys, and take possession of the Franc according to the judgment of their prince, and subject the inhabitants, for their outrages and misdeeds, to the obedience of the duke and the other three members of the states of Flanders, saving their lives and privileges. The burghers of Bruges, they said, must submit themselves and supplicate their prince to receive them in mercy, and likewise put an end to all disputes between them and Sluys, so that passengers and merchants might travel the country unmolested. Should those of Bruges refuse compliance, they would exert themselves to force them to obedience. This was told to the forty-two deputies sent by Bruges from the different trades, to treat with the Ghent army at Marienkirk. After some debating, these deputies agreed to the terms proposed, and on the 12th day of November drew up, and presented to the captain-general, the following articles of agreement:—

"We, the burgomasters, sheriffs, principal burghers, deacons, corporators, and commonalty of the town of Bruges, make known to all to whom these presents shall come, that we, from respect to our redoubted lord and prince, the duke of Burgundy, earl of Flanders, &c., and at the entreaty of the three departments of the town of Ghent, and of all the free towns within its jurisdictions, have consented, and by these presents do consent, for ourselves and successors, to keep firm and stable the judgment given by our said lord and his council, in his town of Ghent, the 11th day of February in the year 1436, constituting those of the Franc a fourth department of Ghent, without fraud, and according to the literal meaning of the said judgment. In testimony whereof, we have sealed these presents with the obligatory seal of our said town of Bruges."

When the deputies were returned to Bruges with this treaty, the magistrates assembled the commonalty before the sheriff's court, and demanded if they were willing to ratify this treaty. There were present upwards of twenty thousand persons, who, after a moment's silence, unanimously replied, "Yes." Then stepped forth one called Coppin de Mesinacre, who had been lately banished Ghent for his misdeeds, and said, "All goes wrong; how are ye such cowards as to fear the Ghent men? You certainly ought to suffer for your folly and want of firmness." In consequence of this speech the deacon of the artisans, a tailor, and some others, began to murmur, and to oppose the confirmation of the treaty, more especially to putting their assent on paper; and at last, by their tumultuous behaviour, the treaty was destroyed. Some time afterwards, by a legal sentence, the said Coppin, the deacon of the artisans, the tailor, and one other, were beheaded for this conduct: seventeen of their accomplices were also banished.

The negotiations for peace between Bruges and Ghent were put an end to, although seventeen hostages had been left with the army by the deputies from Bruges. The Ghent men afterward set them at liberty without ransom, because they had assured them that they had done all in their power to get it ratified. In this treaty it had been agreed, that the inhabitants of the Franc might take up their rights of burghership at Ghent or Bruges at their pleasure. The towns of Ghent and Ypres were to send ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy, to request that he would withdraw all foreign soldiers from Sluys, and order the stakes to be removed from the bed of the river Lieve, that vessels might freely pass and repass with merchandise, or permit them them to take away these obstructions.

The army of Ghent now marched to fix its quarters at Ardembourg; and because Bruges persisted in refusing to ratify the treaty to which their deputies had agreed, and would not yield up their claims on the Franc, the duke's ordinance of last year, forbidding all kinds of provision to be carried to Bruges, was again proclaimed in Ghent, and throughout its jurisdictions; and also, that all debts and effects belonging to those of Bruges should be delivered

up to the magistrates. It was afterward proclaimed, that should the men of Bruges attempt to make any inroads on the territories of Ghent, all the church and other alarm bells should be instantly rung to collect a force sufficient to oppose them. After this, Clarus Boye, a native of the town of Axel, William le Boquelaire, a patten-maker, from the country of Waast, and a man of Courtray, were beheaded, for having gone to Courtray at the instigation of the artisans and petty traders of Ghent,—and for having said that the Ghent men were very desirous that those of Bruges would join them in arms for the common good and union of the country of Flanders, and to punish the inhabitants of Sluys.

The 16th day of November, the army resolved to send deputies to Ghent, and to the towns within its jurisdictions, to know how they would wish them to proceed,—and to inform them, that if they advised marching against Bruges, it would be necessary to send them reinforcements equal to the present state of the army. The council at Ghent thought, that as provisions were now so dear, and winter at hand, it would be of more advantage not then to send any supplies, but disband the army; for the greater number were of the same opinion, and sought to diminish it. The army, therefore, marched from Ardembourg to Ekeloo. While there, one of the private men of that castlewick, having on his shoulders some stakes which he had taken from a hedge to dress his victuals, some Ghent men would take them from him by force, when he defended himself, and shouted out for aid to his countrymen, and the Ghent men shouted "Ghent!" Both parties assembled with arms, and a grand battle would have taken place, had not Pierre Simon, sheriff of Ghent, by gentle words, and with much courage, put an end to the affray. He suffered a good deal by thus interfering, but was not seriously hurt, from the goodness of his armour. Many were much wounded, which caused loud murmurings among the Ghent men,—for one of them, a strong active boatman of Ghent, died of his wounds. Two, who had first struck the sheriff, were banished Ghent.

On the eve of St. Andrew's day, the Ghent army returned home: they had taken up arms inconsiderately, and were come back with little satisfaction. Those within their jurisdictions, who had marched against their inclinations, returned cheerfully home. Shortly after, their captain-general, Rasse Rouven, was deposed, and the six persons set at liberty, on promise made to the magistracy that they would answer any interrogations, and obey any sentences that might be passed on them, within three days after they should be summoned to appear.

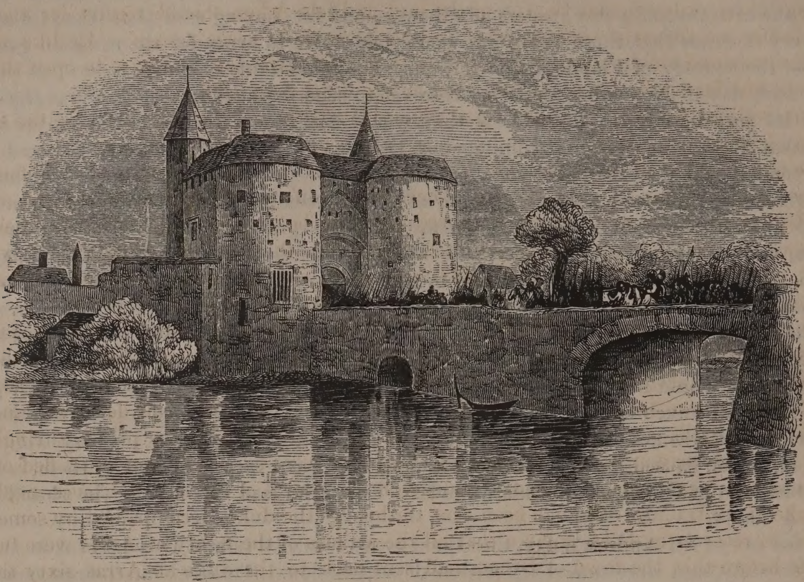
In the month of December, proclamations were made throughout Flanders, by order of the prince, forbidding all persons to obey Rasse Rouven, for that he had recalled his commission of captain-general.

On the eve of Christmas-day, it was ordered by the magistracy of Ghent in full assembly, that sir Roland de Hautekerque, sir Colart de Comines, Jean de la Damme, Gilles de la Voustine, Girard de Mal-digen, Jean de Papegen, Pierre Gougebur, Pierre Bris, Josse de Beys, Martin de Sinimes, and Jean de Crique, who had been banished Ghent and Flanders, might return thither. It was also agreed, that one Coppin Coppon, who had for five years past absented himself from Ghent, and had robbed so many passengers on the high roads in Flanders that travellers were afraid of him, might return. Coppin, thinking that everything was pardoned, did come back; but he was arrested and condemned to be beheaded, with two others who had committed robberies on two persons near to the town of Dendermonde.

CHAPTER CCXXV.—PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND THE TOWN OF BRUGES.

While these things were going on, the men of Bruges, perceiving that a longer resistance to their lord would be the ruin of themselves and their town, sought every means of concluding a treaty with him. At length they succeeded, and submitted themselves to the duke and his council, on terms concluded at Arras the 4th day of March, in the presence of their lord and his council, and numbers of other people, the principal articles of which were as follows:—It was, in the first place, ordered, that when the duke of Burgundy should first

visit Bruges, twenty of the chief burghers and magistracy should come out of the town one league to meet him, bare-headed, bare-legged, and bare-footed. On their approach to him, they were to fall on their knees and beg his pardon, and entreat that he would be pleased to enter their town.



Bruges: Gate of Ghent.—Burgesses receiving their Liege Lord. From an original drawing.

Item, that the gate of the Bouverie * should be converted into a chapel, wherein the seven masses should be daily celebrated.—Item, that henceforward, whenever the said lord and his successors, earls, and countesses of Flanders, should come to Bruges, the burghers should meet them without the gates with the keys of the town, in perpetual remembrance of their obedience.—Item, every year, on the day of their misconduct toward their prince, there shall be celebrated a solemn mass in the church of St. Donast by the dean and sub-dean, attended by twenty-four of the principal burghers, each holding in his hand a burning wax taper of the weight of one pound, and of the value of four groats.—Item, all property of bastards shall no longer be free, but confiscated to the duke on their deaths. Item, a handsome cross shall be erected to commemorate their rebellion.

Item, the burghers shall buy up and discharge all fee-farm rents from their said lord, due from the said demesnes.—Item, the burghers of Bruges shall have no further communication with those of Sluys; that is to say, those of Bruges shall not make Sluys their principal quarters, nor join them in their disputes, nor in arms, nor have any connexions with Sluys but in respect to their commerce.—Item, in regard to the trades carried on at Sluys, which has been a matter of long quarrel between the towns of Ghent and Sluys, Bruges must no longer interfere.—Item, the inhabitants of Bruges shall not be permitted to raise an army, on pain of forfeiting their lives and fortunes.—Item, whoever shall stop the workmen from continuing their trades, when a riot may happen, shall incur similar penalties as in the foregoing article.—Item, the persons of some of the burghers are to be reserved for the will of the duke of Burgundy, as well as those who may have become burghers during these dissentions.

Item, the town of Bruges shall pay to their said lord two hundred thousand golden riddes.†

* Bouverie,—ox-stables. It was here, probably, where the principal engagement took place between the duke's men and the burghers of Bruges.

† Ridde,—a Flemish coin, worth about five shillings sterling.

—Item, the magistracy of Bruges, and others hereafter to be named, shall, within eight days, go out of the town to meet some deputies sent thither by the said duke of Burgundy, and shall receive them with due obedience.—Item, no foreigner shall be admitted henceforth a burgher of Bruges, unless he shall have remained therein the space of one hundred and twenty days.

Item, it was ordered, that the son of the lord de l'Isle-Adam should receive for the death of his father ten thousand crowns, with other honourable recompenses. In like manner shall the wife and children of the blacksmith, who had given the hammers to open the gate, receive a fine for his death, he having been put to death for so doing.

There were many other fines and reparations contained in this treaty, but, for the sake of brevity, I pass them over.

This treaty was read at the hotel of their prince at Arras, in the presence of the four-and-twenty deputies from Bruges, on their knees, who suffered much from the length of it, so that the duke, taking pity on them, caused them to be seated, to be more at their ease. When all had been completed, the deputies returned to their town, carrying a copy of the treaty, which they read to the inhabitants assembled ; and, from their anxiety to have peace with their lord, the terms were agreeable to the greater part of them.

Some persons of low estate, who had ruled the town during these dissentions, were displeased, and would willingly, by seditious speeches, and other means, have made the commonalty rise against those of the upper ranks,—but their attempts were vain. They were afraid, should peace be effected, that they would be punished for their demerits; and their fears were realized—for, within a few days after, ten or twelve of the principal ringleaders of the rebellion were arrested and beheaded : several were banished, and some fled of their own accord. These acts of justice were done on the arrival of the heir of Cleves, nephew to the duke of Burgundy, who had been sent thither by the duke, accompanied by some of his council, to receive the fines, and see that all the articles of the treaty at Arras were fulfilled. A little before this, the town of Bruges had sent back to the duke at Arras sixty-three of his men, who had been made prisoners when he was driven out of that town, each of them clothed in a green robe at the expense of the town of Bruges.

CHAPTER CCXXVI.—WAR RECOMMENCES BETWEEN THE DUCHY OF BAR AND THE COUNTY OF VAUDEMONT.

In this year a violent war again took place between the duchy of Bar and the county of Vaudemont, principally caused by sir John de Hossonville, hereditary seneschal of Lorraine, attempting to take the town of Vaudemont*, for some complaints he pretended to have against it ; and failing in his attempt, he had since made open war on that country, and had set several villages on fire. This intelligence coming to the count de Vaudemont, who was at Genouillé, he hastily mounted his horse, accompanied by Forte-Espice and about a hundred combatants, and pursued his enemies with such speed that he overtook them on the borders of his county. He attacked them so courageously that, although they were full three hundred, he put them to the rout. Forty were slain, and as many made prisoners ; the rest saved themselves by flight. Their standard was won, and carried to the church of Veselize †.

Open war was now carried on by both parties, and the men-at-arms of the count made inroads on the lands of the enemy. In one of them, they were met by sir Gerard du Chastellier, and defeated and carried prisoners to Mirecour, a good town belonging to the duke of Lorraine. The count de Vaudemont, some little time after, gained this town of Mirecour by the aid of Floquet and Forte-Espice, when he recovered his men that had been made prisoners, and appointed Floquet governor of it : but he soon after restored it to the Lorrainers, and also turned against the count de Vaudemont at the solicitations of La Hire.

On the other hand, Blanchefort, Anthony de Chabannes, Chappelle, Gautier le Breton,

* Vaudemont,—six leagues from Toul, seven from Nancy, three from Mirecour.

† Veselize,—five leagues S. E. from Toul, two from Vaudemont.

Mathelin, and other captains, with their men, made war on the Lorrainers and Barrois, for the count de Vaudemont, who had given up to them Veselize and others of his places. When they had completely spoiled the country they changed sides, under pretence of an order they had received to depart thence and serve the enemies of the count; which order they showed to sir Hector de Flavy, governor of the county of Vaudemont. They soon after yielded up Veselize to the Lorrainers, who totally destroyed it; and after committing every waste in the countries of each party, these French, commonly called Skinners, marched away toward Germany, but not before they had received great sums of money from the duchies of Bar and Lorraine. They also carried with them hostages for the due payment of the balances left behind, and the son of sir Gerard du Chastellier was among these hostages.

At this time, the king of Sicily sent his son, the marquis du Pont *, nine years old, to reside in the duchy of Bar; and the bishop of Toul and sir Gerard du Chastellier governed the country in his name.

A little before this, one called Watelin Tieulier made war on the count de Vaudemont, and had fixed his retreat in a strong castle of his father-in-law, the lord de Hartuel, who supported him. He had done much mischief by fire and sword to the vassals of the count, who in revenge, accompanied by his nephew the count de Blamont,† the lord de Commerci, Forte-Espice, and about four hundred combatants, marched against this castle, took it by storm, and the knight within it. The Lorrainers were seen instantly after advancing with a strong army, to assist the knight; but finding that the place was taken, and the enemies on the ramparts, they retreated, and increased their army, in order to lay siege to Monstier sur Saxe ‡; but sir Hector de Flavy had burned the town, which they intended to take and lodge in: they were, therefore, obliged to return whence they had come. Thus did these two parties mutually destroy each other.

CHAPTER CCXXVII.—FAMINE, WAR, AND PESTILENCE, RAGE IN MANY PLACES.

[A. D. 1438.]

At the beginning of this year, the famine, which had long afflicted many parts, was much increased; and it was pitiful to see the multitudes of poor who died daily from want. There were also epidemic distempers in various parts of France, and in Flanders,—but the towns of Bruges and Paris suffered more from them than any other. War was likewise carried on with great bitterness in many places. From these three plagues many of the nobles and common people were great sufferers, and in doleful perplexity. In the mean time that body of French called Skinners remained in large parties on the borders of Burgundy, where they committed unnumbered mischiefs, by taking castles and prisoners, killing men, and ravishing women, noble or not, and acting as if they were in a country conquered from an enemy.

The duke of Burgundy was exceedingly angry when these things came to his knowledge, as well from his love to his vassals as from the time that they had chosen for these misdeeds, when his country was afflicted with famine and mortality.

CHAPTER CCXXVIII.—LORD TALBOT, SIR THOMAS KIRIEL, AND OTHER ENGLISH CAPTAINS, CONQUER LONGUEVILLE, AND MANY MORE CASTLES, FROM THE FRENCH.

In the month of May of this year, the lord Talbot, sir Thomas Kiriel, with other English captains, took the field with about eight hundred combatants, and marched to the castle of Longueville, in the possession of a party of La Hire's men; for of this castle and domain he called himself lord, in consequence of a gift made to him of it by king Charles, in the

* Louis marquis of Pont-à-Mousson, second son of René king of Sicily and Naples. He died at an early age.

† Isabel, daughter of Frederic, and sister of Anthony, counts of Vaudemont, married Henry, count de Blamont, whose son must have been the count de Blamont here meant.

‡ Monstier sur Saxe,—six leagues from Bar-le-duc.

same manner and on the same terms, that Bertrand du Guesclin, that valiant warrior, formerly constable of France, had held it.

The besieged did not long hold out, on seeing the English before it, but surrendered on having their lives and fortunes spared, and with permission to march away in safety. They went to Beauvais; and the English, having well garrisoned it, marched to Charles-Mesnil, a very handsome castle, situated very near to Dieppe, and belonging to the lord de Torci, which also surrendered. In like manner, they won Guellemcourt and some other places which the French held in the country of Caux. The reason why these castles so soon surrendered was their great want of provision, military stores, and artillery.

CHAPTER CCXXIX.—A TREATY OF MARRIAGE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE ELDEST SON TO THE KING OF NAVARRE AND THE PRINCESS OF CLEVES, NIECE TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

About this time there came to the town of Douay about four-and-twenty horsemen as ambassadors from the king of Navarre, to treat with the duke of Burgundy* of a marriage between the princess of Cleves, niece to the duke, and the hereditary prince of Navarre. The principal ambassadors were the prior of Roncesvalles, a noble knight, and other gentlemen, attended by the king at arms of Navarre. This business lasted some time, but it was at last concluded,—and the duke gave his consent. The princess was then sent away, honourably escorted by her eldest brother to the kingdom of Navarre.

CHAPTER CCXXX.—THE TOWNS AND CASTLES OF MONTARGIS AND CHEVREUSE SUBMIT TO THE OBEDIENCE OF KING CHARLES OF FRANCE.

While these things were passing, the towns and castles of Montargis and Chevreuse, held by the English, submitted to king Charles. On the other hand, the garrisons of Meaux in Brie, of Creil, Pontois, and Gisors, greatly harassed the country of France, more particularly parts of Santois, Vermandois, Amiennois, Beauvoisis, and other dependencies. In like manner, those garrisons which had been posted against the English did great damages, so that the poor people were every way grievously vexed and worn down. In regard to sir John de Luxembourg, he kept neuter, and joined neither party,—but filled his towns and strong places with men, artillery, and provisions, to defend himself against such as should attempt to injure his country.

He had been several times admonished and summoned to take the oaths to king Charles of France, but had never complied, and was waiting the issue of events, to see what might happen. He was in the possession of sealed engagements from the king of England, the duke of York, and several English lords, promising him, on their faith and honour, that should the French attempt to make war upon him, they would come to his relief with so powerful a force, that he should be delivered from his enemies, notwithstanding any other business they should have in hand, the which should be laid aside. Sir John de Luxembourg put great faith in these promises.

* Charles, prince of Viana, only son of John king of Arragon, by his marriage with Blanche, the daughter and heiress of Charles III., king of Navarre, was born at Pennafiel in the year 1421, and died in 1461, before his father. In his time the fatal feuds of the houses of Grammont and Beaumont, which distracted the kingdom of Navarre for nearly half a century, had their commencement.

Agnes, sixth daughter of Adolphus duke of Cleves.

There was no issue of this marriage; and the prince left none but illegitimate children, in consequence of which the crown of Navarre passed into the house of Foix.

CHAPTER CCXXXI.—A QUARREL ARISES BETWEEN POPE EUGENIUS AND THE COUNCIL OF BASIL.—OTHER MATTERS.

In this year, ambassadors were sent to the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, and other princes of the blood-royal, from our holy father pope Eugenius, and from the council at Basil, who were quarrelling with each other. Each ambassador, when discoursing on the subjects in dispute before the king, most grossly abused his adverse party. This dissention lasted a considerable time; but the king inclined more to the council of Basil, while the duke of Burgundy strongly supported the cause of the pope, as did also the king of England.

The duke of Burgundy at this time sent a solemn embassy to the pope, consisting of master Quentin Mayart, provost of St. Omer, the prior of Lihons in Santerre, sir Simon de Lalain, Guillaume le Jeune, brother to the cardinal of Therouenne, with other noble personages. They were most graciously received by the holy father, and obtained the greater part of the object of their mission.

In these days, the lord de Crevecœur, a wise and prudent person, was sent by the duke of Burgundy to the French court, to treat on divers matters, and, among others, to negotiate a marriage between his only son, the count de Charolois, and the second daughter of the king of France. This lord was joyfully received as well by the king as by the queen; and because the princess he was come to demand in marriage was lately dead, the duke sent him orders to ask for the eldest princess, Catherine, which he did,—and his request was granted. Before the return of the lord de Crevecœur to Flanders, the dispute between the bishops of Tournay, namely, Jean de Harcourt, and master Jean de Chevrot, was settled by the king: so Chevrot remained bishop of Tournay, and Harcourt was archbishop of Narbonne. When all matters had been concluded, the lord de Crevecœur returned to the duke of Burgundy, who received him most graciously and honourably.

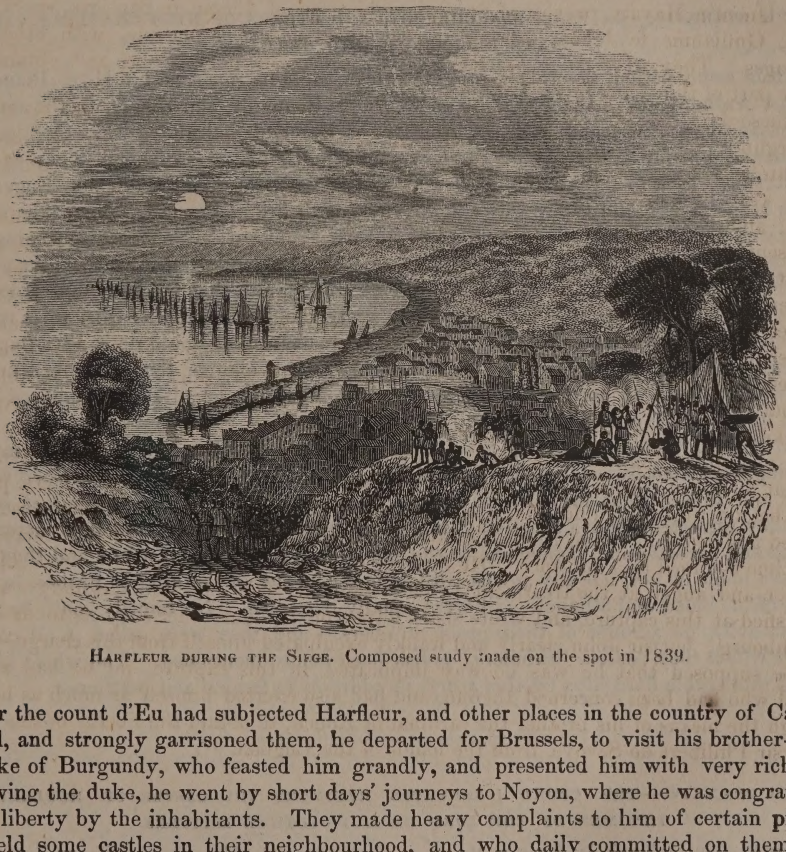
About this time, a knight attached to the household of the duke of Burgundy, having had the duke's licence, set out on his return to his own country of Savoy, and took the road to Guise, to visit sir John de Luxembourg, in whose good graces he was, and who feasted him nobly at his hotel. On his departure, he was met on the road by some marauders, pretending to belong to sir John de Luxembourg, (among whom was one called Garmonset,) who arrested and led him to the English at Meaux in Brie, and thence to Rouen, where he was some time confined as a prisoner. He died there from illness contracted, as was said, from vexation and anger at the treatment he had suffered. The duke of Burgundy was much dissatisfied at this capture, and wrote sharp letters on this and other subjects to sir John de Luxembourg; but sir John clearly and frankly exculpated himself from this charge,—and it may be supposed that he was no way implicated in this capture, for he had executed several who had been concerned therein, and had also exerted himself as much as he could, through the means of his brother the cardinal of Rouen, to obtain the liberty of this knight, called sir Philibert de Savoye, from the hands of the English.

CHAPTER CCXXXII.—THE COUNT D'EU, WHO HAD BEEN PRISONER IN ENGLAND SINCE THE BATTLE OF AZINCOURT, OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY, AND RETURNS TO FRANCE.—HE RAISES LARGE ARMIES.

In this same year, the count d'Eu, who had been prisoner in England since the year 1415, returned in liberty to France. He had been taken at the battle of Azincourt, and was exchanged for the earl of Somerset, whom the duke of Bourbon, brother to the count d'Eu, held prisoner, having bought him, or rather the duchess his mother having purchased him, from those who had captured him at the battle of Blangy, where the duke of Clarence was slain, as has been before fully related. King Charles of France, the duke of Bourbon, and all the nobility, were greatly rejoiced at the return of the count d'Eu; and, shortly after his arrival,

he was appointed by the king governor of Normandy, from the river Seine to Abbeville and as far as the river Somme.

He, in consequence, assembled a body of men-at-arms, and went to take possession of the town of Harfleur, where he was received by the lord de Rieux, marshal of France, and those of his party; but others disputed his authority, and withdrew into the towers, and fortified one of the gates, to the great displeasure of the count d'Eu, who instantly attacked them with such vigour that those in the gate surrendered to him. The others, who had taken possession of the towers, sent to Rouen for assistance from the English; but in a short time they made secret arrangements with the count,—so that when the English advanced to their support, conformably to their own request, they were deceived, and about thirty made prisoners: the rest, being aware of their treachery, returned back to Rouen very much vexed.



HARFLEUR DURING THE SIEGE. Composed study made on the spot in 1839.

After the count d'Eu had subjected Harfleur, and other places in the country of Caux, to his will, and strongly garrisoned them, he departed for Brussels, to visit his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy, who feasted him grandly, and presented him with very rich gifts. On leaving the duke, he went by short days' journeys to Noyon, where he was congratulated on his liberty by the inhabitants. They made heavy complaints to him of certain pillagers that held some castles in their neighbourhood, and who daily committed on them great damages, advancing even to their gates, seizing and carrying away all they could lay hands on, calling themselves at one time partisans of the king of France; at others, of sir John de Luxembourg.

In the number, was one named Jean de l'Isle, who, with his brother, had under their command more than thirty companions, and had taken possession of an old castle called Bretigny, which they had repaired and fortified, with the intent of waging war against the whole country. Part of them wore the red cross, pretending to be English. The count d'Eu, on hearing this, collected a number of men-at-arms to provide a remedy for it, and ordered thither the count d'Estampes, his nephew, with a party of his men. They marched

to the castle of Bretigny, the fortifications of which were incomplete; and it was likewise badly provided with stores, artillery and provision; so that it was very soon forced to surrender to the will of the count d'Eu. He sent Jean de l'Isle and his brother to Noyon, where they were soon after beheaded, and about twenty of the others were hanged.

For these executions, sir John de Luxembourg conceived a great hatred to the count d'Eu, and to those who had been parties in the expedition. A few days afterward, in consequence thereof, while the count d'Eu was at Chargny-sur-Oise, sir John ordered an ambuscade to be formed on the road leading thence to Noyon, to attack the count on his return thither; but he, having received information of the plan, took another road, so that the ambuscade failed of the intended effect: a violent quarrel, however, ensued ever after between them.

CHAPTER CCXXXIII.—LA HIRE, BLANCHEFORT, AND OTHERS OF KING CHARLES'S CAPTAINS, MAKE EXCURSIONS INTO GERMANY.

At this same period, several of king Charles's captains, such as La Hire, Blanchefort, Boussac, Anthony de Chabannes, Chappelle, Pierre Regnault, and others, to the amount of six thousand horse, marched from the frontiers of Bar and Lorraine toward Germany, and even advanced as far as the city of Basil, wherein the council was sitting. They gave it to be understood by some, that they were sent thither with the consent of pope Eugenius, in defence of his rights, and to lay waste the country with fire and sword. They then directed their march to the country of Aussois*, and toward Frankfort, taking and ransoming many small castles and large monasteries. While they were thus employed in wasting the country, the Germans assembled in great bodies to oppose and repulse them. They first ordered the farmers and peasants to retire into the strong castles and great towns with their corn and provisions,—and then made war on the French whenever they could do it advantageously, or when they went out to forage in small parties. In this manner they destroyed numbers, and always refused to accept a challenge for a general battle, although required by the French to name a day for a combat.

The French, therefore, seeing their numbers daily lessened, while the enemy were increasing, retreated from Germany toward Burgundy, doing great mischiefs wherever they passed, and thence went into the Nivernois. Continuing their wicked conduct in those parts, they retreated, after a short stay, into Auvergne. Their army was now increased by evil-disposed persons, and vagabonds, to the amount of ten thousand men: and they spared no person noble or not, nor any towns, although dependent on the king of France, or on the princes of his blood and alliance,—all were equally despoiled. No remedy could be applied to these evils, on account of their great numbers,—and they were called in all countries through which they passed, 'Skinners,' as has been before mentioned. The whole kingdom suffered intolerable hardships by this army, in addition to famine and pestilence.

CHAPTER CCXXXIV.—THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES RECOVERS THE CASTLE OF ROULLET FROM THE MEN OF THE LORD DE MOY.—OTHER MATTERS.

Prior to this melancholy famine, the men of the lord de Moy, in the Beauvoisis, gained the castle of Roullet (two leagues distant from Mondidier) from those of Guy de Roye, who had the guard of it, and made war against Mondidier and the country around. As this district was within the government of the count d'Estampes, and under his charge, he detached a body of men under the command of some of his captains—namely, Waleran de Moreul, Guy de Roye, and others—against this castle of Roullet, who attacked it so sharply that it was surrendered unconditionally to the will of the count d'Estampes, who hanged from twenty to thirty of the garrison, and again placed it under the guard of Guy de Roye.

* The country of Aussois is comprehended in the duchy of Burgundy.—See Martiniere's Geographical Dictionary.

The lord de Moy, who was governor of Clermont, from vexation at this loss carried on a severer war than before on Mondidier, which made it necessary to post garrisons of men-at-arms in all the towns and castles round to oppose it. Thus did the country suffer greater hardships from both parties than before peace was concluded, as each destroyed it at their pleasure. In another quarter, the English won the castles of St. Germain-en-Laye and Gerberoy by storm, and strongly garrisoned them, to the great annoyance of the Parisians.

At this time, a shocking and unheard of crime was detected at a village near Abbeville. A woman was arrested on the charge of having murdered several children, of cutting them in pieces, and of having kept them when salted in her house. She was accused of this crime by some robbers, who, having entered her house by night, had discovered parts of the bodies of these children. She confessed herself guilty, and was publicly burned at Abbeville, according to the sentence of the law

Great quarrels and dissentions now arose between those of Brussels and the towns of Louvain, Mechlin, and other places in Brabant, for having constrained all the farmers within the district of Antwerp to carry to them their corn, in prejudice to the inhabitants of Brussels; which caused a war against Mechlin,—and this last town closed the passage of the river with chains, so that no boats could go to Brussels. They met in arms, and very many were slain and wounded on each side; but the duke of Burgundy and his council found means to appease these discords.

CHAPTER CCXXXV.—A MEETING IS HELD BETWEEN CALAIS AND GRAVELINES BETWEEN THE CARDINAL OF ENGLAND AND THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, TO DELIBERATE ON THE MEANS OF ESTABLISHING A LASTING PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

About the month of January in this year, the cardinal of England and the duchess of Burgundy met at a place agreed on between them, half way from Calais to Gravelines, to consider on the means of establishing a firm peace between England and France. Tents had been pitched for their meeting; and each party was grandly accompanied by nobles, as well ecclesiastical as secular. The ambassadors from the king of France were a master of the household named sir Regnault Girard, knight and lord of Bazoches, and master Robert Mallien, counsellor and master of accounts, to give their advice and aid toward the conclusion of a general peace, and also to treat of the ransom and deliverance of Charles duke of Orleans from his imprisonment in England.

Many proposals were offered on different days, but no conclusion was made, except to adjourn, to inform the respective kings of France and England of these proposals, and hold another meeting when they should have been fully discussed. The time and place for another meeting was to be communicated to the duchess of Burgundy, that she might make it known to each party: and it was agreed that, at that time, the duke of Orleans should be conducted either to Calais or to Cherbourg, as the two parties should fix. When these matters had been settled, they all separated, and returned to the places they had come from.

In this year, the duke of Burgundy assembled about sixteen hundred combatants, whom he marched toward Calais, to cover and defend against the English a very great number of pioneers, carpenters and labourers, who had been sent thither to break down and destroy a sea-dyke, in order to drown the town of Calais and the surrounding country. The duke had been made to believe that this was possible to be done, and the town destroyed; but when the pioneers had worked a short space of time, they found that it was a work not easily accomplished, the enterprise was therefore abandoned; but they broke down the bridge of Nieulay, and some small dykes, which did very little harm to the English.

CHAPTER CCXXXVI.—THE KING OF FRANCE COMPELS RODERIGO DE VILLANDRAS, WHO WAS COMMITTING GREAT WASTE ON HIS TERRITORIES, TO MARCH AWAY AND MAKE WAR ON THE ENGLISH.

King Charles of France, in the course of this year, learned that many of his captains were grievously harassing divers parts of his kingdom, and that they kept large bodies of armed men under their command to overrun the provinces. The principal among them was Roderigo de Villandras, who had upwards of six hundred horse under his orders. The king sent him his commands to quit his territories immediately, and to make war on those of the English, but he refused obedience to them. On this, the king, who was at Bourges in Berry, assembled an army to march against him in person, and force him to obey him; but Roderigo, having had information of the king's intentions, retreated toward Toulouse, and thence advanced into Guienne, where, in conjunction with some of that country, he again collected a considerable force.

He carried on a severe warfare against the English, to their great loss, and won from them many towns and castles, which he garrisoned with his own men. He entered Medoc, and advanced as far as Soulac*, destroying the country, which he found very rich in all sorts of commodities. In like manner he conquered the territory of Blanchefort, and came to a fort called Châtel-neuf, belonging to the Captal de Buch, which he took by storm.

He was soon after joined by the lord d'Albreth† with a strong power of men-at-arms, when they advanced nearer Bordeaux, and took the church of St. Severin, which is but a bow-shot distant from that city. There they quartered themselves, and in the course of the night placed a strong ambuscade among the vineyards close to the town—for the vines there are as high as an arbour—and on the morrow pretended to decamp. The Bordelois, seeing this, sallied out in great numbers, to the amount of full two thousand, and were surprised by those in ambush, when a sharp conflict took place, which lasted a long time, for it was desperately contested by each party; but the French were superior in numbers,—and the English were forced to retire into Bordeaux, after leaving about eight hundred dead on the field. Large detachments of men-at-arms were now posted round Bordeaux, who destroyed, without opposition, that part of the country, which was abundant in all things,—for until then, it had been a long time without suffering the miseries of war.

In consideration of these valuable services, and for his courageous actions, the king of France pardoned Roderigo de Villandras‡ all the offences and evil deeds he had done against him. However, in the course of a year, the English reconquered the greater part of these places that had been won from them.

CHAPTER CCXXXVII.—POPE EUGENIUS SENDS BULLS TO DIVERS PARTS OF EUROPE.—THEIR TENOR.

[A. D. 1439.]

At the commencement of this year, pope Eugenius published bulls against the members of the council at Basil, the tenor of which was as follows.

"Eugenius bishop, and servant of the servants of God. Every example from the Old and New Testaments admonishes us not to pass over in silence, or to leave unpunished, crimes and misdemeanours,—more especially such as may bring on slander against, or cause a division among, the people committed to our charge. Should we delay pursuing and avenging those faults which have given just offence to God, we should most certainly

* Soulac, a small town near Bordeaux.

† Charles II. eldest son and successor of the constable, count of Dreux, &c. married Anne of Armagnac, and died in 1471.

‡ Don Roderigo de Villandrado, first count of Ribadeo, was a Castilian by birth, of the town of Valladolid. He married Margaret, a natural daughter of John, duke of Bourbon. Returning to Spain in this year, he performed some essential services for the king of Castile, who in recompense, accorded to him and his descendants, the valuable privilege of eating at the king's table on New Year's Day, and of having the robe worn by the king on that day.—*La Mayerne, Hist. d'Espagne* liv. 19.

provoke the Divine Wisdom to anger; for the delay of pursuing crimes deserving punishment, according to the judgments of the holy fathers of the church, would be sinful. Those also who contemn the divine commands, and are disobedient to paternal ordinances according to our holy institutions, deserve the severest chastisements, to make others ashamed of similar conduct, that fraternal concord may rejoice, and all take warning from such examples. Should we be remiss in our vigour or solicitude for the welfare of the church, its discipline would perish through our indolence, which would be of the greatest injury to all good and true Christians. To cut off, therefore, the unsound flesh from the sound,—to separate the scabby sheep from the rest, that the whole flock be not infected, is a duty imposed upon us; for as that glorious doctor St. Jerome says, 'Arius, when at Alexandria, was but a spark of fire,—but, from not being instantly extinguished, the flame was increased, and spread throughout Christendom.'

"It was for this cause that our Saviour gave to the bishop of Rome the keys, to bind and unbind such as wandered from the ways of truth, that they may be constrained to return by the bonds of correction and obligation. We may say, therefore, of the apostolical authority, that when, in the judgment of the church, it has consigned those over to Satan who have led others into error, it has exerted its power for the salvation of their souls, and to teach others not to blaspheme. The blessed pope Sixtus says, 'We keep in our remembrance that we govern under the name of that church in which our greatest pleasure is to glorify our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, whose faith nourishes not heresy but totally destroys it.' For this reason, we hold it unlawful to exert our powers, except when the interest of the whole church shall call for it.

"In truth, during the latter days, our very beloved sons master Hutin de la Plante, doctor of laws, master John de Plato, doctor of laws, and master Venture du Chastel, licentiate,—all of them presidents at the congregation of the general council of the holy church, the second enjoying the office of proctor, and the last procurator of the said council,—have exposed before us the account of the lamentable quarrels that have taken place in the said council, in these words: 'Most holy and reverend father, although this sacred and œcumenical general council has been legally assembled for the preservation of the peace of the catholic and apostolical Roman church, which the blessed Holy Spirit, under the person of our Lord, in the book of Canticles, plainly points out, by saying, "My dove, my undefiled, is but one: she is the only one of her mother: she is the choice one of her that bare her."

"'St. Paul demonstrates the union of the church, and the sacredness of this union, by calling it the body, soul, and hope, of our vocation: one Lord, one faith, one baptism,—by baptism, one God; and as the blessed St. Cyprian says, she is the head, a fruitful mother, and, as spouse to Jesus Christ, as pure and unadulterated, chaste and holy. The same Cyprian declares, in another place, that there is no ecclesiastical ordinance that does not maintain the unity of the Christian church. Pope Pelagius affirms the same from the words of the blessed St. Austin, a celebrated doctor in the church, and that it has an apostolical throne, irradiated by a succession of bishops.

"'Nevertheless, from the commencement of this church, the wickedness and wanton conduct of mankind have ever sought to deny and destroy the peace thereof,—against which wickedness, according to the authority of the holy fathers, Divine vengeance has been excited. Whoever therefore shall dare sacrilegiously, and with diabolical intention, to deny this spotless unity, the sacred canon points him out as an enemy to the church, and declares that he cannot have God for his father, unless he hold unity of the universal church; for, since Christ died for the church, the church is the body of Christ—there can therefore be no doubt but that he who divides the church is guilty of dividing and tearing asunder the body of Jesus Christ.

"'When Dathan and Abiram formed a schism against the honour of God, Divine vengeance caused the earth to open and swallow them,—and their adherents perished by fire from heaven. The more inseparable the holy sacrament is with the union of the church, the greater guilt do they incur who attempt to divide them,—and who, leaving the legal spouse of the church, choose to follow a false doctrine. Examples of similar wickedness, and the punishments that ensued, are displayed in the Book of Kings; for when the Jews made a distinction between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin and the other ten tribes, and, laying

aside their lawful king, elected another, the Lord was indignant against the seed of Israel, and held them in derision: he also turned away his face from them. The anger of God is always excited against such as create schisms and division. When the prophet was sent to Jeroboam to reproach him for his sins, and to foretell to him the vengeance that God would take on him and on his race, God forbade him to taste meat or drink with Jeroboam. The prophet, however, disobeyed the commandment, and in consequence, on his return was attacked by a lion, who slew him on the road. From these instances, as St. Jerome says, no one can doubt but that the crime of schism will be severely punished by God.

"'For some time past, and since the holy general council at Constance, this pernicious schism has laboured to afflict the church of God, and the Christian religion, not only in regard to individuals, but whole cities and provinces have suffered persecution for a length of time, to the ruin of their souls; but at last, through the ineffable mercy of God, and by the labours of many kings and princes, as well secular as ecclesiastic, and of many universities and other loyal Christians, this abominable schism was put an end to. The church was then believed to enjoy that perfect peace which every one desired, as well by the election of the late well-beloved pope Martin as after his decease by the undoubtedly canonical and legal choice of your holiness to the apostolical throne. But we are now constrained to exclaim with the prophet Jeremiah, "We have looked for peace but behold tribulation!" and also with Isaiah, "We have looked for light, and behold darkness!" for several children of perdition, few in number, and of little authority in the council of Basil, have done their utmost, by force and deceit, to put an end to these flattering hopes.

"'This council had been transferred from Basil to Florence*, in the laudable expectation, (so much wished for by every sect of Christians) of the union of the Eastern and Western churches, and went on for some time, through your authority, with vigour. When those before mentioned, who had remained at Basil, had failed in their promises to the Greeks, and perceived from the leaders of the oriental church, that the most noble prince and emperor, John Paleologus, together with Joseph, of happy memory, patriarch of Constantinople, and numbers of prelates and dignitaries of the Eastern church, were about to attend the œcumenical council at the place appointed by your holiness, and that you, with a multitude of prelates and churchmen, were already gone thither at great expense,—in order to prevent the emperor from meeting you at this council, these aforesaid persons published a detestable monitory against your holiness and against our reverend lords the cardinals of Rome. This not having the desired effect of putting an end to the intentions of the emperor to come to Florence, they published a suspension of your holiness from the functions of the papacy. Notwithstanding these iniquitous and sacrilegious proceedings, by your labour and care, together with the energy of the council, and by divers arguments and disputations, every attempt was made to remove this schism between the Eastern and Western churches, which had lasted five hundred years.

"'At the head of these disturbers of the union of the church was that most disloyal and diabolical Amadeus, late duke of Savoy, who had long before premeditated what he executed, through the instigation of several accursed men and women, who, laying aside all religion, have been converted to Satan by the wicked delusions of devils, who, in common language, are called Sorceresses, Frangules, Straganes or Vaudoyses, of whom there are numbers in this country. By such means, he has for a long time been seduced from the right faith; and in order that he might be elected as the monstrous and deformed head of God's church, he put on the frock of a hermit, *aux avichoix*†, of a most false hypocrite, that under cover of

* This council, the eighteenth general council, was first held at Basil, and, after many quarrels had arisen between it and the pope, he transferred it first to Ferrara, and thence to Florence, for the better accommodation of the Greeks. Many of the members of the council, however, remained at Basil, deposed pope Eugenius, and elected Amadeus duke of Savoy pope, under the name of Felix V.

See Hist. des Conciles, L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, &c. &c.

† *Aux avichoix.* Denys Sauvage, in his annotations, seems as much puzzled about this word as I have been. He says that, "avichoix" may perhaps mean advice or counsel,—and adds, that the whole of this bull is full of faults, from his not having a Latin one to correct it by.

I have endeavoured to find it in Dumont's Corps Universel Diplomatique. There is in that collection a bull of pope Eugenius, dated Florence, November 1439, condemning the acts of the council at Basil towards the pope. It is indeed a decree of the council of Florence; but it has not any resemblance to this bull, for it was issued to annul the celebrated decree of the council of Basil, declaring the powers of a general council superior to those of the pope.

sheep's clothing, he might indulge his wolfish appetite, confident that, in process of time, his adherents in the council of Basil (many of whom were his subjects and the idols of this new Beelzebub) would constitute and elect him pope in opposition to your holiness,—the undoubtedly-true vicar of God and legal successor to St. Peter,—to the profanation and pollution of the Christian church.

"'An unbounded ambition has induced the execrable Amadeus to undertake this diabolical project, which, according to the apostle, is the servitude of devils; and by the advice of a blasphemous synagogue of abandoned men, the stinking abomination of all Christendom, who have deputed for electors certain men, or rather devils disguised under the figures of men, who (like the idol of Nebuchadnezzar) elevated themselves in the true church of God. This Amadeus, in consequence of his profane election, which he gained by means suited to his vast ambition, felt no remorse or horror in clothing himself with a papal vesture, and in exercising the powers of a Roman pontiff, causing himself to be reverenced as such. He has neither been ashamed nor afraid to send his bulls, sealed, to divers parts of the world, in which he styles himself Pope Felix V., proclaiming himself thus the most wretched man on earth, and endeavouring to scatter abroad the poison of his pestilent mind.

"'Now most holy father, and most sacred council, what should we first seek or demand, or by what tears and groans may we deplore such an unfortunate event, and wipe away the horrid disgrace that must ensue from it to the church? for the greatness of the offence is more than language can express. But we know, most holy and sacred father, that no delay must arise to provide a remedy against the complainings of our dear mother the church, your legal spouse, who, having enjoyed a short peace is again constrained to cry out and lament the loss of it, to the reverend members of this council, saying,—"Have mercy on me, each of you, my friends: my bowels are filled with bitterness, for lions destroy the vineyard of the God of Sabaoth,—and the church, the unsullied robe of Jesus Christ, is rent asunder by the wicked. Let God now arise and destroy his enemies." And thou, holy father, as these things are manifest, and so notorious that they can no longer be concealed, exert thyself in conjunction with this council: judge the cause of thy spouse,—and have in remembrance the reproach cast on thy children. O, most powerful, gird the sword on thy thigh, and verify the words of the Psalmist: "I will pursue mine enemies, to destroy them, and will not return until I shall have laid them all under my footstool, that they no more disturb my peace." Such transgressions ought to be punished with the utmost severity, to prevent any from imitating them in future.

"'The words of Moses, the friend and servant of God, should be repeated to the people of Christendom: "Depart all of you from the tabernacles and towns of the wicked." Attend to the example of thy blessed predecessor, who, according to a general council of the church at Ephesus, condemned Dioscorus and his followers to banishment in Calcedonia*. Follow the examples of the holy bishops who have preceded thee on the sacred throne, who have ever exterminated the enemies of God and of his church, from the communion of devout and loyal Christians, and punished them likewise according to their deserts. Avenge, therefore, this new schism that has arisen to thy personal wrong and to that of the Roman church, as well as to the slander of all Christendom, and call to thy aid the powers of this holy œcumenical council to excommunicate from the pale of the church, by the authority of God, and of St. Peter and of St. Paul, all the wicked aforesaid, and more especially that grand heresiarch Amadeus, this new antichrist in the church of God, together with all their abettors, and those who have so daringly and illegally taken upon themselves the part of electors. Let them be cast out as the antichrist, and invaders and destroyers of all Christendom, and never, on any account, admit them to thy presence. Let them and their heirs be deprived of all ecclesiastical and worldly dignities, and be condemned to a perpetual sentence of excommunication. Let them be confounded with the wicked, and feel the indignation of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, whose church they presume to disturb. May their habitations become a desert, and may no one inhabit their tabernacles! May their children become orphans, and their wives widows, and their existence become so heavy,

* This was not a general council. It was held at Ephesus in the year 449. The reigning pope was St. Léon.—See L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.

through misery, that death may be looked to for relief from a life of torment! May all hands be raised against them, and the elements oppose them, and public vengeance be poured on them: and, like Coran, Dathan, and Abiram, may the earth open and swallow them up alive! In short, should they not speedily turn from their wickedness, and sufficiently and satisfactorily expiate their sins against the holy and universal church, may they be condemned by the just judgment of God to infernal darkness and perpetual torments!

"'We and all true Christians having in abomination such heresies, detest this accursed heresiarch and such like antichrists; and thou, vicar and lieutenant of Jesus Christ and of his holy church (whom we confess, and with devout reverence obey), may the grace of God, all-powerful, protect thee always, and, through his eternal mercy, lead thee to joys everlasting! Amen.'

"We, therefore, having had the fullest and most authentic accounts of the great impiety which has been committed, are much grieved thereat, as may readily be supposed, from the enormity of the offence, and more particularly in regard to Amadeus the antipope, whom we have ever held in the most affectionate love and charity, attending to all his prayers and requests; but, at the same time, we are determined to exert our powers to resist such heresies, according to the duties of our pastoral office. Since, therefore, we have been so publicly called upon in the face of the church, we shall lose no time, with the help of God, to crush these heresies in the bud, lest they may expand to greater lengths; and with the aid of this holy council, we will propose remedies according to the ordinances of the church. In consequence of what has been said and requested by the proctor and procurator of the holy council, we will examine whether it is consonant to divine and human laws, and agreeable to the decrees of our apostolical chamber; and although the truth of the charges be sufficiently notorious, yet for greater caution, and with the approbation of the holy council, we have commissioned divers intelligent persons to inquire into all these matters, and to report the result of their inquiries, without favour or affection to either party, to us and to the holy council.

"These commissioners having made a diligent inquisition into what regarded the schism and the division between us and the council of Basil, reported the same most faithfully to the council assembled in congregation synodal,—and the facts were by them made so clear and public, that we might, without fearing the scandal of wicked tongues, have condemned those sinful men according to the ordinances of the church; but the synod, in imitation of the divine mercy, which wishes not for the death of a sinner, but would rather that he repent and live, have determined to resort to the means of conciliation, that they may have time to leave their wicked ways, and if they return to the bosom of the church, we shall receive them like to the prodigal son, and with paternal charity embrace them. Let, therefore, the antipope, Amadeus, and his adherents, renounce their errors, and we will receive them through the mercy of our God, who has shed his blood for the redemption of sinners and the edification of his church, with our whole heart; and so soon as they shall desist from their wicked and scandalous excesses, they will be accepted of us and this sacred council with paternal affection, when they shall appear, as they are bounden so to do, before it.

"But should the love of justice and virtue be unable to withdraw them from their sins and wickedness, we admonish them on the reverence and obedience they owe to our holy church, to turn from their evil ways, on pain of excommunication for their heresies, and of being condemned to other penalties; and we strictly command and enjoin, that Amadeus, this antipope, do, within fifty days from the date of these presents, lay aside his title of pope of Rome, and all others appertaining thereto, and that henceforth he do not presume to exercise any of the functions attached to the papacy in any manner whatever. The aforesaid electors and adherents to this antipope are strictly forbidden, under pain of being prosecuted by the apostolical chamber for schism, henceforward to favour or support the said antipope in any way whatever; and we order them to acknowledge us as the true bishop of Rome, vicar of God, and the legal successor to the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul,—the which, we, as their father and pastor of their souls, expect them to obey, and appear before us at the time fixed on.

"Should the aforesaid antipope, Amadeus, and his followers, contumaciously refuse obedience, within the said fifty days, we will that they suffer every penalty attached to their

disobedience; but should it be otherwise, we are desirous of their appearance personally before us and the holy council precisely within fifteen days after the said term. Should that day be a feast-day, then on the day following, to hear from each of them their reasons for having thus acted; and we now summon them to appear before us on the day specified, on pain of being declared heretics, guilty of high treason, and sentenced to punishment for these crimes; and we shall then proceed to pass such sentences as their contumacy may require, according to the strict letter of the law, and as they may be found deserving.

"That these our summons may be fully made known to them, we shall order copies thereof to be attached to the doors of the new church of our Lady in Florence, that ignorance of them may not be pleaded,—and we shall otherwise make them as public as possible. We also will and ordain, by our apostolical authority, that this our bull be personally served on each of the principal delinquents, and proclaimed in every large town. To prevent any of them from excusing themselves from obeying these summons, under pretence that the court of Rome and the place where the council is held are not safe for them, and that they would run risks of their personal safety by going and returning thence, we, by these presents most earnestly exhort all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, whether attached to monasteries or to churches, all dukes, earls, princes, knights, and others, of whatever degree, together with their lieutenants, and all commonalties, whether of towns, castles, or townships, to suffer the aforesaid persons to travel to the court of Rome, and to return thence without molestation in person or effects. All who shall in the smallest degree infringe on these our orders will incur our highest displeasure; and should any one attempt it, he will be in danger of the anger of God and of his holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

"Given at Florence, at our public synodal session, in the new church of Our Lady at Florence, in which city we are now resident, the 10th day of April, in the year of the incarnation 1439, and in the 10th year of our pontificate."

CHAPTER CCXXXVIII.—SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG, IN CONSEQUENCE OF BEING IN THE ILL GRACES OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, SENDS LETTERS TO THE KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE.

From reports that had been made to the duke of Burgundy injurious to sir John de Luxembourg, count de Ligny, he was greatly displeased with him, and chiefly because he retained in his towns and castles large bodies of men-at-arms, who made frequent inroads on his subjects and country. Sir John, having been informed of this, sent letters to exculpate himself to the knights-companions of the Golden Fleece, the contents of which were literally as follows:—

"Very dear brothers and companions, I have lately learned from some true friends, that my redoubted lord the duke of Burgundy is angered against me, by reason of some reports that had been made to him. In consequence, I sent John Taillemonde and my secretary Huet with letters, to supplicate him that he would have the kindness not to be angered against me, nor hold me in his indignation, without first hearing me in my own justification and defence. He sent me by them credential letters,—and told them verbally the grounds of his discontent against me, from the reports that had been made him. As the charges seemed to them very heavy, they required to have them put in writing, but never could obtain it, which appears to me very surprising. However, they repeated them to me as well as they were able, and thereupon I wrote to my said lord my justification. I had hopes that some of you might have been present, to have heard it,—but as that was not the case, I now write to repeat it, that you may have it fresh in your memories.

"I shall begin with the charge against my loyalty, as what most touches my honour and hurts my feelings. It has been declared, that my lord has been informed by the English, that a short time after the peace of Arras, they wrote to my brother the archbishop of Rouen, that if it were agreeable to my lord the duke of Burgundy and his allies to keep the peace in respect to them, they and their allies would do the same in regard to him, his subjects, allies, and countries; and that my lord and brother had pressed me to touch on this

matter with the duke, and endeavour to have it accomplished,—but that, although my lord the archbishop had thus written to me, I had concealed the matter, which has been the cause of numberless and great evils, that would not have happened if I had acted loyally. In my excuse, I must say (saving the reverence due to my lord duke), that these great evils have not been caused by my fault or neglect, nor has the war been commenced or advised by me. I know for a truth, that if my said lord had but remembered my actions in respect to this business, no such charge would have been made against me. It is a fact, that on the morrow after I had this information from my brother the archbishop of Rouen, dated Rouen, the 29th day of January, in the year 1435, and which I received on the 8th of February, I despatched some of my people to Brussels, where they arrived on the 10th, with credential letters from me, charging them to declare the intelligence I had just received from Rouen, and which they reported to me had been done. They received for answer, by the mouth of the bishop of Tournay, that for certain causes, which he then told them, my lord duke was not determined how to act in regard to the intelligence contained in my brother the archbishop of Rouen's letter, which had been in substance laid before him.

"It has been a matter of great wonder to me that this bishop, who has such dignities and honours in the church, who is reputed so wise and prudent, and who is the principal adviser of my lord duke, should send a verbal answer by my people, and did not inform my lord of the necessity of otherwise acquitting himself toward me,—for had this been done, no such imputation could have been thrown on me. Should what I have now said be insufficient for my acquittal, I can produce letters signed by the hand of my lord to prove that I duly informed him of the contents of my brother's letter,—and that he declares in these letters that he was not fully resolved how to act respecting the proposal from the English. You will, therefore, clearly perceive, that I have faithfully performed my duty; and henceforward I intend, if it be the good pleasure of God my Creator to exculpate myself by every means in my power, so that all the world may know that I have been no way to blame.

"With regard to another charge made against me, namely, that I have, since the peace at Arras, sent a body of men to join the English in Calais, without the knowledge of my said lord, or of my most redoubted lady the duchess of Burgundy, or of the members of his council. It is true, that when I heard my lady duchess was at Gravelines, I did send thither some of my people on business with my lord cardinal of England, thinking that he was there, as had been reported; I ordered them to treat on this business with him, the which I had formerly mentioned to my lord duke, who had consented that I might send to England on this subject. I wished not that this matter should be transacted privately, or in secret, but openly before all the world, and even in the presence of my lady duchess and her council, should it then happen to be brought forward. Since my lord cardinal was not there, nor, as it was said, expected to arrive for some time, those whom I had sent thither, seeing many persons go to Calais, took on themselves to go thither also on their own affairs; but they first asked the permission of the lieutenant of Gravelines, who granted it, and they set off, not imagining any harm in so doing, as they have informed me. I certify to you, that I never charged them to signify anything whatever to the English prejudicial to the realm or to my said lord, or any way tending to retard the negotiations that were to commence at Gravelines,—and I should suppose that I, of all persons, should be clear from the smallest suspicion of treasonable practices; for were I inclined that way,—which God forbid!—you may imagine I would have acted otherwise, and employed unknown emissaries, or merchants who daily repair thither; but never, please God, shall I have the will or courage to do any thing contrary to the honour or interest of my said lord, or unbecoming a knight of unsullied honour. Respecting the summonses I had issued for guards, which was ascertained during a late meeting of the three estates at Arras, when it was discussed, that as my said lord was, through God's mercy, more powerful than ever any counts of Artois, his predecessors, had been, it seemed to this meeting that no other person but himself required guards; and, among other things, it is said, then and there determined upon, it was resolved that none but my said lord should have guards. I have no remembrance whatever of being present at this meeting of the three estates at Arras when such conclusions were made; but I perfectly recollect, that at Lille, in the house of the lord de Roubaix, where my lord duke held his

court, it was determined, in the presence of many of his council, that in future no one should have guards,—when I joined in opinion with the others, and said, that I would not summon any, if the rest would do the same. On this, I departed from Lille; but observing some time after that several had their guards, I did the like, but did not suppose that my lord could be angered by my so doing, or that he wished to keep me in greater servitude than others. My lord even wrote me several letters with his own hand, and signed by him, on this subject, as did my lady duchess, assenting to my having these guards. It should seem, therefore, that my lord was not then displeased with my conduct.

"In regard to Riflart de Neufville, who is said to have been killed on account of this business, and the lord des Bosquets, who was driven out of his house and grossly injured,—although I had many reasons to be displeased with both, yet when my lord shall be completely informed of the whole truth of these matters, I shall expect that the tales he has heard will be found lying and falsely wicked. As for the disobedience alleged against my officers and commissaries to the bailiff of Amiens, to the king's officers, and to those of the duke, whom they will not permit to execute any warrants, saying and maintaining that I have not taken any oaths of allegiance but to the king of England,—I have never before heard any mention made of this, nor do I know what private wrongs may have been done, nor to whom. Of course, I am unable to make any reply to this charge. I should have expected that the bailiff of Amiens, whom I consider as my particular friend, would have informed me of any misconduct in my people, for had he done so I should have exerted myself in such wise that my lord should have been satisfied. In regard to the provost of Peronne, who has charged my officers with waylaying and chasing him into the town of Cambray with the intention of ill-treating and perhaps of killing him,—I have inquired of my officers, and they tell me, that when they were amusing themselves twenty leagues from Cambray, they were informed, that the said provost had vauntingly declared, that if he could lay hands on them he would hang them by the necks; on which they suddenly pursued him, to know if what they had heard were true,—and learning that he had not said any such things, they had quietly left him.

"As for the threats which my said officers have held out to the abbot of St. Aubert of Cambray, they beg to be held excused.—With regard to the complaints of the receiver-general of Peronne, that he cannot exercise his office, nor the toll-gatherers at Bapaume, from the hinderance of my officers,—my lord will cause further informations to be made on this subject, and will then write to me fully thereon, according to his pleasure, when I shall make such answers as ought to be satisfactory.

"In respect to master Ador Caperel, who has told my lord that I have caused him to be waylaid, to abuse and ill-treat him, I assure you that this is not true,—and I beg that further information may be had thereon. Should it clearly appear, after I have been heard, that I have caused him to be waylaid, I am willing to receive such punishment as justice shall order; but should the contrary be proved, I entreat that you will beg my said lord to lay hands on the said Caperel and others, who have been guilty of such lying reports, that they may be severely punished, for an example to all others, to prevent them from doing the like, and that it may be publicly known that my said lord, and the members of his council, will not suffer such scandalous reports to be made against me, or others of his servants, with impunity.

"As for you, my very dear brothers and companions, whose prudence, valour, and wisdom I am acquainted with, you would not that one of your brethren should be unjustly accused,—and in this confidence I have written thus fully, for your information, of the charges alleged against me, entreating you fraternally, at the same time, that you would exert yourselves toward my said lord, to induce him to withdraw his indignation from me, and be satisfied with the explanations and excuses contained in this letter, and no longer give faith to any reports made against any one without that person being first heard in his exculpation, that it may be proved on which side the fault shall be. In truth, if I am not assisted by you, and if proceedings shall be carried on against me without my being heard in my defence, I know not to whom to apply, nor have I any hope of being treated with justice, which must cause me to suffer the utmost grief. I refer you for all other particulars

to the bearers of this letter, the before mentioned Taillemonde and Huet, either of whom can relate to you the details of every charge.

"Very dear brothers and companions, if there be anything you would wish me to do, let me be made acquainted therewith, and I will perform it most willingly, as the Lord knows, to whose holy keeping I commend you.

"Written at my hôtel at Bohain on Candlemas-day."

Such were the contents of the letters sir John de Luxembourg sent to the different knights-companions of the order of the Golden Fleece, the greater part of whom were very desirous to mediate with the duke of Burgundy, that sir John might remain in his good graces. They daily remonstrated with the duke on this subject, and that he ought not to be so much displeased; but new matters of quarrel arose between them, and various tales were continually carried to the duke against him.

It happened, at this time, that in the provostship of Peronne a heavy tax was ordered to be collected, and, among others, some villages within the lordships of Ham and Neel, then in the possession of sir John de Luxembourg, were taxed, who was very much discontented that such levies should be raised on his subjects; but, as the deed was done, he made an appeal against the officers of the duke of Burgundy who had laid the tax, and wanted to collect it. The duke, dissatisfied on his part that this right should be questioned, sent a body of archers to support his officers in collecting the tax, who, on their arrival, carried the edict very rigorously into execution, by seizing all they could lay hands on,—insomuch that the sufferers went to Ham to make complaint to Jacotin de Bethune* then in garrison.

On hearing what had passed, he instantly ordered his men to mount, and go and see what could be meant by it, while he followed soon after. They advanced to where the duke's archers were, and, without further inquiry, beat them soundly: a sergeant from Mondidier was wounded in many places; but when Jacotin came up, and saw that they belonged to the duke of Burgundy, he put an end to the affray, and made excuses for what had happened, saying, that he had taken them for a party of the Skinners attached to king Charles. They were, however, very ill-treated, and speedily returned to the duke their lord, to whom they made heavy complaints about what had passed. The duke was so indignant with sir John de Luxembourg for this, that he resolved to force him to make amends for it, cost what it would. He wrote shortly after to sir John to order him to send to him Jacotin de Bethune and the others who had committed this offence; but sir John refused, excusing himself, by saying, that he did not think that his people should be meddled with. Thus was their quarrel mutually increased.

Not long after this, Jacotin overthrew with the garrisons under his charge a body of men belonging to the counts de Nevers and d'Estampes; when a gentleman, called La Perriere, was killed, together with others, at which the above named lords were greatly vexed. Sir John de Luxembourg was, however, much feared, because he was possessed of some very strong places, such as, Coussy†, Beaulieu‡, Ham sur Somme§, Neel||, La Ferté¶, St. Goubain**, Marle††, Arsy‡‡, Montaigu§§, Guise||||, Herison¶¶, Bouchain***, Beaurevoir†††, Honnecourt‡‡‡, Oisy§§§, and others, all of which had numerous garrisons. He had not as yet broken off his connexions with the English: on the contrary, he depended much on their support,—for which reason many who were inclined to injure him, were afraid to attack any parts of his territories, lest he should fill his towns and castles with English, which would be the total ruin of the country. For fear of this, all who hated him dissembled their feelings; nevertheless, he did not slacken in providing means of

* James, third son of John I. de Bethune, lord of Moreuil, was nicknamed Jacotin. From him, according to Du Cange, the lords of Belfour in Scotland were descended, their family name being corrupted to Beatoun.

† Coussy. Q. Courcelles? a town in Picardy.

‡ Beaulieu,—a town in Picardy.

§ Ham sur Somme,—a town in Picardy.

|| Neel,—a village in Picardy.

¶ La Ferté. Q. La Ferté-Milon? a town in Picardy.

** St. Goubain. Q. St. Gobin? a town in Picardy.

†† Marle,—a town in Picardy.

‡‡ Arsy. Q. A town in Picardy.

§§ Montagu,—Montaigu, a town in Picardy.

|||| Guise,—a town in Picardy.

¶¶ Herison,—a town in Picardy.

*** Bouchain. Q. Bohain, a town in Picardy.

††† Beaurevoir,—a town in Picardy.

‡‡‡ Honnecourt,—a town in Picardy.

§§§ Oisy,—a village in Picardy.

defence, but retained in his different towns and castles men-at-arms, ready to oppose all who should wage war against him, as well French as Burgundians. These warriors, however, harassed the country much, more especially the Cambresis.

The English garrisons of Creil* and of other places, under pretence of being his men, made frequent excursions, taking many prisoners, and collecting all they could find, which they drove away to places under their obedience. Several of sir John's captains were connected with the English; one in particular, called Perrinet Quatre-Yeux, who was from near Beauvais in the Cambresis, who had served them as a guide to make prisoners and ransom some rich men in those parts: but it happened that, in the course of these wicked pursuits, he had come to a farm near Oisy, called Gourgouche; which being told to sir John de Luxembourg, then in the castle of Oisy, he instantly sent thither his archers, who put him to death, and buried him in a ditch,—and sir John gained great praise from all the country for so doing.

CHAPTER CCXXXIX.—THE COUNT DE RICHEMONT, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, GAINS THE TOWN OF MEAUX IN BRIE FROM THE ENGLISH.

While these things were passing, Arthur of Brittany, count de Richemont and constable of France, collected about four thousand combatants, under the command of La Hire, Floquet, the lord de Torcy, sir Giles de Saint Simon, and other French captains, as well from Champagne as from other parts, whom he marched about the beginning of July before the town of Meaux in Brie, then in the possession of the English. He first fixed his quarters at Champ-commun†, which is a very large village, and, shortly after, erected a blockhouse, fronting the gate of Saint Remy at Meaux, and lodged his men in the convent of the Cordeliers at St. Faron-les-Meaux, and in other places near. He erected another blockhouse on the island opposite the town,—and one was placed by sir Denis de Chailly at the gate of Cormillon, leading toward Brie. Five others were afterwards erected on two islands near the court of Supletes, and opposite to the market-place, all of which were filled with men-at-arms.

Several large engines were also pointed against the gates and walls, which damaged them greatly. Having continued these attacks on the place for about three weeks, the constable consulted his officers and determined to storm the town, for which the men were very eager,—and it was won with but little loss to the assailants. The bastard de Thian was made prisoner in the town, who was instantly beheaded, together with another gentleman called Carbonnel de Haule, and some others. The besieged lost about sixty men,—and from forty to fifty were made prisoners on their retreat to the market-place. The constable now quartered himself and the greater part of his army in the town of Meaux, leaving, however, very strong garrisons in the blockhouses. The chief commanders for the English in the market-place of Meaux were sir William Chamberlain, sir John Ripley, and others, with about five hundred combatants. Prior to the siege, they had sent information to the government at Rouen of the intentions of the French to besiege them, and required to be reinforced as speedily as possible.

The earl of Cambridge, at that time governor of the duchy of Normandy for the king of England, accompanied by sir John Talbot, the lord Falconbridge, sir Richard Woodville, and other English captains, with about four thousand fighting men, began their march from Rouen to raise this siege, and arrived before the town of Meaux. The constable, hearing of their intentions, had, however, withdrawn into the town, before they came, all his men and stores; and lucky it was, for had they remained in the field great mischiefs must have happened on both sides,—for the English desired nothing more than to fight the French. They made many proposals to the constable to this effect,—but he refused to listen to them, or consent to a general action. Several skirmishes, however, took place, in one of which the

* Creil,—situated on the Oise, ten leagues from Paris.

† Champ-commun—in the MS. corrections in M. du Cange's copy of Monstrelet in the imperial library at Paris; it is Chant-conin from the life of the constable; but I cannot find either of these names in the Gazetteer nor in Cassini's large map of France.

English gained from the French twenty boats laden with provision ; and in another quarter a blockhouse, under the command of the lord de Moy, was abandoned.

The English attacked and took one of the blockhouses, on the island opposite to the market-place, in which from a hundred to six-score French were slain, and the rest made prisoners. After various attempts, finding the French unwilling to combat them, and that it was impossible to hurt them in their present situation, they made preparations to return to Normandy the same way they had come, after having revictualled their countrymen in the castle of the market-place. When they were departed, the constable renewed his attacks on the market-place with greater vigour, and with so many engines, that after three weeks sir William Chamberlain capitulated to surrender the place, on having the lives and fortunes of the garrison spared. When this treaty was concluded, the English marched to Rouen, under passports; but on their arrival, their commander was much reproached for his surrender of Meaux, which was so well provided with stores and provision, and was one of the strongest places of France: he was committed to prison in the castle of Rouen,—but, after some time, he found means of excusing himself to the lords of his party, who set him at liberty.

At this period, a gentleman named Jean de la Fange, attached to the constable, was beheaded and quartered, on being convicted of holding communications with the English, to the prejudice of the king of France and his realm. A sergeant of the Châtelet was also quartered with this Jean de la Fange.

CHAPTER CCXL.—SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG SENDS LETTERS TO EXCULPATE HIMSELF, TO THE GREAT COUNCIL OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. THEIR CONTENTS.

Sir John de Luxembourg, count de Ligny and de Guise, was duly informed how much the duke of Burgundy was displeased with him, and chiefly for the offence committed by Jacotin de Bethune against his archers, as has been before mentioned. In order, therefore, to exculpate himself as well as the said Jacotin, he wrote letters to the grand council of the duke, of the following tenor.

"Most reverend fathers in God, very dear and beloved cousins, and my most especial friends,—I believe it is within your knowledge that a sudden quarrel has accidentally arisen between some archers of my most redoubted lord the duke of Burgundy and the men of Jacotin de Bethune, in my town of Ham. This has raised the indignation of my most redoubted lord against me,—for which I am more grieved than I can express. I shall therefore explain the matter fully to you, that you may be made acquainted with the whole, and exculpate me from any blame.

"Prior to this quarrel with the archers, the officers of my most redoubted lord imposed a tax on the land, without calling together a competent number of the three estates to authorise it,—and this tax they wanted to raise on my possessions. Some of my officers made an appeal against this conduct, and matters remained in this state,—when a body of those called Skinners, from the Valois, and other men-at-arms, showed a disposition to make war on me. These appearances obliged me to reinforce my strong places with men-at-arms,—and I sent Jacotin de Bethune to guard my town of Ham. Some time afterward, certain persons on horseback made an inroad on my villages near to Ham, and carried away horses, cows, and whatever they could lay hands on: in consequence many women hastened to Ham and complained of these outrages,—upon which Jacotin concluded they must be the Skinners, and instantly sent a party after them, when a scuffle ensued. But as Jacotin followed his men, finding that they belonged to the duke of Burgundy, he immediately put an end to the affray, and was exceedingly distressed that it had happened,—for he could never have supposed that they had belonged to my most redoubted lord, considering that an appeal was then lying in his courts against this tax being laid.

"They had shown great mockery as they had passed by Ham, and had also declared, prior to this, that they had not been ordered to insult my territories ; from which it plainly appears, that the dispute was sudden and unpremeditated, although my most redoubted lord summons me on this account to deliver up to him Jacotin de Bethune and his men. I

have, consequently, had the matter legally examined into, in the presence of the king's notary-public, and have had the result laid before my most redoubted lord, by which it appears that the said Jacotin and his men have not been so blameable as my lord duke has been told,—but that the fault lies with these archers, and other officers of justice, for having acted illegally. At the same time, I entreated him, in consideration of this body of evidence, to withdraw his anger, and to suffer the affair to be treated judicially; adding that he might send whomsoever he pleased to take fresh examinations,—and that if I should be found guilty of having done any thing wrong, after having been heard in my own defence, I would make such amends as should be judged proper, or ask his pardon. I have also, for greater humiliation, and to take away all suspicions he may have conceived against me, (who have never done him wrong,) frankly made offer to ask his mercy, which offer he has not been pleased to accept, but has seized on the lands I and my wife possess in Flanders and in Brabant. This I think extremely hard, considering that I am no way culpable in the above affair, and have, besides, proposed to refer the whole to a court of justice: should I be found guilty, (which cannot be the case,) there can be no reasonable ground for the confiscation of my lands, even according to the laws and usages of those countries.

"All these things I have fully declared to the lord de Santois, who, of his courtesy, has come to visit me; and I have entreated of him to remonstrate with my lord duke, beseeching him that he would, out of his good grace, refer the whole matter to a court of justice, for that I was ready to appear in my defence before my said lord the duke of Burgundy, my lords companions of his order, and in the presence of his council,—or before the three estates of Flanders and Brabant,—or before the judges within whose jurisdictions my lands lie. I supplicated at the same time my most redoubted lord, that he would accede to one of these proposals, and set my lands at liberty; for I am unwilling to fly from the justice of my said lord, or to seek other princes and judges than those to whom I have already offered to submit myself.

"It seems to me that, under God, justice, and nobility, what I demand ought not to be refused me; for I do not think I can offer fairer terms, or show greater duty, than to submit myself to be judged by my said lord, who is a prince of such high renown, by my lords companions of his order, who are his brethren, relations, or friends, or persons selected for their valour and wisdom, or by his council, and by the three estates and judges of his countries of Flanders and Brabant, who are persons of consummate learning and prudence; offering, at the same time, to present myself and beg pardon of my said renowned lord the duke, notwithstanding that I have never, in any one instance, done him wrong, as I have said before. Nevertheless, I have heard from some, who have purposely come to me, that the duke will not receive my offers until I shall have given up to his pleasures Jacotin de Bethune,—which is a thing impossible for me to do, as he is not within my power: and it is not to be supposed that any person who knew that he had incurred the anger of so powerful a prince as my most redoubted lord would suffer himself to be arrested, when certain martyrdom would be the consequence.

"Now, very dear and especial friends, I have stated to you the whole truth of the case, that you may be fully acquainted therewith, and consequently exert yourselves to procure my justification,—for you must now see how undeserving I am of blame,—and I entreat you most humbly to remonstrate with my said lord that I may be restored to his favour, and that he would take away his officers from my lands. I must beg that you would obtain me the means of exculpating myself in a court of justice, considering that during my youth I loyally served my late lord, duke John, whose soul may God pardon! and that I never failed, as is known to every one, in my services to my present lord, in assisting him to guard and defend his countries,—for he wrongfully detains my possessions without even attempting to demonstrate the legality of such confiscation, which, in fact, is due to all who demand it by every lover of justice.

"I pray you, therefore, to have in remembrance the duties I have performed and the offers I have made, which I have more amply detailed in the former part of this letter. Reverend fathers in God, very dear and beloved cousins and most especial friends, if there be anything you would wish me to do, acquaint me therewith,—and, as the blessed Son of God

knows, it shall be done with a hearty good will,—and to his holy keeping I now leave you. Written in my castle of Vendeuil*, this 13th day of April."

The direction was, "To my very dear and very beloved cousins and especial friends, the members of the great council of my most redoubted lord, my lord the duke of Burgundy."

When these lords had received their letters, they met together to consult on the best mode of proceeding relative thereto,—particularly the knights of the order of the Golden Fleece, of which order sir John de Luxembourg was one. They were very anxious to reconcile him with his lord; for they were afraid, should hostilities commence, very great inconveniences would arise to the territories of the duke. They also knew that he was a man of determined courage and enterprise, well provided with strong towns and castles, that would enable him to protract the war to a great length of time. He was likewise still connected with the English, who had promised to supply him with men and stores as often and in what quantities he should require. They considered the valuable services he had done the duke and his country for a very long period,—and, on the other hand, that the French were daily making encroachments on the territories of the duke, and according to their opinion, very ill observed the articles of the treaty concluded at Arras. Weighing all these circumstances, they thought it would be much better that sir John should be received into favour on making the satisfaction he had proposed than otherwise.

After this matter had been debated several times, they determined to wait on the duke in a body, and endeavour to bring it to the conclusion they had agreed on. They addressed him at length, pointing out the necessity for a reconciliation, more particularly sir Hugh de Launoy lord of Santois, who had the business much at heart, as well as some others. Nevertheless, at first they found the duke very shy and cold in his replies, for he was indignant at sir John's conduct, more especially respecting the attack on his archers, which seemed to have angered him more than all the rest. The counts de Nevers and d'Estampes were also highly displeased with Jacotin de Bethune for slaying their men, and not indeed without cause. These lords, however, by persevering, brought the matter to this issue, that no objection would be made to hearing sir John and the others in their defence, in consideration of the proposals made by him. At length, a day was fixed on for bringing the two parties together in the city of Cambray.

Thither came, on the part of the duke of Burgundy, the bishop of Tournay, master Nicholas Raoulin, lord of Authun† his chancellor, sir Hugh de Launoy, the lord de Saveuses, and other persons of rank. Sir John de Luxembourg was there, accompanied by many noble persons, as well knights as esquires and counsellors at law,—and even Jacotin de Bethune was there also. Within a few days after their arrival, the business was entered upon relative to the insults which were said to have been offered to the duke of Burgundy by sir John de Luxembourg, and others of his party. On the charges being declared, sir John made his reply, and exculpated himself from the greater part of them, offering likewise, by himself and council, to make whatever advances should be deemed proper.

After a long discussion, it was agreed to put down in writing such articles as should be thought reasonable to be complied with by each party, for the conclusion of peace. They were shown to sir John de Luxembourg, who corrected some of the articles that displeased him, and were then laid before the chancellor, and the other members of the council, who likewise made alterations. On their being brought back to sir John, he was so indignant thereat that, in his rage, he tore the paper into pieces, and said aloud, that the bishop of Tournay and the chancellor should not manage him at their pleasure. However, through the interference of the other lords on each side, his heat was shortly after calmed, and matters were brought to an amicable conclusion, provided it met the approbation of the duke, to whom they were to carry the treaty. Among other articles, Jacotin de Bethune was to surrender himself, in one of the public prisons, to the duke's mercy,—but the lords at Cambray, on the part of the duke, promised him to insist with their lord that he should be pardoned, and received into favour. When these matters had been thus concluded, the members of the council were grandly feasted, with the rest of the lords, at the hôtel of sir John de

* Vendeuil,—a village in Picardy, near to Mondidier.

† Authun. He was lord d'Ainneries and a native of Authun, and thus he styled himself.—*Du Cange.*

Luxembourg. All the adjoining countries were greatly rejoiced when they heard of this peace being concluded.

Soon afterwards, both parties left Cambray; and the commissioners from the duke of Burgundy laid before him what they had done, with which he was satisfied. Within a certain time, Jacotin de Bethune waited on the duke, in his town of Hèdin, and surrendered himself to his mercy, requesting that, if he bore any anger against him, he would be pleased to pardon him,—but the duke sent him away a prisoner. It was not long, however, before he obtained his liberty, on certain conditions, that were granted him through the pressing intercessions of some lords of high rank, and of great weight in the duke's council.

CHAPTER CCXLI.—KING CHARLES OF FRANCE SENDS THE PRINCESS CATHERINE, HIS DAUGHTER, TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, CONFORMABLY TO THE TREATY OF MARRIAGE AGREED ON WITH THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS HIS SON.

In the month of June, of this year, king Charles of France sent from his palace the lady Catherine, his daughter, to the duke of Burgundy, having consented to her marriage with his son the count de Charolois. She was grandly and honourably accompanied by the archbishops of Rheims and of Narbonne, the counts de Vendôme, de Tonnerre, and de Dunois, the young son of the duke of Bourbon, called the lord de Beaujeu *; the lord de Dampierre, and other noble personages, knights, and esquires, together with an escort of about three hundred horsemen. She was attended by the lady of Rochefort, and several noble dames and damsels.

On their arrival at Cambray, they tarried in that city three days, and were grandly feasted by the clergy, the magistrates, and inhabitants. The counts de Nevers and d'Estampes, the chancellor of Burgundy, and numbers of the nobility, were at Cambray, ready to receive her, together with the countess of Namur, the lady of Crevecœur, the lady of Hautbourdin, and many other ladies of birth. Very great honours and attentions were shown by each of the parties respectively. The young princess, who was but ten years old, was carried on a rich and highly ornamented litter,—and in all the towns through which she passed, of France as well as Burgundy, the greatest honours were shown her. At the gates of the great towns, ten or twelve of the principal gentlemen were commonly in waiting to receive her, and kept their hands on the litter until she descended from it at the hôtel prepared for her.

On leaving Cambray, she arrived, after some days travelling, at Saint Omer, where the duke of Burgundy was holding his court. On her approach, he advanced out of the town grandly attended by his knights, and paid her every respect when they met, as did all who had accompanied him. He then led her into the town of St. Omer where the marriage was fully confirmed. Very great feasts took place in consequence, with tournaments, balls, music, and every other amusement. The lord de Crequy was tenant of the lists, on the part of the duke of Burgundy, against all comers. They remained a considerable time at St. Omer, on account of a conference that was about to be holden by ambassadors from the kings of France and of England, between Gravelines and Calais, of which I shall shortly make mention.

* Philip, second son of Charles II., duke of Bourbon, was called lord of Beaujeu, and died young. The title then passed to the fourth son, Peter, who married Anne, daughter of Louis XI., the celebrated duke de Beaujeu, regent of France.

CHAPTER CCXLII.—THE BASTARD OF BOURBON TAKES THE TOWN OF LA MOTHE IN LORRAINE.

In this year, the bastard of Bourbon* left Jargeaux with about four hundred combatants, whom he marched by many days' journeys to La Mothe† in Lorraine, and took it by storm. Everything portable was seized on by his men,—and he remained there for a month, making excursions and pillaging all the country round. He even attempted the town of St. Nicholas de Varengeville, which for a long time had not been attacked by any men-at-arms of either party. Upon this, the governors of Lorraine, foreseeing the total ruin of that country, treated with the bastard of Bourbon to surrender the town of La Mothe and quit those parts, on receiving a large sum of money. When the money was paid, the bastard departed, and set out, with all his men, to return to the place whence they had come; but as he was marching near to Langres‡, he was pursued and overtaken by sir John du Vergy, Anthony de Gelet, Philippot de Sainginis, who attacked and conquered him, and won from him all his plunder. Upwards of six-score remained dead on the field; the rest, or the greater part of them, were made prisoners.

Thus those who had been robbed were in some measure avenged on their marauders,—but they did not recover what had been taken from them.—With regard to the said bastard, he was neither killed nor made prisoner.

CHAPTER CCXLIII.—MANY NOBLE AMBASSADORS FROM THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND MEET BETWEEN GRAVELINES AND CALAIS, TO HOLD A CONFERENCE ON THE SUBJECT OF PEACE.

In this year, many noble ambassadors were assembled at the same place where, the preceding year, a conference had been holden on the parts of the kings of France and England and the duke of Burgundy. Among others, there came, on the part of the king of France, the archbishop of Rheims high chancellor, the archbishop of Narbonne, the bishop of Châlons, the counts de Vendôme and de Dunois, the lord de Dampierre, sir Regnault Girard, governor of la Rochelle, master Robert Mailliere, and Andry le Boeuf.

On the part of the duke and duchess of Burgundy came the bishop of Tournay, master Nicholas Raoulin his chancellor, the lord de Crevecœur, the lord de Santois, master Pierre Bourdin, master Philip de Nanterre, and others.

From the king of England came the cardinal of Winchester, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Norwich, the bishop of St. David's, the bishop of Lisieux, the dean of Salisbury, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Stafford and his brother, the lord de Bressuire, the earl of Oxford, sir Thomas Kiriel, with several others of the nobility.

They held several meetings to consider if they could not bring about a general peace between the two kings and their allies, and also respecting the deliverance of the duke of Orleans, who had remained a prisoner in England since the battle of Azincourt. But they could not agree on any conclusion worth speaking of; for the English refused to treat with the king of France unless the duchy of Normandy, together with all their other conquests, remained to them independent of the crown of France. Another meeting was appointed for the ensuing year, and the conference was broken up, when they all separated without doing anything further. The English had come thither in great pomp, and magnificently dressed; but the cardinal of Winchester outshone all in the splendour of his tents and pavilions, and the richness of his gold and silver plate, and in all other necessaries and luxuries. He nobly feasted the duchess of Burgundy, his fair niece, before they all separated, and returned to the places they had come from, without transacting any other business.

* Alexander, son of the duke. See the account of his death, p. 47.

† La Mothe,—four leagues NNW. from La Marche.

‡ Langres—a large city in Champagne, the capital of Bassigny-François.

CHAPTER CCXLIV.—THE ENGLISH MAKE AN EXCURSION INTO THE COUNTRY OF SANTOIS *, WHERE THEY GAIN THE CASTLE OF FOLLEVILLE †, AND COMMIT MANY RAVAGES AND CRUELTIES.

About the beginning of Lent, in this year, the earl of Somerset, the lord Talbot, and other captains, collected about two thousand combatants, as well horse as foot, in the country of Normandy, near to Rouen, whom they marched, with all their baggage, provision, and stores, toward the country of Santois. Having crossed the Somme near the town of Montrieul ‡, they quartered themselves before the castle of Folleville, then under the government of Bon de Saveuses, in right of the lady-dowager, whom he had married.

In consequence of the garrison making a sally, and killing a particular favourite of the earl of Somerset, whom he much loved, he swore a great oath that he would not march away until he should have conquered the castle, and reduced all within to his power. He ordered an excellent small bombard, with other engines, to be pointed against it,—and their first discharge killed the governor. He continued his attacks with such courage that the garrison were glad to surrender the place and everything it contained, and to pay a large sum as ransom for their lives. The earl had the castle repaired, and regarrisoned it with his men, who did great mischiefs to all the country round. On the morrow of the surrender of this castle, the earl of Somerset departed with the remainder of his forces, and followed the lord Talbot, who was already far advanced into the country of Santois. They fixed their quarters at Lihons §, wherein they found abundance of everything, as well as in the surrounding country,—for the inhabitants, not suspecting their coming, had not driven away their cattle and flocks to places of security.

At Lihons, there was a small fort and large church wherein the inhabitants had retired, on perceiving the English near the town. The earl summoned those in the church to surrender, or he would order an assault. They refused to comply, and, in consequence, on the morrow, a very severe attack commenced; but the English, finding from its continuance that they could not otherwise obtain their end, set the church on fire, which was wholly burned with all it contained,—and upwards of three hundred persons, men, women and children, were thus pitilessly destroyed, for very few escaped who had therein taken refuge. Those who had fled to the fort, witnessing the cruel manner in which their poor brethren had been treated, entered into capitulation with the commissaries of the earl, and saved their lives and the town from being destroyed, by paying a large sum of money. They gave many hostages, women as well as men, for the due payment of their ransom, who were long prisoners at Rouen and elsewhere, from the delays in the payment. One of these hostages was a gentleman called Noiseux de Sailly, who died in prison.

While the English remained at Lihons, they made frequent inroads on the adjoining countries, whence they brought large booties to their quarters. They took also the castle of Harbonnieres ||, and the lord within it,—who, to ransom himself and his vassals, and to prevent the castle from being destroyed as others had been, agreed to pay one thousand golden saluts ¶. During this time, the English met with no opposition,—but the count d'Estampes had arrived at Peronne, and instantly sent summonses to the principal persons in Picardy, Hainault, and the adjacent countries, to hasten to him with as many men as they could collect. They joined him in great numbers,—among whom were the lord de Croy, the lord de Humieres, the lord de Saveuses and his brothers, Waleran de Moreul, Jean de Brimeu, at that time bailiff of Amiens, sir Jean de Croy, bailiff of Hainault, the lord de Hautbourdin, the lord de Barbenson, sir Simon de Lalain, and very many more from the countries aforesaid,

* Santois,— a small fruitful country of Picardy, to the south of the Somme and Peronne. Montdidier is the capital.—*Gazetteer.*

† Folleville,—a village in Picardy, election of Mondidier.—*Gazetteer.*

‡ Montrieul. This must be a mistake, for Montrieul is not on the Somme, and is quite out of their line of march.

§ Lihons,—a town in Picardy, near Peronne.—*Gazetteer.*

|| Harbonnieres,—a town in Picardy, near Corbie.—*Gazetteer.*

¶ Saluts,—old French crowns, of the value of five shillings sterling.—*Cotgrave.*

who, when they were assembled in Peronne and the towns round about, amounted to full three thousand well-tried combatants.

These lords held a council, to consider how they should act. Many wanted to fight the English without more loss of time; but others were of a contrary opinion, and gave good reasons why they ought not to fight them. At length, it was determined to take the field during the night, and form an ambuscade near to Lihons in Santois, while some of the captains were to beat up the quarters of the English, and set fire to the outskirts of the town,—when they would consider, from the movements of the enemy, how it would be most expedient for the main body in ambush to act. After this determination, every one was ordered to be ready to mount instantly after midnight,—and this order was obeyed. The count d'Estampes issued, immediately after, out of Peronne; but they had scarcely advanced half a league from that town, when it became so very dark that they had difficulty to keep their road; they were, therefore, forced to move about until it was lighter, so that their enterprise failed, and they returned back to Peronne. On this same day, about twelve o'clock, the count d'Estampes received certain intelligence that the English had dislodged from Lihons, and were on their march back to Normandy by the same road they had come.

When the English had remained for about ten days in Lihons, ransoming and despoiling the country as I have said, they marched back to Normandy, without meeting with any opposition worth mentioning, carrying with them much plunder, and hostages for payment of the composition-money. On repassing Folleville, they reinforced the garrison with a strong body of men. During the stay of the English in Santois, and when they were quartered in Lihons, those attached to, and dependent on sir John de Luxembourg, went backward and forward, and had much communication with them, to the great astonishment of the count d'Estampes, who as well as the other lords with him were not very well pleased; but they could not prevent it at that time. On the departure of the English for Normandy, the men-at-arms who had obeyed the summons of the count d'Estampes began to retire, each to the place he had come from.

CHAPTER CCXLV.—THE DAUPHIN, THE DUKE OF BOURBON, AND MANY OF THE GREAT LORDS, QUIT IN DISGUST THE COURT OF KING CHARLES *.

[A. D. 1440.]

At the commencement of this year, the king of France assembled a large body of nobles and men-at-arms to march into the Bourbonnois, and conquer the duke of Bourbon and destroy his territories; because he had, to his great vexation, seduced and carried off his son the dauphin, who had, until then, been lodged in the castle of Loches †.

The count de la Marche was governor of the castle of Loches, and was in the town at the time the dauphin went away, unsuspicious that he would do so without first speaking to him. The bastard of Bourbon, however, with Anthony de Chabannes and other captains, with a large body of men-at-arms, entered the castle, and, with the dauphin's consent, carried him away to the town of Moulins ‡ in the Bourbonnois. Thither followed the duke of Bourbon, the duke d'Alençon, the count de Vendôme, the lords de la Trémouille, de Chaumont §, de Prie ||, and other nobles and great lords, whose intentions were to invest the

* This quarrel was caused by reforms which the king wanted to make in his army, that devoured the country, and was very displeasing to the nobles, who fattened on the misery of the people. The commotion was called *La Praguerie*. The dukes of Alençon, Bourbon, Vendôme, and even the bastard of Orleans, the count de Dunois, entered into it. They complained that the king intrusted the government of the realm only to two or three private persons, and formed a league against the ministers. The duke of Alençon seduced the dauphin, then only sixteen years of age,—but whose turbulent disposition readily inclined him to make part of the conspiracy, in order to get rid of the count de Perdriac, his tutor. *Mezeray*.—[The horrors perpetrated by the Hussites at Prague, gave occasion to the dread of similar consequences from the civil war kindled in France, and gave this faction the name of *La Praguerie*. Du Clos, Hist. de Louis XI. Ed.]

† Loches,—a town in Touraine, on the Indre, ten leagues from Tours.

‡ Moulins,—capital of the Bourbonnois, forty-three leagues from Lyons.

§ William V., lord and count of Chaumont, who died in 1445, leaving by his wife Jane de Mello, lady of Rigni le Feron, only one surviving son, Anthony lord of Chaumont.

|| Antoine de Prie, lord of Bucençais, &c. was Grand Queux in 1431, and married Magdalen, daughter of Hugh d'Amboise lord of Chaumont.

dauphin with the sole government of France, and to put king Charles in wardship to be managed by them.

In order to have aid to accomplish their plans, they summoned barons and gentlemen from divers countries, to whom they disclosed their intentions, and required them to make

CONSPIRACY OF THE DAUPHIN AND NOBLES TO DETHRONE THE KING. Composed from contemporary authorities.

oath that they would serve the dauphin against all who should attempt to injure him. In this number came the great lords of Auvergne, who on hearing the proposal, made answer by the mouth of the lord de Dampierre, that they would cheerfully serve him in everything excepting against the king his father; adding, that should the king come with an army into their country, and require their support, and a free entrance into their towns and castles, they would not dare to refuse him; and this those who made them the request must expect to see done, should the case happen. This answer was not agreeable to the dauphin, nor to the other lords, who now began to suspect they should fail in their enterprise, and that it would turn out badly for them. They had also received exact intelligence that the king was marching a great power against them, and had already entered the Bourbonnois, carrying on a severe war against the towns and castles of the duke of Bourbon and his adherents, and had reduced several to his obedience.

In the mean time, the dauphin and his advisers had sent messengers to the duke of Burgundy to know if he would receive them in his territories, and afford them assistance to carry on their plans. The duke, after he had consulted with his ministers, replied, that his

territories and fortune were at the disposal of the dauphin whenever he might please to come thither, but that upon no account would he afford him any assistance to carry on a war against the king his father; and would be at all times ready to aid him in the recovery of his father's affections. He added, that he advised him to take this step without loss of time; for the continuance of this warfare was disgraceful to those concerned in it, and would be the most effectual means of completely ruining the kingdom of France.

To put an end to this quarrel, the duke of Burgundy sent ambassadors to the king of France, who mediated between the parties; and a treaty of peace was concluded, on condition that the dauphin, the duke of Bourbon, and their adherents, should appear with all humility in the presence of the king, and beg pardon for their offences. However, before this could be accomplished, the greater part of the estates of the duke of Bourbon and of his partisans were totally destroyed by the warriors of the king, who had marched thither a large army.

On the 19th day of July, the king being at Cusset* the dauphin and duke of Bourbon, accompanied by the lords de la Trémouille, de Chaumont, and de Prie, were on the road to present themselves before him; but when they were half a league off, a messenger from the king met them, and said, that the king would not promise them safety, and ordered them not to approach nearer to him. The dauphin on hearing this, turned round to the duke of Bourbon, and said, "My good friend, you could not have guessed how things would have turned out, or that my father would not have pardoned those of my household." He then swore a round oath, that he would not return to his father. The duke of Bourbon replied, "My lord, all will go well: do not doubt it: but you cannot go back, for the van of the king's army is on the road." He would, however, have attempted it, had not the count d'Eu, and other lords who had come from Cusset, to meet him, strongly remonstrated on the impropriety and danger of such proceedings.

The three lords aforesaid then went to Moulins; and the dauphin, with the duke of Bourbon, entered Cusset, and dismounted at the hotel of the king. On entering the king's apartment, they kneeled three times as they approached; and at the third they begged of him, with great humility, to be pleased to lay aside his anger. The king then addressed his son, and said, "Louis, you are welcome; you have been long absent. Go and repose yourself for to-day at your lodgings: to-morrow we will talk with you."—After this, he conversed long and wisely with the duke of Bourbon, saying, "Fair cousin, we are much displeased at the fault you have committed against our majesty, and which has been repeated five different times," (mentioning when and where he had been guilty of it). "Were it not for the honour and love we bear to some persons, whom I will not name, I would have made you feel severely my displeasure. Take care, therefore, that you be not guilty of the like again."

After this conversation, the dauphin and the duke of Bourbon retired to their lodgings, where they remained until the morrow, and when the king's mass was ended, they again waited on him. In the presence of the members of the council, they again most humbly requested the king that he would have the goodness to pardon them and the lords de la Trémouille, de Chaumont, and de Prie. The king made answer, that he would do no such thing, but was satisfied that they should return to their houses and estates. The dauphin replied, "My lord, I must then go back to them, for such has been my promise." The king, displeased at this speech, instantly said, "Louis, the gates are open to you,—and should they not be wide enough, I will have thrown down sixteen or twenty fathoms of wall that you may have sufficient room to go whithersoever you please. You are my son, and cannot bind yourself under promises to any one without my leave and consent: but should you wish to go away, go,—for, under God's pleasure, we will find some of our blood who will assist us in the maintenance of our honour and power with more firmness than we have hitherto done." The king turned away from him on the conclusion of this speech, and went toward the duke of Bourbon, who instantly took the oath of allegiance to be true to him henceforward for ever. The king discharged all the officers of the household of the dauphin, except his confessor and cook.

* Cusset,—a town in the Bourbonnois, near St. Gérond.

The duke of Bourbon, in consequence of the terms of the treaty, promised to restore to the king, within a few days, the towns of Corbeil, Vincennes, Sancerre, and the castle of Loches, which were in his possession; but the king would not permit his army to quit the Bourbonnois and Auvergne until these places were fairly given up. The king also pardoned the duke d'Alençon, the count de Vendôme, and many other princes and nobles, who had taken part with the dauphin. When all these things were accomplished, the dauphin was satisfied to remain with the king his father, and peace was proclaimed in the following terms.

"We make known to you, by the king's command, that my lord the dauphin and my lord the duke of Bourbon have appeared before his majesty in all humility and obedience; that the king has affectionately received them into his good graces, and pardoned everything. By these presents, the king wills and ordains, that all quarrels and warfare cease, and that no prisoners nor captures of cattle, or of other effects, be made, or injuries done to any one by taking castles or towns, or otherwise; but that all persons do now attend to their affairs, and go about their business without any interruption whatever; and he forbids any places belonging to the duke of Bourbon or to others, being demolished.—Given at Cusset, the 24th of July, in the year 1440."—It was subscribed at the bottom by order of the king and his great council, and signed "Jugon."

Within a few days after, the king gave to the dauphin the government of Dauphiny, and ordered his army to march from the estates of the duke of Bourbon toward Orleans and Paris.

CHAPTER CCXLVI.—THE FRENCH OVERRUN THE LANDS OF NEEL, BELONGING TO SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG.

In the month of July of this year, while sir John de Luxembourg, count de Ligny, was at Neel in the Vermandois, the garrisons of Crespy in Valois*, of Ver†, and other places, to the amount of about one hundred combatants, advanced thither, having crossed the Oise at the bridge of Saint Maixence, under the command of Gilbert de la Roche, a companion of arms to sir John de Luxembourg. They overran the country round Neel, belonging to the count de Ligny, and made great prizes of peasants, cattle, horses, and of all they could seize, after which they set out with their plunder on their return home.

Intelligence of this was carried to sir John de Luxembourg, who was very indignant thereat,—for it was not the first time such pillaging had taken place. He instantly assembled, from his nearest towns and castles, about a hundred fighting men, whom he sent in pursuit of them. The principal captains were, sir David de Poix, governor of Guise, Guyot de Bethune, Antoine de la Baniere, governor of Ham, Antoine du Belloy, and other gentlemen, who, riding full speed, overtook them below Compiégne, opposite to Royalieu‡, where they had sent across the river, by means of a boat which they had found there, good part of the cattle and horses,—and about twenty were in the boat crossing when they saw their adversaries arrive and vigorously attack those who had remained behind. Wishing, therefore, to assist their companions, they turned the boat toward the shore they had come from, but it was useless; for no sooner did it approach than such numbers, from fright and surprise, leaped into it that it overset, and many were drowned, and their effects lost. The rest were defeated, and several slain: in this number was Gilbert de la Roche. Rassillé saved himself by flight, with only about eight or ten of his men.

The conquerors now crossed the river to seek for the plunder,—and by another road drove the cattle, &c., to Neel, where sir John de Luxembourg came out to meet them, much rejoiced at their good success. They brought with them five prisoners, the majority of whom were hanged.

* Crespy in Valois,—capital of the Valois, six leagues from Senlis.

† Ver,—a village in Picardy, diocese of Senlis.

‡ Royaulieu,—a convent in the diocese of Soissons near Compiégne.

CHAPTER CCXLVII.—THE EARL OF SOMERSET BESIEGES HARFLEUR WITH A POWERFUL ARMY OF ENGLISH.

About the end of April, in this year, six thousand English combatants were assembled near to Rouen, under the command of the earls of Somerset, of Dorset*, and of Falconbridge, they having with them the lord Talbot, sir Francis the Arragonian, Matago, Jacquemin, Vacquier, Thomas Heniton, the bailiff of Rouen, and some other captains, who marched thence, and besieged Harfleur by sea and land.

The governor for the king of France was John d'Estouteville, having with him his brother Robert and others, to the amount of four hundred fighting men, who, with the townsmen and sailors, made every preparation to receive their adversaries with courage. They strengthened every weak part of the fortifications, and made some sallies, in which they took prisoners or slew several of their adversaries. The besiegers, on their side, were not idle in securing their camp with deep ditches all round, and with strong hedges, to prevent any surprise, leaving at proper intervals openings for their own convenience to sally forth. They pointed bombards, and other destructive engines, against the gates of Harfleur, which harassed the town much, and for so long a time that the inhabitants suffered greatly. They were also oppressed by a famine, caused from a want of all necessaries. They sent several messengers to king Charles to state their situation and solicit succour, which he promised to send: but, from the many weighty affairs on his hands, he was unable to do it so soon as they required. However, at the end of about four months that this siege had lasted, and when the countess of Somerset and other ladies and damsels were come thither to see the conclusion of it, the count d'Eu was ordered to march, with the promised succour, to the relief of the town. He had with him the count de Dunois, bastard of Orleans, the bastard de Bourbon, the lord de Gaucourt, La Hire, sir Giles de St. Simon †, the lord de Penerach, Pierre de Broussac, and other experienced captains, with about four thousand combatants.

John d'Estouteville had in the town about four hundred fighting men, whose captains were John de Bressay, sir James de Hincourt, Hector de Fol, Guillot de Las, and John Gentil. The succours sent him were all picked men: they marched through the country near Paris, then suddenly turned toward Amiens and Corbie, where they crossed the river Somme, and thence through Ponthieu came to Abbeville, where they held a council on their future proceedings. As they marched through Picardy, they were joined by all the vassals of the lords d'Auxi and de Humieres, John d'Ailly lord of Araines, Guillaume le Jeune lord of Cousay ‡, and many other gentlemen. When they had fully deliberated in a general council how they should act, they caused thirty carts to be laden with artillery, provision, and warlike stores, and then left Abbeville in handsome array, and marched to Eu §. The bastard of Bourbon and La Hire commanded the vanguard. From Eu they marched to quarter the greater part of their force at Le Bourg-d'Un ||,—and the count was lodged at St. Aubin en Caux ¶; but this same day, about vespers, the lord de Gaucourt, having remained behind, was made prisoner by about eighteen English, who had watched his steps, and carried him off to the castle of Neuf-châtel ** de Hincourt. He afterwards regained his liberty, on paying a large sum of money for his ransom.

The count d'Eu had intelligence, while at St. Aubin, that the English had taken master John de la Motte, whom he had sent to inform the garrison of Harfleur of the relief he was bringing them; and this very day the English sent pursuivants to say that they would advance

* The count de Mortain, styled, in the treaty of Harcourt between the French and English, A. D. 1438, "Edmond comte de Dorset, et de Mortain, et de Harcourt, captaine general et governeur de par monseigneur le roi du pays d'Anjou, du Maine, &c."—*Dumont, Corps Universel de Diplomatique.*

† Giles de Ronvray, lord of Plessier Choiseul, Precy sur Oise, &c., second son of Matthew II. lord of St. Simon, killed at Azincourt, and brother of Gaucher lord of St. Simon. He was greatly distinguished in most of the military exploits in Picardy, Flanders, &c., and died in 1477.

‡ Cousay. Contay.—*Du Cange.*

§ Eu,—a considerable town in Normandy, eight league from Abbeville.

|| Le Bourg-d'Un.—a village in Normandy, near St. Valery en Caux.

¶ St. Aubin en Caux,—a village in Normandy, near [Dieppe.

** Neuf-châtel,—on the road from Amiens to Rouen, sixteen leagues from Amiens.

to combat the French before they proceeded further,—which, however, they did not do. On this account, the French advanced their whole force to Fauville en Caux*, two leagues nearer their adversaries. On the morrow, at daybreak, they marched to Montivilliers†, which was under their obedience, and there learned for certain that the English had not broken up their siege. This day the count d'Eu went to reconnoitre the enemy, escorted by about one hundred chosen horsemen mounted on the flower of their cavalry, when some sharp skirmishing took place between them and a party of English. On his return, he called a council of his ablest captains to consider how they should act,—and they lamented the loss of the lord de Gaucourt, who, from his great experience in such matters, would have ably advised them. It was resolved in this council, that the count should embark with a certain number of combatants, and attack the enemy on the side of Caux; that the bastard of Orleans should do so, with another detachment, on the opposite side; and that the Picards should advance on foot, with pontoons to throw over the ditches which the English had made round their camp; and that all these operations should commence as nearly as possible at the same instant of time. La Hire and the rest of the captains were to remain on horseback with their men, ready to succour those that might stand in need of support.

When these orders had been given, every one made his preparations for executing them on the ensuing day. The attack first commenced on the quarters of the lord Talbot, and was very sharp, lasting for more than half an hour; but the assailants, though they fought valiantly, made little impression, from the superior resistance of the English, and because their pontoons were too short for them to cross the ditches. On the other hand, the enemy was advantageously posted,—and their archers, who were very numerous, shot so well and briskly that they wounded and killed great numbers with their arrows. Among the slain were two valiant knights, sir John de Chailly, lord of Chambois, and sir Harpin de Richames, governor of Rue‡, and a few more. At this attack some new French knights were made,—such as John d'Ailly, Guillaume le Jeune, and others. While this was going forward, the English, to the amount of five hundred, charged the infantry, but were soon repulsed by the cavalry, with the loss of forty or fifty slain. The garrison now made a sally on the guard before the gate, and killed about thirty.

The count d'Eu made a fruitless attempt with his men on the side near the sea, for the English had so strongly fortified every point where he could land that it was labour in vain; and after losing some of their vessels, which had grounded, they retreated to Montivilliers. The infantry likewise retreated thither, finding that they could not gain any advantage.

The French remained eight days at Montivilliers, in great want of provisions for themselves and their horses, waiting to see if they could any way afford assistance to the besieged,—and during this time many skirmishes took place. The count d'Eu sent proposals to the earl of Somerset to decide the raising of the siege on a personal combat with him, or of one hundred men against a hundred Englishmen; but neither was accepted, because the earl knew full well that the garrison and inhabitants were so much distressed by famine that they must, within a few days, surrender at discretion. The earl and the other captains considered also the very great expense their king had been at for this siege, and, when so near gaining their object, would not put the risk of losing it to the chance of a battle at the request of their adversaries. The French then, from their great want of victual, and from the superior numbers of the English, seeing the impossibility of relieving the town, concluded unanimously to return whence they had come, as speedily as they could. They were forced to this from want of food for themselves and their horses, which was not to be had for any consideration; but before their departure, they requested a passport from the enemy for the lord de Rambures, which was granted.

The lord de Rambures then went to the English camp to treat for the surrender of Harfleur,—and the French and Picards, in the mean time, retreated to Abbeville. On their march, they were met by certain messengers from the duke of Burgundy, to forbid them entering his territories, by reason of the great damages they had done when passing through

* Fauville,—a market-town in Normandy, in the country of Caux, four leagues from Fécamp.
† Montivilliers,—a town in Normandy, in Caux, two leagues from Harfleur.
‡ Rue,—a town in Picardy, two leagues from Saint Valery.

them before, threatening that if they should set foot in them he would drive them back by force. They promised not to touch the duke's lands,—but a few broke their word, and entered Ponthieu, drawing toward Amiens, and committed great damages; but the counts d'Estampes and de St. Pol, having collected a large force of men-at-arms, attacked and repulsed them.

Some skirmishes took place on each side; but at length, for certain considerations, they promised to withdraw from the duke's territories and make for Santois, and for the lands of sir John de Luxembourg, threatening to carry thither fire and sword. Sir John was, however, so well provided with troops to resist them that they were happy to pass quietly through his possessions,—for the count de St. Pol was hard on their rear, with a very numerous body of men, ready to succour his uncle should there be any need of it. They advanced into Champagne, doing great waste to all the poor people whose countries they passed through, and who were unable to oppose them.

The lord de Rambures concluded a treaty with the earl of Somerset and the other English captains for the surrender of Harfleur, that the inhabitants might depart in safety, each with a white staff in his hand. In like manner was Montivilliers reduced, for it was forced to surrender from want of provisions.

CHAPTER CCXLVIII.—A VERY GREAT LORD IN BRITTANY, CALLED THE LORD OF RETZ, IS ACCUSED AND CONVICTED OF SORCERY.

In this year, a very extraordinary event happened in Brittany. The lord of Retz*, then marshal of France, and of a very noble birth, and a great landed proprietor, was accused and convicted of sorcery, which he had long followed, by the instigation of the devil and his adherents. He confessed having put to death many young children and women with child, with the intent of arriving at great fortunes and honours,—and that with the blood of these victims to his superstition, whom he had violently murdered, were written divers books of diabolical conjurations, and other things contrary to the catholic faith.

When he was arrested and examined, he confessed that in this way he had caused upward of eight-score persons of different sexes and ages to be put to death. After a trial before competent judges, he was condemned to be hanged and strangled until he should be dead, and then his body to be burnt.

The duke of Brittany and numbers of the nobility, as well secular as ecclesiastical, were present at this trial in the town of Nantes, where the sentence was executed. However, when the first part of it was done, and his body partly burnt, some ladies and damsels of his family requested the body of the duke, that they might inter it in holy ground, which the duke granted. Notwithstanding the many and horrid cruelties he had been guilty of, he made a very devout end, full of repentance, requesting most humbly of his Creator to have mercy on his manifold sins and wickednesses. The greater part of the nobles of Brittany, more especially those of his kindred, were in the utmost grief and confusion at his disgraceful death. Before this event, he was much renowned as a most valiant knight at arms.

* Giles de Laval, lord of Retz, descended in the fourth degree from Fulk Laval, second son of Guy VIII. lord of Laval, who married the heiress of the ancient house of Retz. Giles was a marshal of France in 1429, and a man of distinguished valour, but of a heart and mind depraved to an incredible degree. Some historians however allege that reasons of state precipitated, if they did not occasion his downfall, and that duke Francis was too well pleased with the opportunity of getting rid of a dangerous enemy, to examine very carefully into the truth of the articles preferred against him. He suffered at Nantes on the 23rd of December, 1440, the duke himself attending at his execution. By his wife Catherine de Thouars, he left but one daughter Mary, who married, first, the admiral de Coetivy, secondly the marshal de Lohèac.

CHAPTER CCXLIX.—PIERRE DE REGNAULT, BASTARD-BROTHER TO LA HIRE, GOES ON A FORAGING PARTY TO THE COUNTRY ROUND ABBEVILLE.

About this period, Pierre de Regnault, bastard-brother to La Hire, who resided in the castle of Mailly, near to Beauvais, which he had repaired, set out with about eight-score combatants, as well horse as foot, to forage the country round Abbeville. He took the castle of Yancourt*, and the lord within it, whence he carried away everything that was portable. Intelligence of this was soon carried to Abbeville, wherein were the lord d'Auxi, Guillaume de Thiembrone, Philip de Vaucourt†, Guy Gourle‡, and other captains, who no sooner heard it than they armed themselves and their men, and sallied out horse and foot, to the amount of more than three hundred, with the intent of overtaking the marauders and recovering the plunder they had made from the castle of Yancourt.

Pierre de Regnault, having had notice of this assembly, sent to the lord d'Auxi to excuse himself for what he had done, saying, it was only provisions he was seeking,—but this excuse was not admitted. Great discord now arose on the meeting of the two parties,—but Pierre de Regnault, observing that most of those who had come from Abbeville were only common men, charged them furiously ; and breaking through them with little resistance, he turned on their rear, and, with great slaughter, totally defeated them. Twenty or thirty were killed on the spot, and nine were drowned in attempting to cross the Somme,—in which last number was Guy de Gourlay,—and upward of sixty were made prisoners ; the principal of whom were, sir John de Fay, knight of Rhodes, sir Philip de Jaucourt, and sir William de Thiembrone.

After this defeat, Pierre de Regnault returned with his prisoners and booty, unmolested, to his castle of Mailly, and ransomed his prisoners as if they had been Englishmen. He made during this year frequent excursions on the territories of the duke of Burgundy, who was very much displeased thereat, and in consequence sent information thereof to king Charles, and complained that those of his party were daily robbing and pillaging his country and subjects, and committing such devastations as were not to be endured, considering that peace had been concluded between them. The king made answer, that he was equally vexed at such misconduct, and offered many excuses; adding, that he would provide as speedy a remedy for it as he could,—but that he should be no way displeased at the duke if he could arrest any of these marauders and put them to death, or punish them by any other method he might choose. Notwithstanding this, the same inroads and plundering were continued, to the ruin of the poorer ranks of people.

At the same time, La Hire's companions, who resided in the castle of Bonne, near Laon, began to make inroads on Hainault, the Cambresis, and other places dependent on the lord de St. Pol, who, dissatisfied with their proceedings, placed a strong garrison in the town of Marle§ to oppose them. This garrison one day marched toward Rheims,—and, to secure a passage over the river, took the fort of Bac-a-Bery ||, of no great value, but possessed by La Hire's men. They left about thirty combatants to guard it, under the command of a captain ; but within a few days the men of La Hire returned, having been joined by some from the garrisons in the Valois, who had been lately beaten by sir John de Luxembourg, amounting in the whole to full three hundred fighting men.

They instantly attacked the fort, which was soon won, and all within it put to the sword or forced into the river and drowned,—after which, the French left a stronger garrison in the fort. Within sixteen days, the vassals of the count de St. Pol, and of his uncle sir John de Luxembourg, again assembled in great numbers with the intent of attacking this garrison in the fort of Bac-a-Bery ; but they, having had notice of their coming, abandoned the place before they arrived. The fort was now demolished and razed to the ground.

Thus were the countries about Rheims, Laon, and other parts, sorely oppressed by the inroads of both parties ; and this was done by one side, as it has been said, because sir John de Luxembourg would not take the oaths of allegiance to king Charles, and had kept all his garrisons on a war establishment to prevent them being insulted.

* Yancourt,—in Picardy, near Peronne.

† Vaucourt. Jaucourt.—MS. Du Cange.

‡ Gourle. De Gourlay.—MS. Du Cange.

§ Marle,—a town in Picardy, five leagues from Laon.

|| Bac-a-Berry. Q. Berru? a village in Champagne diocese of Rheims.

CHAPTER CCL.—AMBASSADORS FROM FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND BURGUNDY, MEET AT CALAIS TO TREAT OF A GENERAL PEACE.

In these days, several ambassadors of note were sent by king Charles to St. Omer to treat of a peace with the English, who were to come to that town according to their promise of last year. The principal of these were the archbishop of Rheims and of Narbonne, and the count de Dunois, bastard of Orleans. On their arrival at St. Omer they were grandly feasted by the duke of Burgundy, and soon after heard that the duke of Orleans was come to Calais, being brought thither by the English; on which they sent to Calais to know at what place it would be agreeable to them to hold their convention.

The answer returned was, that the English would not quit Calais with the duke of Orleans,—but that, if the French ambassadors would come thither, they would be ready to enter upon the business. Having considered the proposal, the archbishop of Rheims, the count de Dunois, and others, went thither under passports, together with the lord de Crevecœur, and the envoys from the duke of Burgundy. On their arrival at Calais, the count de Dunois was conducted to the duke of Orleans his brother, who received him with much joy, and most courteously thanked him for the attentions he had paid to his property during the time of his imprisonment.

After this, the parties met on business several times,—and divers proposals were made respecting the deliverance of the duke of Orleans, and for a general peace; but as they could not agree as to several articles, they appointed another meeting, before which each was to inform his sovereign of the grounds they had laid for a negotiation to establish peace between the two kingdoms. The French and Burgundians returned to St. Omer, and, shortly after, the duke of Orleans was carried back to England.

CHAPTER CCLI.—THE BARROIS AND LORRAINERS OVERRUN THE COUNTY OF VAUDEMONT, WHERE THEY COMMIT GREAT WASTE AND DESTRUCTION.

While these things were passing, the Barrois and Lorrainers collected a large force, together with some Frenchmen, and marched for the county of Vaudemont, where they carried destruction with fire and sword, committing sacrilege on many churches and doing inestimable mischiefs. The count de Vaudemont, to avenge himself, not having sufficient forces of his own, sent to demand succour from the duke of Burgundy, and from his son-in-law the lord de Croy, and to beg of them not to delay sending him reinforcements of men-at-arms. In consequence, sir John de Croy was despatched to him, accompanied by sir Simon de Lalain, the lords de Launoy and de Maingoual, nephews to the lord de Croy *, sir John bastard de Reuly†, sir Anthony de Wissoch, and other nobles, with a body of one thousand combatants, who fixed their rendezvous at Aubanton‡, and thence marched toward the duchy of Bar, for the Barrois had evacuated the county of Vaudemont.

They continued advancing until they came before the town of Bar-le-Duc§, in which were the marquis du Pont, son to the king of Sicily, duke of Bar, and others of the nobility of that country. They summoned the marquis to come out and give them battle, for that they were ready and anxious to meet him in the field. The marquis, by advice of his council, made answer, that he would not combat them at their request and pleasure; but he had that intention in proper time and place, when he should judge most fitting. The Burgundians, on hearing this answer, departed thence for a large village, called Longueville||, where they were met by the count de Vaudemont with all the forces he could muster.

On the morrow, they advanced farther into the duchy of Bar, destroying everything with fire and sword; and thence into Lorraine, where they despoiled all that was not secured in

* John I. lord of Launoy (a noble and ancient house in Flanders) married Jane daughter of John, and sister of Anthony, lords de Croy, by whom she had the two sons here mentioned, viz., John II. lord of Launoy, knight of the Golden Fleece, who died in 1492; secondly, Anthony lord of Maingoval, who was ancestor to the famous Charles de Launoy, prince of Salmone and count of Asti, one of Charles the Fifth's greatest generals.

† Reuly. Rely.—Du Cange. Q. Renti?

‡ Aubanton,—a town in Picardy, near Vervins, diocese of Laon.

§ Bar-le-Duc,—a strong town of Lorraine, on the confines of Champagne.

|| Longueville,—three leagues north from Faquemont.

the fortified towns and castles; and what was worse, they took by force some churches and committed divers sacrileges. In truth, the count de Vaudemont was so determined on his revenge that he would have continued this cruel treatment throughout the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, had not the lords who had come to his aid been dissatisfied with it. He could not keep them longer with him, nor indeed his own men; so that after they had been employed on this business for the space of twenty-six days, without meeting with any force to combat, they returned whence they had come, but by another road, after having suffered greatly from want of provision for themselves and their horses.

Such was the mode in which war was carried on between these two great lords, to the ruin and destruction of the poorer people.

CHAPTER CCLII.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY BY MEANS OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AND MARRIES THE LADY OF CLEVES, NIECE TO THE SAID DUKE*.

SEVERAL embassies, as you have seen, took place between the kings of France and of England, and the duke of Burgundy, to endeavour to bring about a general peace, and also to obtain the deliverance of the duke of Orleans from his confinement in England. They had, however, been attended with little success, for the English held out no hopes of peace, but to the prejudice and loss of the king of France and his realm.

CAPTIVITY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS IN THE TOWER OF LONDON. From an illumination in the celebrated MS. volume of Poems written by the Duke during his imprisonment, and preserved in the Brit. Mus. Bib. Reg. 16. F. 2.

They would not condescend to treat in earnest but on condition that all the conquests they had made in France should remain freely to them, without any dependence whatever on

* Charles duke of Orleans had been twice married before, first to Isabel his first-cousin, daughter of Charles VI., and widow of Richard II. king of England, by whom he had a daughter married to John, duke of Alençon;—secondly, to Bona the daughter of Bernard constable d'Armagnac, by whom he had no issue. His third wife was Mary, sixth daughter of Adolph duke of Cleves, who died in 1487, who brought him three children, Lewis afterwards king of France, Mary, married to the viscount de Narbonne, and Anne abbess of Fontevrault.

the crown of France, and they particularly insisted on holding the duchies of Guienne and Normandy on these terms. This had prevented the conclusion of a general peace, for neither the king of France nor his council would submit to them. In regard to the duke of Orleans, the English (as I heard from one who pretended to be acquainted with the secrets of their government) were not desirous that he should gain his liberty; for many persons about the court received very large sums to defray his expenses, and this was the cause why he had been so long detained prisoner. In truth, had the king of France, or those who had the management of the duke of Orleans' estates, refused to send over any more money, it is to be supposed that his deliverance would have been sooner effected. Nevertheless, I believe that everything was done honourably, and with good intentions.

While these negotiations were pending, and afterward, the duke of Burgundy had a great desire to aid the duke of Orleans in his deliverance, as well from their near connexion by blood, as that, on his return to France, they might remain good friends, forgetting all former feuds that had existed between their houses. In consequence, he caused frequent overtures to be made to the duke of Orleans, and to those who governed him, to learn in what manner he could best assist him for the accomplishment of this purpose; and at the same time, he caused him to be sounded, whether he would be willing to marry his niece, a daughter of the duchess of Cleves his sister, then with him; and also, in case of his deliverance, if he would agree to ally himself with the duke of Burgundy, without taking any measures in times to come against him or his family, in consequence of the former quarrels between their fathers, against their mutual enemies, the king of France and the dauphin always excepted. The duke of Orleans, considering the long imprisonment he had suffered and might still undergo, readily assented to these propositions. He gave his promise, on the word of a prince, that if the duke of Burgundy should obtain his liberty, he would instantly espouse his niece, the lady of Cleves, and satisfy the duke completely as to his other proposals. In consequence of this engagement, measures were taken in earnest, for the ransom of the duke of Orleans, with the king of England and his council; when after many delays, it was agreed to by the king of England, on condition that the duke of Burgundy would give security, under his seal, for the due payment of his ransom.

By the conclusion of this treaty, the duke of Orleans obtained his full liberty: and after he had solemnly promised to employ himself earnestly to bring about a general peace, and taken his leave of the king of England and some of the nobility, he set out from London, and arrived at Calais, furnished with ample passports, and thence was conducted to Gravelines, escorted by the lord de Cornewall* and sir Robert de Roix†, and other gentlemen. The duchess of Burgundy, attended by many great lords and gentlemen, came out of Gravelines to meet him; and both expressed much pleasure on the occasion,—the duke of Orleans for his liberty, and the duchess for his arrival. Within a few days, the duke of Burgundy came thither to see him, when, as before, great joy was testified on each side, and many and frequent embracings took place: indeed their pleasure was so great, on this meeting, that neither could for some time utter a word.

The duke of Orleans broke silence first, and said, "On my faith, fair brother and cousin, I ought to love you more than all the princes on earth, and my fair cousin the duchess also; for had it not been for you and her, I should have remained for ever in the power of my adversaries,—and I have never found a better friend than you." The duke of Burgundy replied, that the not having done it sooner had weighed much on his mind,—for that he had for a considerable time been desirous of exerting himself for his deliverance. Such was the conversation, often renewed, between these two princes, which rejoiced all that heard it; and every one was glad of the return of the duke of Orleans, who had been a prisoner in England since the Friday before All-saints day, in the year of grace 1415, until the month of November in the year 1440.

The ambassadors from the king of France were present at this meeting; the principal of whom were, the archbishop of Rheims, lord chancellor of France, the archbishop of Narbonne, the count de Dunois, bastard of Orleans, and some others,—to each of whom, in his turn, the duke of Orleans gave a most gracious reception, but particularly to his brother.

* Lord de Cornewall.—Sir John de Cornewall, summoned to Parliament 11 Henry VI.
† Sir Robert de Roix. Sir Robert Roos.

The company thence went by water to St. Omer, and were lodged in the abbey of St. Bertin, where grand preparations had been made for the reception of the duke of Orleans, who was accompanied by the English lords. He was there received most honourably by the duke of Burgundy and the lords of his household. Great presents were made him by the municipality; and he was daily visited by persons from France and Picardy,—but more from his own territories than elsewhere, who were very much rejoiced at his return. After some days, the duke of Orleans was requested, on the part of the duke of Burgundy, that he would be pleased to swear to the observance of the treaty of Arras, and take to wife the lady of Cleves, niece to the duke of Burgundy, as had been before treated of, and the duke replied, that he was perfectly ready and willing to confirm all that he had promised when a prisoner.

This business being settled, the two dukes entered the choir of the church of St. Bertin, with their attendants, whither the treaty of Arras was brought, written in Latin and in French. It was read aloud, first in Latin, then in French, by master James Trançon, archdeacon of Brussels, in the presence of the two dukes, the archbishops, bishops, and a great number of knights, esquires, burghers, and officers of each party. When the reading of it was ended, the duke of Orleans promised and swore on the book of the holy Evangelists, which the said archdeacon held in his hand, faithfully to observe all the articles of the treaty in general, excepting those articles that related to the death of the late duke of Burgundy, —saying, that he was not bounden to exculpate himself from this death, as his mind was no way consenting thereto; that he was perfectly ignorant of the attempt, and had been very much displeased and vexed when he heard of it, as this event had thrown the kingdom of France into greater danger than it had ever experienced. After this, the count de Dunois was called upon to take a similar oath, who, delaying some little to comply, was instantly commanded by the duke of Orleans to take it, which he then did. The duke then renewed his promise to espouse the lady of Cleves,—and they were immediately betrothed to each other by the archbishop of Narbonne.

Great feastings and every sort of amusement and entertainment now took place; and the duke of Burgundy's purveyors were despatched to distant countries, to supply provision for the wedding-feast,—and also for that of St. Andrew, which the duke had not for some time kept. The duke of Burgundy defrayed the whole of the expenses of the duke of Orleans and of his train. On the Saturday before St. Andrew's day, the duke of Orleans was married to the lady of Cleves; and on the ensuing day, the feast was celebrated, when great crowds of the nobility came thither to view the procession of the lords and ladies to the church. The duke of Burgundy led his niece by her left hand: on the right, behind him, were sir John bastard of St. Pol and the lord de Hautbourdin, who held up the sleeve of her robe. A lady supported her train, which was very rich. A little behind came the duke of Orleans, leading the duchess of Burgundy, attended by the counts d'Eu, de Nevers, d'Estampes, de Saint Pol, de Dunois; while others of the high nobility, and ladies of rank, knights, esquires, and damsels, followed the archbishop of Narbonne, who on that day chanted mass.

The archbishop was attended by a numerous body of clergy, who made processions round the choir; and there were numbers of kings-at-arms, heralds, and pursuivants, as well as trumpeters, minstrels, and others playing on a variety of musical instruments. All these heralds were dressed in their tabards emblazoned with the arms of their respective lords, and in the number was Garter king-at-arms from England. The lord Fanhope, and sir Robert Roos, with their attendants, were present at all these ceremonies, to whom the highest honours were paid, and the handsomest reception given: the duke of Burgundy showed particular attention to lord Fanhope, and they went all over the town without hindrance.

When mass was finished, the company went to dinner, where the duchess of Orleans was seated at the middle of the table in the great hall: on her right was the archbishop who had celebrated mass, and on her left the duchess of Burgundy. There were also the countesses d'Estampes and de Namur. At other tables were seated ladies and damsels, each according to her rank and degree.

With regard to the two dukes, the English lords, the counts before-named, and other

chivalry, they all dined together like a troop, and were well and abundantly served from various rich and curious dishes. From dinner they proceeded to view the justs in the market-place, where all the windows round were filled with ladies splendidly dressed. The lord de Vaurin won the prize this day. After supper, justs were again held in the great hall of the abbey of St. Bertin, on small horses, when many lances were broken, and it was a fine sight to view. On the morrow, which was Monday, were divers joyous entertainments and justings, in which the count de St. Pol won the ladies' prize.

During these days, many presents were made by the princes to the officers-at-arms, for which they cried out several times, with a loud voice, "Largesse!" naming such as had given them a present.

On Tuesday, which was the vigil of St. Andrew's day, the duke of Burgundy commenced his feast of the Golden Fleece, by hearing vespers in the choir of the church of St. Bertin, accompanied by his brother knights clothed in their mantles, hoods, and in the full dress of the order. Above each of the knights' seats in the choir was an emblazoned tablet of his arms; but there were many knights not present,—and six had died since the last celebration of this feast. On the morrow, St. Andrew's day, the knights, in handsome array, went to church in procession; and it was wondrous to see the very rich ornaments of the altar, as well as of the choir, so that both English and French marvelled at the great state and splendour of the duke of Burgundy. After the church service, the duke seated himself at table in the midst of his knights, who were placed in the usual order on one side, and were abundantly well served. In the procession to and from church, the oldest knight went last, according to the date of his knighthood.

On Thursday a chapter was held, for the filling up the vacant stalls of those who were dead, which lasted a considerable time. It was there agreed on unanimously to offer a collar to the duke of Orleans,—and the bishop of Tournay and master Nicholas Raoullin, chancellor of Burgundy, were sent to him, to know if it would be agreeable to him to accept of it. When they had declared the wish of the duke of Burgundy and of his knights-companions, the duke of Orleans replied, that he would willingly wear the order, in honour of his fair cousin the duke of Burgundy, and soon after entered the great hall, whither came the duke of Burgundy, with the knights-companions preceded by their officers-at-arms. Golden Fleece, king-at-arms, bore on his arm a mantle and hood of the order, and, on approaching the duke of Orleans, sir Hugh de Launoy (who had been deputed for this purpose) addressed him saying,—"My most excellent, most puissant and most redoubted lord, my lord duke of Orleans, you see here in your presence my most redoubted lord my lord duke of Burgundy, and my lords his companions of the order of the Golden Fleece, who have unanimously resolved, in full chapter, to present to you a collar of the said order, as a testimony of your high renown, prudence and valour, which they humbly entreat you will be pleased to accept of and wear, to promote that fraternal love and friendship which at present exists between you, and that it may be strengthened and preserved."

The duke of Orleans having replied that he would willingly wear it, the duke of Burgundy advanced with one of the collars in his hand, which he presented to him, and placed round his neck, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and then kissed his cheek. The duke of Orleans then requested the duke would be pleased to wear his order, to which he assented, and the duke of Orleans then drew a collar of his order from his sleeve, and put it round the duke of Burgundy's neck. When the duke of Orleans had been dressed in the mantle and hood of the order, he was led to the chapter-house to take the accustomed oaths, and to assist in the election of four other knights; but they were not immediately named, and none but themselves knew to whom the vacant collars were to be given. The greater part of the nobles were much gratified by this exchange of orders, and that so much unanimity and concord existed between these two princes. Some days afterward, the chapter was renewed, and it was determined to present the dukes of Brittany and of Alençon each with a collar; and Golden Fleece, king-at-arms, was ordered to carry to them letters from the duke of Burgundy and the knights-companions, to inform them of their election. The king-at-arms performed his message punctually; and the two lords received the collars with pleasure, giving him for his trouble such rich presents as satisfied him.

When all these feasts were over, the lord Fanhope departed, with his attendants, from St. Omer, and, by way of Calais, returned to England ; but sir Robert Roos remained with the duke of Orleans, with the intent of accompanying him to the king of France, having been commissioned on an embassy to him by the king of England.

During these times, some of the principal inhabitants of Bruges came to St. Omer, as they were very anxious for their lord the duke of Burgundy, in whose good graces they were not thoroughly established, to come to their town ; for although a reconciliation had indeed taken place, he had declared that he would never enter their town again unless he were conducted thither by a greater lord than himself. The Bruges men, therefore, humbly solicited the duke of Orleans that he would out of his grace request the duke of Burgundy to go thither, and that he would be pleased to conduct him. The duke of Orleans granted their request,—and the duke of Burgundy having assented, they both made preparations for their journey to Bruges, where they were most joyfully received. The town of Bruges made such rich and grand preparations for the reception of the two dukes and duchesses, that it exceeded all that had ever been done by them, and deserves a brief description.

When the inhabitants of Bruges learnt that the two dukes were approaching the town, all the magistrates with their officers and servants, together with the deacons, constables, and others to the amount agreed on, issued out of the gates, and advanced to an inn beyond the boundaries of the town called The Three Kings. They might be upward of fourteen hundred in the whole, and were drawn up on an open spot to wait the coming of their lord. On seeing the duke of Burgundy advance by the side of the duke of Orleans, they approached in good array with bare feet unhooded and ungirdled,—and throwing themselves on their knees, with uplifted hands, most humbly supplicated him in the presence of the two duchesses and the whole company, to forgive them their past offences, according to the tenor of the peace. The duke delayed some little to answer,—but, at the prayer of the duke of Orleans, he granted their request. This done, the magistrates presented him with the keys of all their gates, and then, rising up, retired aside to dress themselves. At this moment, processions from the different churches, as well as of the four mendicant orders of friars, monks, nuns, and beguines, made their appearance, bearing their relics and dressed in their best copes. They were in great numbers, and, on hearing that their lord was now satisfied with them, chanted forth lustily "Te Deum laudamus," &c. The greater part of them attended him to his hôtel.

All the merchants from different nations then resident in Bruges came out on horseback most handsomely arrayed to meet the duke. On the other hand stages were erected at various parts where he passed, on which were represented divers pageants. The streets, on each side, were hung with tapestries and rich cloths ; and in respect to trumpets of silver, clarions, and other musical instruments, there were so many that the whole town resounded with them. There were also several pageants with figures of animals that spouted out wine and other liquors, for all who pleased to regale themselves. In short, it is not in the memory of man that ever the inhabitants of Bruges made so magnificent a display, on the reception of their lord, as they now did. When the duke had dismounted at his hôtel, he was waited on by the magistrates to give him welcome: having received them kindly, he ordered the governor of Flanders to return them the keys of their town, which they had presented to him, saying that he had now the fullest confidence in them. This speech rejoiced them very much, and they all huzzaed. Carols had been sung through all the streets on his arrival,—and when night came, the houses were so well illuminated that the town seemed one blaze of light.

On the morrow, justs were held in the market-place: the lord de Vaurin won one prize, and the heir of Cleves the other. This last was supplied with lances by his uncle the duke of Burgundy. At the end of the justs, supper was served, and then dancings took place, to which all the damsels of Bruges were invited. On the ensuing Tuesday, other justs were held in the market-place,—and the company supped at the house of the sheriffs, where they were splendidly entertained at the expense of the town. On the Saturday, the count and countess of Charolois, daughter to the king of France, arrived from Charolois,—when the duke of Orleans, many nobles, the municipality of the town and several of the principal

burghers, went out to meet them, and conducted them to the court-yard of the hôtel of the duke of Burgundy.

On Sunday, a variety of diversions took place; but it would be tedious to relate them all: suffice it to say, that the inhabitants exerted themselves in every manner they could imagine from love to their lord and prince, and in honour to the duke of Orleans and those that were with them; they even made him handsome presents, that pleased him much.

On the following day, the duke and duchess of Orleans left Bruges, with their attendants, which caused many tears from the ladies and damsels of the household of the duke of Burgundy on taking their leave of her. They went to Ghent, whither they were accompanied by the duke of Burgundy,—and were there received with every mark of honour. After a few days' stay, they departed thence, and were escorted out of the town by the duke of Burgundy. On taking their leave, they mutually promised henceforth to do everything possible for each other. The duke and duchess of Orleans went by slow days' journeys to Tournay, where they had a very flattering reception. From the time the duke had returned from England to his quitting the duke of Burgundy, many lords, and others, had come from France, and elsewhere, to welcome his return home, and to offer him their services, some of whom he retained in his service. Several even from the states of the duke of Burgundy had offered themselves, and were so pressing that many, as well gentlemen as damsels, were retained of his household, and in divers situations. Some knights and esquires had presented from eight to ten of their sons to him, for his pages, and about twenty-four companions from the Boulonnois, well mounted and equipped, were retained for his archers and body guards: in short, his retinue was increasing so fast, that when he arrived at Tournay he was followed by about three hundred horse. In regard to his order, it was granted to such numbers of knights and esquires, and others of low degree, who solicited it,—and so few were refused, that it was quite common throughout Picardy. Many were desirous of attaching themselves to him in the expectation and hope that when he should have seen the king he would have the principal government of France, and that they might then be advanced by various means: he himself also indulged this expectation. Some, however, more wise, thought otherwise, —and it happened as they had foreseen; for they said in secret, that it would have been more advisable in the duke to have made greater haste to wait on the king and with a smaller train of followers,—and they thought that those who governed the king, and had done so during all the troubles, would not suffer any but themselves to rule the realm, although the duke of Orleans was the next heir to the crown of France after the dauphin, and had suffered much for it; but, notwithstanding this, it has been long seen that violent quarrels and dissentions can exist between such great lords.

The duke of Orleans, on leaving Tournay, went to Valenciennes, and thence to Quênoy-le-Comte, to visit his fair cousin the countess Margaret, dowager of Hainault, who received him with joy.* After she had made him some gifts, he went to the city of Cambray, where he received many presents, and the town also gave him five hundred golden French crowns. The duke had intended going to St. Quentin, on quitting Cambray; but some of his people gave him to understand, that he would incur a great risk to himself and his attendants by so doing,—that he would be obliged to pass through some defiles commanded by the castles of sir John de Luxembourg, who had not yet sworn to observe the treaty of Arras. This was the cause that made him change his route; and he summoned some gentlemen from the Cambresis to aid him in the escort of his baggage. But had the duke been better informed of the state of parties, he needed not have feared sir John de Luxembourg for two reasons: first, because sir John was perfectly reconciled with the duke of Burgundy, and had even been at Bruges, where he had held many conferences with the duke of Orleans on his affairs, as well touching the lordship of Courcy as other matters of concern to both. Sir John had then left Bruges well inclined to the duke, and had offered to serve him, and do everything for his interest that he should think would be agreeable to him; whence it may naturally be supposed, that he would never have permitted any injuries to be done him on his road.

Secondly, because at the time the duke was at Cambray sir John was lying on his death-bed at his hôtel in Guise, and news of his decease was carried to the duke while in Cambray, which made him stay there two days longer than he had intended. He even

requested the magistrates of that town to choose him for their governor, in the room of the late sir John de Luxembourg, and he would obtain the usual and necessary confirmation of it from the king of France. The magistrates excused themselves from compliance as well as they could, saying, they dared not do it without the consent of their bishop.

The duke of Orleans went from Cambray to St. Quentin,—thence to Noyon, Compiégne, Senlis, and to Paris, where he remained some days. In all the towns he passed through, or stopped at, he was received with as many honours as if he had been the king of France or the dauphin. Everybody was full of hopes and confidence that great consolation would befal the kingdom of France on his return from imprisonment. The people more especially were rejoiced to see him again at liberty, for they had long wished for it.

It was the intention of the duke to hasten to the king as speedily as he now could; but he received such intelligence as made him delay it a considerable time; for a year or more. The cause of this delay was, that the king had been informed of the whole conduct the duke had held since his return from England,—of his oaths and alliance with the duke of Burgundy,—of having received his order,—how grandly he was accompanied,—of his having admitted into his household numbers of Burgundians, who had formerly waged war against him and his crown. The king was also told, that these connexions had been formed in opposition to him and his ministers,—and that many great lords, such as the dukes of Brittany and Alençon, had joined the two dukes, with the view of forming a new administration,—and that henceforward his kingdom would be ruled by them, or such others as they might please to appoint, and that he would be only allowed a decent establishment to maintain his state, without a power of interfering in the government but as it might be agreeable to them, and with their consent. The king, who was ever inclined to suspicion, and to listen to such information, from the many plots that had been formed against him during his reign, readily believed what was now told him; but when he heard that the dukes of Brittany and Alençon had accepted of the order of the Golden Fleece, whatever doubts he might have had were strengthened. Those about his person repeated daily the same tales, assuring him that they were true, so that his suspicions were completely confirmed.

Notwithstanding that the king had ordered the duke of Orleans to come to him, telling the duke's messengers who had brought him the intelligence of his return from England, that he was very anxious to see him, he would not permit him to come (in consequence of the tales he had been told) but with a small retinue, leaving behind all the Burgundians he had retained in his service. The duke of Orleans, knowing the state of the court, and what had been told of him, went from Paris to Orleans, and thence to Blois, and to his other territories, where he was received with the utmost joy by his vassals and subjects, and many grand presents were made to him from these his possessions.

We must speak a little of sir John de Luxembourg, count de Ligny, who, as I have related, departed this life in the castle of Guise. His body was placed on a car, and carried, with every honour and a numerous attendance, to the church of Our Lady at Cambray, and placed on tressels within the choir. On the first night, vigils and funeral orisons were made; and he was watched until the morrow, when a grand funeral service was performed, and the coffin surrounded by a number of lighted torches held by his vassals. When this service was ended, he was interred without the choir, near to one of his ancestors called sir Waleran de Luxembourg, lord of Ligny and of Beaurevoir, as has been already told.

Sir John de Luxembourg had died without ever having taken the oaths of allegiance to king Charles, or to his commissioners, although often pressed to do it. Since the year 1435, when the peace of Arras was concluded, until the eve of Twelfth-day, in the year 1440, when he died, he had kept such good garrisons in all his towns and castles, that none of the three parties, France, England, and Burgundy, had done his lands any damage worth mentioning. With regard to the English, they were very desirous of pleasing him, for he had not yet broken with them, nor returned his bonds of alliance; and they had great hopes of being supported by him, should there be occasion. In like manner, he considered them as sure allies against all who should attempt to injure him. As to the Burgundians, there were few but were inclined to serve him; and although the duke of Burgundy was

for a time very indignant against him, from reports often brought to him, yet matters were not pushed to open hostilities, and he had recovered the good graces of the duke. The French, and particularly the captains of these marauding parties, feared him greatly; for they knew how personally valiant he was, and that he had always a sufficiency of men-at-arms ready to resist all who meant to harass his lands. They also knew, that if he could meet them unawares, on any part of his territories, he would destroy them without mercy. For these reasons, therefore, whenever they approached any of his possessions they were glad to give assurances, under their seals, not to commit any damage to his vassals or country. This they had frequently done,—and he was contented to leave them unmolested. A short time, however, before his death, king Charles had determined in council to give him no farther respite from taking the oaths, and to raise a large army to conquer him, or at least to force him to take the oaths prescribed at the peace of Arras; but God, the creator of all things, provided a remedy, before it could be known what would have been the event of such proceedings.

Thus ended the life of sir John de Luxembourg, who was a valiant and enterprising knight, and much feared in all places where he was personally known; and he might be about fifty years of age when he died.

Shortly after his decease, one called Leurin de Moucy, to whom he had given in guard the castle of Coucy, surrendered it to the duke of Orleans, in consideration of a certain sum of money which he received, and refused to put it into the hands of the count de St. Pol, nephew and heir to sir John de Luxembourg. The townsmen of Neel and Beaulieu, in the Vermandois, expelled their governor, Lionel de Wandonne and all the friends of sir John de Luxembourg, and admitted the vassals of the lord de Mongaignier*. But the rest of the towns and castles were placed under the obedience of the count de St. Pol, by those who had the government of them.

CHAPTER CCLIII. — THE KING OF FRANCE GOES TO TROYES IN CHAMPAGNE. — SEVERAL TOWNS AND FORTS SUBMIT TO HIS OBEDIENCE.—OTHER MATTERS.

King Charles of France now assembled a very large body of men from different provinces of his realm, and ordered those captains of whom I have spoken as Skinners, to join him instantly with their troops. When all were collected on the banks of the Loire, the king departed from Bourges in Berry, attended by the dauphin, the constable of France, the lord Charles d'Anjou, and lords without number. He marched to Troyes in Champagne, and remained there about three weeks. His men were quartered in the towns and villages in the open country round; but the greater part were sent to Auxerre, Tonnerre, and to the borders of Burgundy, where they harassed the country much. During his stay at Troyes, many towns and castles, which had formerly waged a severe warfare against him, submitted to his obedience. He also put an end to the quarrels between the house of Bar and Lorraine, and that of Vaudemont, and received into favour the heir of Commercy, and several lords on the borders of Burgundy, who had incurred his indignation.

Having finished these matters, the king went to his town of Bar-sur-Aube, whither came the bastard of Bourbon†, with a large train of men-at-arms, whom he had long maintained in the field. On his arrival, he was instantly accused of treasonable practices against the king; and, after the affair had been examined into, he was tried, and condemned to be sewed in a sack, and thrown into the river and drowned, which sentence was executed. His body, when dead, was taken out of the river, and buried in holy ground. It was currently reported that this execution had taken place because that, during the quarrel between the king and the dauphin, he had joined his brother the duke of Bourbon with a large force, and had been the principal actor in separating the dauphin from his father. It

* Mongaignier. Q. Montgaugier? John II. de Sainte Maure, lord of Montgaugier and Nesle, married Louise de Rochechouart, daughter to John lord Mortemart, and died 1453.

† Alexander, a natural son of John I., duke of Bourbon, and brother of Charles I., the then duke.

was also said, that on the failure of the expedition to raise the siege of Harfleur, where he had served under the count d'Eu, he had gone to St. Omer, and offered his services to the duke of Burgundy, should he at any time have occasion for them, in compliment to the duke's brother-in-law the duke of Bourbon. This execution gave great alarm to many of the captains, who had for a long time been under arms, on pretence of forming part of the king's army, lest they should in like manner be punished for their wicked deeds.

CHAPTER CCLIV. — THE ENGLISH IN THE CASTLE OF FOLLEVILLE * DO MUCH DAMAGE TO THE COUNTRY ROUND AMIENS. — THEY DEFEAT SOME PICARD LORDS AND THEIR MEN.

The English garrison in the castle of Folleville did at this time much mischief to the countries round Amiens, Corbie, and in Santois, where they alarmed the town of Mondidier. They were about one hundred warriors, who kept the neighbourhood in such awe, that most of the towns were forced to pay them monthly a certain sum as protection-money, and a stipulated quantity of wheat, to the great oppression of the poor farmers †. They even made an attack one day on the town of Dours ‡ on the Somme. In the castle was the lord of the town; but, not having a sufficient force to resist them, he hastily mounted his horse and rode to Amiens, to demand succour. He found there the Lord de Saveuses, the governor of Amiens, and many gentlemen and warriors, who unanimously agreed to accompany him in the pursuit of the English. They overtook the English near to Folleville, whither they were retreating in handsome array, carrying with them the immense plunder they had taken.

It was ordered that the lord de Saveuses should lead the infantry, and the lord de Dours §, the lord de Contay ||, and the lord de Tilloye, Guichart de Fiennes, and other gentlemen, should gallop up to the English, and cry out to them to halt and fight with their enemies on horse and on foot; but these orders were not observed; for those on horseback, eager to engage their adversaries, made a full charge without waiting the coming up of the infantry, which turned out very unfortunately for them. The English seeing the enemy approach, and being more numerous, formed two divisions, placing their horses in the rear, that they might not be attacked on that quarter, and defended themselves so valiantly that most part of the French were slain. In this number were the lord de Dours, Guichart de Fiennes, John de Beaulieu, and other noble gentlemen. The principal among the prisoners was sir Martel d'Antoch, lord of Tilloye. The remainder escaped by flight; not, however, without having some of their horses wounded and killed from fatigue.

The lord de Saveuses, seeing the unfortunate issue of the day, kept the infantry under his command together as well as he could, and rallied some of the horse who were flying homeward. He marched them back to Amiens, very much afflicted at their ill-fortune. Shortly after, by a treaty with the English, they obtained the naked bodies of the dead, to inter them in their own sepultures. Some of the relations and friends of the slain would have thrown the blame of this defeat on the lord de Saveuses, saying that he did not advance fast enough with the infantry to support the cavalry when engaged. He answered this charge by declaring, that as the infantry had been put under his command by the unanimous consent of the captains then present, he could not advance faster than he did without leaving his troops behind him.

* Folleville,—a village in Picardy near to Bretueil.

† This protection-money was well known on the borders of England and Scotland, under the name of Black Mail.

‡ De Dours. Q. Dourcha? which, in Bleau's Atlas, is on the Somme; but I cannot find Dours, or Dourcha, in the Gazetteer of France.

§ Q. Peter lord of Douars, youngest son to Guy V., lord of la Tremouille, and uncle to George count of Guisnes, left issue a son, John lord of Douars, in whose son, John, this branch of the house terminated.

|| Q. Conti? Ferry de Mailly (often before mentioned) was lord of Conti by descent from Isabel the heiress of that house, who married Colard de Mailly, surnamed "Le Jeune."

CHAPTER CCLV.—SOME OF THE GARRISONS OF THE COUNT DE ST. POL ROB THE KING OF FRANCE'S SERVANTS AS THEY WERE CONDUCTING WARLIKE STORES FROM THE CITY OF TOURNAY.—THE REPARATION THE COUNT DE ST. POL MAKES FOR THIS CONDUCT.

During the stay the king of France made in Champagne, he had ordered some of his most confidential servants to go to the town of Tournay, and to Flanders, to purchase artillery and warlike stores, which they were to convey to Paris, to be ready in case they should be wanted. Those whom he had intrusted with this commission executed it faithfully; and having laden carts and waggons with the artillery and stores, conducted them without any hindrance through the territories of the duke of Burgundy, from the city of Tournay, until they came to a town called Ribemont*, where they were stopped by the garrison in that place for the count de St. Pol. The chiefs of the garrison were, John lord of Thorante, Guyot de Bethune, Hoste de Neufville, with several others, as well men-at-arms as archers. They robbed these servants of the king of France, carrying into the town of Ribemont the contents of the carts and waggons, which they there divided among themselves and wasted; but the whole of this conduct was without the knowledge or consent of the count de St. Pol, who was much displeased thereat.

When intelligence of this robbery came to the king of France, he was very indignant, and swore that he would have ample amends for it; and that he would wage war on the count de St. Pol, unless he made full restitution for the things stolen, and did homage to him for the lands he held within his realm. During the king's residence in the town of Bar-sur-Aube, gentlemen came daily to offer their services to him; and having staid there some time, he departed, through Châlons and Rheims, to the city of Laon. Wherever he passed, he was received most honourably, and in the manner in which obedient subjects usually show to their sovereign lord. From Laon he despatched the greater part of his captains with their men; namely, La Hire, Anthony de Chabannes, Joachim Rohault,—to make war on the towns and castles dependent on the count de St. Pol. The count had heard of this plan, and consequently had reinforced his different places as strongly as he could, and had retired to the castle of Guise, in Tierrache, to be ready to succour such as might stand most in need of it.

It happened, that those of the garrison of Ribemont, whom I have before named, on hearing of the near approach of the king's army, were so much frightened, from dread of the French, that they suddenly left the town in the utmost disorder, and without waiting for each other, abandoning the command of it and the castle to the common people. This caused great confusion; and they mostly withdrew to Guise and other fortified places of the count, who was much enraged at their cowardice, more especially with those to whom he had intrusted its defence.

On this same day, or on the morrow, the French came before Ribemont, to whom, in the name of king Charles, was the town surrendered, and admittance given them. They found it full of wealth, and helped themselves to it at their pleasure; and Joachim Rohault † entered with the rest, as governor of the place. Shortly after, the French advanced to the town of Marle ‡, which they surrounded on all sides with their whole force. The governor in the town for the count de St. Pol was a gentleman diligent and expert in war, called George de Croix, having with him sixty combatants, including those of the town. He was regularly and often summoned to surrender the place to the king of France; but he always replied, that without the knowledge and consent of the count de St. Pol, he would not yield it up.

The besiegers, in consequence, sent on their heavy artillery, and pointed many cannon against the walls and gates, which damaged them so much that they intended very soon to

* Ribemont,—a town in Picardy, four leagues from St. Quentin.

† Joachim de Rouault, lord of Boisemenard, Gamaches, &c. marshal of France in 1461. The son of John lord of Gamaches, &c. who was killed at the battle of Verneuil in 1424, and of Jane du Bellay. He was distinguished in all the great actions of his time, was made constable of Bordeaux, and died in 1478. He was usually styled the marshal de Gamaches.

‡ Marle, a town in Picardy, five leagues from Guise.

storm it. In the mean time, the count de St. Pol, considering that it would be impossible for him to hold out against the power of France, especially as he had been told that he must not look for aid from the duke of Burgundy, began to turn his thoughts to the best means of appeasing the king, particularly as the principal gentlemen about him advised him, by all means, to negotiate a peace and remain in the quiet possession of his estates. The countess-dowager, his mother, first opened the business, with others of his friends, who had a little before gone to wait on the king at Laon. The count went also thither himself, and was graciously received by the king and the dauphin, and by the lords of the court. He shortly after requested and obtained from the king a suspension of arms between the army before Marle and the garrison, until a fixed day, when a treaty should be opened to accommodate the business.

A treaty was concluded, after the king had holden several councils, and after the count de St. Pol had been heard in his defence. It was agreed, that the count should remain in the good graces of the king, on consideration that he did immediate homage for the lands he held in France, and also for those of the countess of Marle and of Soissons, his lady, in the usual manner in which homage was done by other vassals. He was likewise to place the town of Marle under the king's obedience, and deliver it to such commissioners as should be appointed, sending those now within it away. He was beside to give certain declaratory letters, signed and sealed by him, the contents of which shall be specified farther on. When this matter had been finished, the king sent commissioners to take possession of the town of Marle: they carried with them passports for George de Croix and his men, who, on their departure, marched to La Ferté-sur-Oise, by orders from the count de St. Pol. The commissioners on entering Marle received the obedience of the inhabitants; and having executed all they had been commanded, the town was, soon after, restored to the count de St. Pol, with the king's approbation, on the same terms on which he had before held it.

The army now dislodged, and advanced further into the Vermandois, Hainault and Cambresis, greatly oppressing the poor people. The count de St. Pol, after the conclusion of the peace, increased much in favour with the king and the dauphin: he was particularly beloved by the latter, whom he promised to serve faithfully, henceforth, in all his wars with the English. The count remained at Laon a considerable time; and before he quitted it, delivered to the council the declaratory letter before mentioned, the tenor of which was as follows.

"Louis de Luxembourg, count de St. Pol, de Ligny, de Conversan, de Braine and de Guise, lord of Anghien and of Beaurevoir, and Castellan of Lille, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Be it known that I have promised, and by these presents do promise, on my faith and corporal oath, and under penalty of confiscation of all my effects, full and entire obedience to the king our lord, and to all his officers, as well legal as civil, touching his finances, taxes, and other matters respecting his royal domains, and to put an entire end to all bonds of alliance in opposition to him that I may have contracted within these last twenty years. I also promise, by these presents, to make restitution to the king, or to whomsoever he may appoint, of what remains of the artillery, and other stores, that were taken from the king's servants, by the garrison of Ribemont, and what may remain of the king's horses and carts taken by those of Marle. I likewise promise to make answer in the court of parliament to whatever the king's attorney shall maintain and require from me, touching the succession of my late lord, the count de Ligny, my uncle, whose soul may God pardon! as well in regard to the personal effects of my said uncle, on the day of his death, as to the inheritances which have fallen to me as his heir in the countries of Ligny, Guise, and elsewhere; and I hold myself bounden to obey whatever judgment that court shall pronounce. I have, in consequence, fixed on the 15th day of July, at which time I hold myself adjourned to appear before the said court of parliament, to make my reply to the king's attorney, that he may instantly proceed thereon.

"I do promise generally, by these presents, to conduct myself toward the king my sovereign lord, in a manner becoming a loyal subject; and that I will not suffer the smallest damage to be done, by any of my garrisons, to any of the king's vassals, or to his territories.

I also promise faithfully to restore all I may hold that belongs to others on account of the war; and in regard to Montaigu, my full powers shall be exerted for its restoration. All these things I promise most strictly to perform, without the infringement of any one article. In testimony whereof, I have signed these presents with my own hand, and sealed them with the seal of my arms, this 20th day of April, in the year 1441."

CHAPTER CCLVI.—THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY WAITS ON THE KING OF FRANCE AT LAON, TO MAKE SOME REQUESTS TO HIM.—OTHER MATTERS.

In the month of April, in this year, the duchess of Burgundy, daughter to the king of Portugal, waited on king Charles at Laon, honourably attended by knights, ladies, and damsels. As her health was but indifferent, she was carried in a litter. The constable, who had married a sister of the duke of Burgundy, came out a league from Laon to meet her, and conducted her to the town, and to the king, who, as well as the dauphin and courtiers, received her with every attention. After this ceremony, she retired to the abbey of St. Martin, where she was lodged. She had several interviews with the king, respecting a general peace, and also respecting the duke of Orleans.

At this time the castle of Montaigu was held by Villemet de Hainault, and others that had belonged to the late sir John de Luxembourg, who had boasted that they would not surrender it to the king's commissioners without the consent of the duke of Burgundy. In consequence of this refusal, a large detachment had been ordered thither to reduce it to obedience, and, if necessary, to besiege it. This had, however, been delayed, in the expectation that an accommodation would have been brought about before the duchess should leave Laon,—who indeed had made many requests to the king, but few, if any, were granted her. Nevertheless, she celebrated Easter there, kept great state, and was visited by the nobles and other persons of note in the king's household.

In like manner was the king visited, while at Laon, by Jeanne de Bethune*, countess of Ligny and viscountess of Meaux, who did him homage for her lands. The king was well pleased at her coming, and received her most kindly. She concluded a treaty, through her commissioners, respecting the personal effects which her late husband had left her, which it was said were confiscated because he had died while an enemy to the king, and paid down for their release a sum of money: by this means she remained unmolested, and received letters patent confirming the agreement. During the time she staid at Laon, she was strongly urged to remarry with the count d'Eu,—but she excused herself from compliance. Soon after she had finished her business she departed for her castle of Beaurevoir, and thence to Cambray.

During this time, persons came daily to do homage to the king, and to offer him their services, whom he retained, promising to be very liberal toward them; for he was then occupied with a plan of raising a very large army to combat his ancient enemies the English.

In this year, one of the esquires of the stables, named Dunot, was charged before the duke of Orleans with an attempt to poison him, at the instigation, as it was said, of some of the great lords of the king of France's household. He was closely examined and severely tortured, and afterward drowned by night in the river Loire. Little, however, was made public of the reality of the charges against those who had been suspected.

About this period, eight-score pillagers from the household of king Charles went to a town in Hainault called Haussy†, which had a fair castle, wherein they quartered themselves for three days. Many of the adjacent towns and villages, as well in Hainault as in the Cambresis, paid them protection-money to a large amount. While this was passing, sir John de Croy, bailiff of Hainault, assembled some men-at-arms in Quênoy, and advanced to attack them. Part of them instantly retired within the castle, which was directly stormed,—in the doing

* Daughter and heir of Robert I. (viscount of Meaux in right of his mother Jane, heiress of the great house of Coucy); she married, first, Robert de Bar, count of Soissons, formerly mentioned, and secondly, John de Luxembourg count de Ligny, of whom such frequent mention has been made.

† Haussy,—near Quênoy.

of which an elderly gentleman of much note, called Lordennois d'Ostern, was slain. They capitulated with the bailiff to depart, on leaving all they had received behind, and to pay a sum of money down for liberty to march away in safety Many of them were killed that had not taken shelter in the castle. On their march toward Laon they were met near the bridge of Nouvion by a party of the count de St. Pol's men, who robbed them of all they had, and slew the greater part of them beside.

CHAPTER CCLVII.—THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY LEAVES KING CHARLES AT LAON, AND RETURNS TO THE DUKE HER LORD AT QUENOY.

[A. D. 1441.]

King Charles, having celebrated the festival of Easter at the bishop's palace at Laon, held several councils on the requests which the duchess of Burgundy had made, at the conclusion of which (as I have before said) few if any were granted. She was much displeased at this, and saw clearly, as well as those who had accompanied her, that the king's ministers were not well inclined toward the duke of Burgundy or his concerns. Perceiving that her stay was no longer profitable, she took leave of the king, and thanked him for the honourable reception he had given her, but added, "My lord, of all the requests I have made you, and which seemed so very reasonable, you have not granted me one." The king courteously replied, "Fair sister, this has weighed on my mind more than you conceive, and I am much hurt that it cannot be otherwise; for, having laid the whole of them before my council, where they have been fully discussed, they have determined that it would be very much to my prejudice were I to accede to them."

After this conversation, she took her leave of the king and the dauphin, and went to St. Quentin with her attendants. She was escorted by the constable and others a considerable way. From St. Quentin she departed on the morrow to dine at the castle of Cambresis. While she was there, some of the king's men had entered Hainault on a foraging party, and were carrying away great numbers of cattle, sheep, horses, and other effects; but they were sharply pursued by the duchess's men, who killed three or four on the spot: the rest saved themselves by flight, except two, who were overtaken, made prisoners, and carried to Quênoy, where they suffered death.

The duchess pushed forward to Quênoy, where the duke was, to whom she related all that had passed between her and the king and his ministers. In truth, the greater number of the nobles who had accompanied her were not so much attached to the French interest on their return as they were when they had set out, on account of what they had seen and heard while at Laon. The duke weighed well these matters in his own breast, and considered with his council on the best means of securing his dominions, which seemed likely, on the first fair opportunity, to be attacked. He had, however, about him many prudent and valiant men, who exerted themselves to the utmost to preserve peace and union,—and, in particular, on the part of the French, the archbishop of Rheims, lord chancellor of France, was very active to preserve the peace from being infringed. And although the duchess of Burgundy had left the king in an ill humour, there were daily communications between well-intentioned men on both sides, to bring to an amicable conclusion what differences might exist between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER CCLVIII.—THE FORTRESS OF MONTAIGU *, BELONGING TO THE LORD OF COMMERCY, IS DESTROYED AND RAZED TO THE GROUND BY ORDERS FROM THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

Sir Robert de Sallebruche, lord of Commercy, pressed the king of France and his council for the restoration of his castle of Montaigu; but this lord de Commercy was not in the good graces of the duke of Burgundy, whose indignation he had incurred by injuries done to his country and subjects. He would not, therefore, consent that this castle should be

* Montaigu, a town in Picardy, near Laon.

restored in its present state, and insisted on its being demolished. The towns of Laon, Rheims, St. Quentin, and others, joined in this request, because the garrison had made very oppressive inroads on all the country round. It was, therefore, concluded, with the king's approbation, that those within it should give security to the king for its due surrender in the beginning of June, in such state, entire or demolished, as it might please the duke of Burgundy.

The duke instantly sent a numerous train of workmen to destroy the castle; but, while this was doing, the lord de Commercy practised secretly to get possession of it from those to whose care it was intrusted, by means of bribes. It was discovered,—and those suspected of being concerned were arrested, four of whom were beheaded: one of them was the governor of the town of Montaigu. In revenge for this attempt, the fortress was razed to the ground. It was seated very strongly on a high mountain, and the adjacent countries had suffered greatly from it.

CHAPTER CCLIX.—THE KING OF FRANCE LAYS SIEGE TO AND CONQUERS THE TOWN OF CREIL*.

When the king of France had resided about a month in Laon, he departed thence, and went, through Soissons and Noyon, to Compiégne, where he tarried some time to wait for his army that he was raising to march to Creil.

Although William de Flavy, governor of the town of Compiégne, had obtained his pardon from the king for the death of the lord de Rieux†, marshal of France, who had died in his prisons, he would not appear before the king,—and, from fear of the marshal's friends, went off with the lord d'Offemont for the greater security of his person. The king was joined at Compiégne by numbers from all parts of France, in obedience to his summons; and a few days after he quitted Compiégne and went to Senlis, where he made a short stay, and thence marched his army before Creil, then held by the English. He fixed his quarters near the town, on the side toward Paris,—and the constable and other captains posted themselves on the opposite side, in front of the bridge.

Many skirmishes took place on their arrival; but soon after, when the king's artillery, that had been pointed against the walls and gates, opened their batteries, the fortifications were so much damaged that the garrison began to fear the event of a storm; so that, at the end of twelve days, they desired to capitulate, which was granted to them. They agreed to surrender the town and castle to the king, on condition of being allowed to march away in safety with all their money, and as many of their effects as they could carry on their backs. Having received passports, they marched out on foot through the gate leading to the bridge, taking the road toward Beauvais. Their commander was sir William Chamberlain.

On the departure of the English, the king entered the castle; and the other captains were lodged in different parts of the town. Yvon du Puys was appointed captain of the garrison.

* Creil, a town on the Oise, and on the road from Amiens to Paris.

† Peter de Rieux, lord of Rochefort, third son of John II. marshal de Rieux, succeeded to his father's military dignities in 1417. The ensuing year he was deprived by the duke of Burgundy, and thereupon threw himself into the arms of the dauphin, whom he served with fidelity and great success for many years after. He was made prisoner (with some circumstances of treachery) by William de Flavy lord of Assy, at his town of Compiègne, and died of want and misery in a dungeon when only forty-eight years old, leaving no issue. This William de Flavy had been also principally instrumental to the capture of the Pucelle d'Orléans; and not long after the death of the marshal de Rieux, suffered, in common, says Matthieu de Coucy, with all those who had any concern in Joan's captivity or death, a violent and untimely end. His throat was cut in the night-time, at his castle of Nesle, by the bastard d'Orbendas, at the instigation (it is added) of his own wife, A.D. 1448. The punishment of his cruelty to the marshal de Rieux, in 1509 compelled the daughter of William de Flavy with her husband to pay 10,000 livres parisis for saying masses for the soul of his unfortunate ancestor.

CHAPTER CCLX.—THE KING OF FRANCE MARCHES TO BESIEGE THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF PONTOISE.

When the king of France had resided some days at Creil, he marched his whole army to Pontoise and arrived there about the middle of May. He was lodged in the abbey of Maubuisson, a noble convent having many fine edifices. His household was quartered there with him, and also the constable and marshals of France, namely the lord de Solignes * and de Lohiac: the other commanders were lodged in divers parts. The artillery was soon brought to bear on a large bulwark at the end of the bridge, opposite to Maubuisson †, which so much damaged it that it was taken by storm. From fourteen to sixteen were killed on the king's side, and many wounded: the English suffered nearly an equal loss. The king had this bulwark repaired and strengthened, and gave the guard of it to sir Denis de Chailly, and Michael Durant, with their men. In another quarter, a bridge was thrown over the river Oise, opposite to the abbey of St. Martin, which was surrounded by a low wall, and fortified like a blockhouse. The lord Charles d'Anjou and the lord de Cotivy ‡, admiral of France, took possession of it with three or four thousand combatants. A strong blockhouse was also erected at the end of this new bridge, for its defence. The French could now pass over the river at their pleasure, without fear of danger from the enemy.

While these approaches were carrying forward, the king was joined by great numbers of nobles and gentlemen, and likewise by the burghers from the chief towns, in obedience to his summons. In the number were six score combatants from the city of Tournay, all picked men, and excellently appointed. These were chiefly cross-bowmen, and under the command of three persons of note in Tournay, namely Symon de St. Genoix, Robert le Boucher, and John de Cour, who were most graciously received by the king. Numbers came from Paris handsomely equipped, and from all the other great towns; and, as they arrived, they were received by the king's officers, and suitably lodged.

Louis de Luxembourg, count de St. Pol and de Ligny, who had been some time assembling his men, arrived before Pontoise about a week after Midsummer-day, with six hundred men well appointed and arrayed. As the weather was very hot, he drew up his men in order of battle near to the king's quarters, who, with several of the princes and others, came to see him and were greatly rejoiced at his arrival. The king feasted him much, and was profuse in his thanks to him for having come thither with so handsome a company. There came with the count de St. Pol the lord de Vervins, sir Colart de Mailly, Louis d'Anghien, sir Ferry de Mailly, John de Hangest, sir Daviod de Poix, Jacotin de Bethune and his brothers, George de Croix, and many more gentlemen, who suffered much this day from the excessive heat; insomuch that one gentleman, called Robert de Frisomen, died of it.

After the king had reviewed them they went to lodge at a village hard by, and shortly after encamped with the besieging army. The count de Vaudemont came also thither with one hundred or six score combatants, with whose arrival the king was well pleased. In truth, there were at this siege most of the great lords of France,—such as the dauphin, the count de Richemont constable of France, the two marshals and the admiral, before-named, the lord Charles d'Anjou, the counts d'Eu, de la Marche, de St. Pol, de Vaudemont, d'Albreth, de Tancarville, de Joigny, the vidame de Chartres, the lord de Châtillion, the lord de Moreul in Brie, Poton de Saintrailles, the lord de Bueil, La Hire, the lord de Ham, sir Heincelin de la Tour, the lord de Mouy, Claude de Hangest, Regnault de Longueval, the lord de Moyencourt, the lord de la Suze §, sir Theolde de Valberg, Anthony de Chabannes, Charles de Flavy, sir Giles de St. Simon, Hugh de Mailly, Olivier de Cointiny ||, the lord de Pennesach,

* Solignes.—Jaloignes.—Du Cange.

† Maubuisson,—a convent in the diocese of Beauvais.

‡ Cotivy,—Coitiny.—Du Cange.

§ René de Laval, lord de la Suze, younger brother to the infamous marshal de Retz, whose execution is mentioned at page 96, vol. ii.

|| Should this be Coetivy? This Oliver, fourth son of Alan III. lord of Coetivy, and brother of the admiral, was lord of Taillebourg and seneschal of Guienne, &c. He married Mary, one of the natural daughters of Charles VII. in 1458, with a portion of 12,000 crowns of gold. His descendants were counts of Taillebourg, and princes of Mortagne and Gironde.

Blanchefort, Floquet, Broussach, Joachim Rohault, Pierre Regnault, the lord de Graville*, sir John de Gapondes, Geoffry de la Hire, the bastard de Harcourt, and many others of great weight and authority; so that, according to an estimate made by persons well informed, it was thought that the king's army amounted to from ten to twelve thousand combatants, the flower of his chivalry, each of whom was personally anxious to conquer the town and castle of Pontoise.

While the French were thus employed, the duke of York, the lord Talbot, and others of the English commanders then at Rouen, took counsel together how they could best relieve their companions in Pontoise. It was resolved that the lord Talbot should first attempt to revictual it, and reconnoitre the position and appearance of the French. In consequence lord Talbot marched away with about four thousand fighting men, as well horse as foot, and had with him a long train of carts and cattle for the supply of the garrison. After some days' march, he took up his quarters at a town called Cheurin†, not far distant from Pontoise, where he lay two nights; and, during that time, threw his supplies into Pontoise without hindrance from the French; for the king had determined in council to avoid combating the English, unless he could do so highly to his advantage. Having accomplished this business, lord Talbot retreated to Mantes‡, and quartered his men without the town: thence he returned to Normandy.

In the mean time, the artillery of the king of France, as well in the blockhouse of St. Martin as elsewhere, played continually on the walls and gates of Pontoise, and damaged them greatly; but the besieged repaired them in the night, as well as they could, with beams of wood and old barrels: they also made frequent sallies, in which several were killed and wounded on both sides. The king was desirous of inclosing the town all round; but could not well do it from the danger of an attack from the English army, and of his troops being cut off from succouring each other when thus separated; for he knew how near the enemy were, and in great force, preparing to make him raise the siege. It was from this cause that the French delayed surrounding the town closely on all sides. A large blockhouse was ordered to be instantly built in the forest of Compiégne, and floated down the Seine to Pontoise, where they would fix it as they should judge expedient; and William de Flavy was commanded to see that this was immediately done.

Some time after, the lord Talbot came a second time and revictualled the town, and supplied it with all sorts of stores in abundance. Each time, he took away those who had been wounded, leaving reinforcements, from his own men, and, as before, met with no interruption or opposition in his return. The king, observing those measures of his adversaries, became very melancholy; for he saw no end to a siege when the town was so continually and uninterruptedly reinforced. Nevertheless, he was personally active in strengthening his leaguers, and in providing them with all necessary stores, in case the enemy should advance to attack them.

CHAPTER CCLXI.—THE DUKE OF YORK, GOVERNOR OF NORMANDY FOR THE KING OF ENGLAND, MARCHES AN ARMY TO PONTOISE, TO FORCE THE KING OF FRANCE TO RAISE THE SIEGE.

The duke of York, commander-in-chief and lieutenant-general for king Henry in the marches of France and Normandy, had assembled from six to seven thousand combatants; among whom were the lord Scales, the lord Talbot, sir Richard Woodville, who had married the duchess of Bedford, sister to Louis de Luxembourg count of St. Pol, and many other captains, then at Rouen, but whose names I have not been told. There were likewise collected a large train of carts and horses, laden with artillery and provision, together with a great number of live cattle.

The duke of York began his march about the middle of July, and in a few days came near

* John Malet V. lord de Graville, grand pannetier of France.

† Cheurin. Q. Ennery ?

‡ Mantes,—capital of the Mantois, on the Seine, nineteen leagues from Rouen.

to Pontoise, the lord Talbot commanding the vanguard of three thousand men. The duke fixed his quarters at Cheuery*, half a league from Pontoise; and the van were lodged at Hetonville† where they remained for three days and reinforced and revictualled Pontoise most abundantly.

When this was done, the duke sent to tell the king, that he was come to offer him and his army combat, if he would give him an opportunity. But the king was not inclined to comply; for his council had repeated the advice they had given on other occasions, that he would act imprudently to risk his army and person against men of such low degree; adding, that the battles that had formerly taken place with the English during his reign had cost him too dearly, and that it was more advisable to let them for this time run their career and guard the fords of the river, for that the English could not long remain where they were without danger from want of provisions for so large a force. This resolution was adopted; and many captains, with their men, were detached along the river Oise, even farther than Beaumont‡ and the king and the rest of his army remained in their quarters.

The English, finding they would not hazard a battle, resolved, if possible, to cross the Oise and advance into the Isle of France, and even attack the king's quarters. They decamped therefore on the fourth day from their arrival, and marched in a body to Chanville-haut-Vergier §; but as they heard that all the passes on the river were guarded, they determined to execute their plan by night, and they had with them on carts small boats of leather and wood, with cords and other necessaries. They ordered a large detachment to advance to Beaumont, under pretence of their crossing the river and to make a prodigious noise, that the guards at the other passes might be drawn off to resist their attempt at Beaumont, while the remainder of the army should proceed silently along the river to find out a proper place to cross.

A place was found according to their wish, opposite to the abbey of Beaumont, whence the guards had gone; for all the soldiers near were attracted by the noise at Beaumont, as it had been planned by the English, who, when they saw numbers had been collected, pretended to make an attempt to force a passage, which was quite impracticable should any tolerable defence be made. The other party of English now launched a boat into the river, and with difficulty three or four passed over, when, having fastened two strong cords to each bank with staves of wood between them, from forty to fifty crossed by this means, and instantly fortified themselves with sharpened palisades, as was their usual custom.

Now, consider the extreme danger the first party that crossed would have been in had only ten Frenchmen staid to guard this pass, who would easily have defended it against the whole power of the duke of York; and this may serve for an example to those who are intrusted with similar commands, never to place any guards but such as they know may be depended on, and such as will have a proper regard to their own honour,—for by neglect the greatest misfortunes may happen.

Shortly after, the men of Floquet, who had had this part of the river in charge, returning from Beaumont, whither they had gone on hearing the shoutings of the English, noticed them crossing the river, and instantly gave the alarm, along the banks, as far as Beaumont, where the greater part of their captains were quartered. They lost no time in mounting their horses, and hastened to where the English were, intending to combat them; but it was lost labour, for they were too numerous, although some skirmishing passed between them. In these skirmishes, a very valiant man was slain, called William du Châtel, nephew to sir Tanneguy du Châtel, and with him two or three more.

On this bridge of cords the English conveyed over their baggage, carts, and stores; and when the French saw that they could not prevent them, they retreated to Pontoise, to inform the king of what had passed, who was greatly displeased at the intelligence. Some of his council, being fearful of the event turning out more disastrous and to their greater shame, had all the artillery and stores moved into the large blockhouse of St. Martin, and made every preparation for immediately decamping with the whole army, should it become

* Cheuery. Q. Ennery?
† Hetonville. Herouville, near Pontoise.
‡ Beaumont,—a seigniory in the Isle of France, near to Melun.
§ Chanville-haut-Vergier. Q. Chambly?

necessary. The English, having passed the Oise at their ease, lodged that night on the spot, and there created some new knights,—such as the two brothers of lord Stafford*, one of whom styled himself count d'Eu†. On the morrow, they dislodged, and marched in handsome order toward Pontoise, and were quartered in two villages. The king, on receiving intelligence of the approach of the English, was advised to remove his quarters from Maubuisson, and march his whole army to Poissy‡, with the reserve of those in the great blockhouse, to the amount of two or three thousand combatants, under the command of the lord de Coetivy, admiral of France. He had also with him La Hire, Joachim Rohault, John d'Estouteville, and his brother Robinet, sir Robert de Bethune lord of Moreul in Brie, the lord de Chatillon, the lord de Moyencourt, Regnault de Longueval, the lord de la Roche-Guyon, the lord de Moy in the Beauvoisis, and other gentlemen of renown. Those who had been sent from Tournay remained there likewise, and great plenty of provision and stores of all sorts had been carried thither. The king, on his departure, had promised to relieve them so soon as possible. With regard to the bulwark at the end of the bridge, the French had abandoned it.

The duke of York continued his march to Maubuisson, but arrived after the king's departure. He found great abundance of provision and other things, which the merchants had not had time to remove. The duke fixed his quarters there, and lord Talbot at a town a league distant, on the Oise, between the towns of Pontoise and Conflans. They remained there for three days, and went into Pontoise by the bridge, which the garrison had repaired as well as the bulwark that had been abandoned, without any opposition whatever from the French; and those of the town went in and out at their pleasure, without hindrance. The French in the blockhouse were every day expecting and hoping for an attack, as they were determined to defend themselves well; but the English had no thoughts of risking the attempt, considering that their affairs were growing worse, and that they could not foresee the end of them. The enemy, however, threatened to attack them, but offered to let them march away in safety, with part of their baggage,—which, like men of sense, they ought gladly to have accepted of, since their king had abandoned them in such danger. But they had no such inclination, and replied, that they would not accept of terms, as they were not afraid of their attempts. While this kind of parley was going forward, several skirmishes took place, but more between the archers than with any others.

On the fourth day, the duke of York dislodged from Maubuisson, and marched to the quarters of Talbot, who had made a bridge over the Oise with cords and hurdles, on which full fifty cars and carts crossed that river. On this same day, Poton de Saintrailles had left Poissy, accompanied by a numerous escort, with provisions to revictual the blockhouse of St. Martin. He was followed by the constable, the count de St. Pol, and other captains, to support him, should there be occasion. Having learnt that the English had recrossed the river, they sent orders to Poton to hasten his return,—but he sent back the messenger, to tell them to cross the river at Meulan, and return to Poissy on the other side, which they did.

The duke of York, having recrossed the Oise, advanced his whole army in battle-array before Poissy, wherein were the king of France, the dauphin, and the greater part of his nobles and captains. A very great skirmish took place, in which two of the archers of the constable, and one belonging to the count de St. Pol, were made prisoners. The duke thence marched to Tourtie-sur-Seine, and on the morrow returned to Mantes,—and the king went to Poissy and Conflans with a part of his army. The constable, the count de St. Pol, and others, passed through St. Cloud to Paris, where they staid two days, and then retired with their men-at-arms into the isle of France, where different towns were delivered up to them for the quarters of their men, each according to his rank. The king afterwards went, with his attendant lords, to St. Denis, and remained there until the middle of August, when he

* They were half brothers by the same mother,—Eleanor, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock duke of Glou-cester, married two husbands; first, Edmund earl of Stafford, (by whom she had Humphrey afterwards duke of Buckingham,) and secondly, William lord Bouchier, created for his services earl of Eu in Normandy, whose two sons here mentioned were Henry earl of Eu, married to Isabel, sister of Richard duke of York; and William lord Fitzwarin. There were two younger sons besides these, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, and John Lord Berners, ancestor to the translator of Froissart.

† See Dugdale's Baronage.

‡ Poissy,—in the Isle of France, two leagues from Meulan, seven from Paris.

returned to Conflans, and caused a bridge to be constructed over the Seine to an island in that river, and another bridge thence to the main land, with a strong blockhouse, and ditches round at that end, wherein he posted a body of troops. In the mean while lord Talbot plundered the convent of Poissy, and carried away the effects of the nuns to Mantes.

Shortly after, the town of Pontoise was again revictualled, for the fourth time; and the men of the duke of York remained there in the room of the lord Talbot's, which vexed the king greatly,—for he saw but little hope of his accomplishing his enterprise. He thought, however, that should he depart without having gained Pontoise, after lying before it so long, and at such a prodigious expense, he would be disgraced, and the people would cry out against him and his ministers, more especially the Parisians, who had advanced large sums of money for this purpose. He was likewise informed that the nobles of his realm, and even the princes of his blood, were much dissatisfied with his government, and that there was to be a meeting of them, which could not be meant for his welfare: he had, therefore, enough to think on. Nevertheless, he determined, with his most faithful advisers, to return to Maubuisson, and prosecute the siege, which he did on the twelfth day from the time he had quitted it, and quartered his troops in their former situations.

Soon after his return, a grand skirmish took place with the constable's division, between Maubuisson and Pontoise, in which Claude de Hangest, lord of Ardilliers, was killed by a cannon-shot. Various and frequent skirmishes passed between the French and English,—but it would be tiresome to enter into a detail of each: in one of them, the lord Charles d'Anjou was wounded by an arrow. Very little worth noticing took place in the main business of the siege. The count de St. Pol's men having been much harassed, and having expended large sums of money, were desirous of returning home, and entreated of him permission so to do; upon this, he took leave of the king and the dauphin, who, on his going away, made him handsome presents, and returned him their thanks for the services he had done them. The count de St. Pol marched with his men from before Pontoise, to cross the river Oise at Pont St. Maixence. At the entrance of the bridge, the captain of the fort came out to meet the count,—when, sharp words arising between them, the count would have seized the captain, had he not made haste to retire within his fort, whence he instantly discharged the cannon and cross-bows on him and his men. The horse of sir Ferry de Mailly was killed under him by a shot, and another man-at-arms had his arm broken. The count retreated with his army and crossed the Oise at Compiégne, and thence returned to his own country. The garrison of the bridge before-mentioned followed a party of the count's men who were marching toward Mondidier, overtook and pillaged them.

On the same day, the count de Vaudemont marched his men from before Pontoise, as did several other great lords, and left the king in the state you have heard, to his no small displeasure, although he did not suffer it to appear, for he could not help it; and he was forced to bear all things patiently which God was pleased to send him. He daily employed his cannon and other engines against the walls and gates of the town, and also against the church of Our Lady, without the walls, but possessed by the English, and held by them for a long time. The walls of this church were so battered that, on the 16th day of September, the king resolved in council to storm it, which took place on a Saturday; and all within were put to the sword or made prisoners. This church was very high, and so near to the town that from the top could be seen almost everything the English were doing,—and they could be thence annoyed with small cannons, culverines, and even cross-bows.

The church being won, it was ordered, that on the ensuing Tuesday a general storm should be made on the town, to see if they could not conquer it. This was executed; and on the Tuesday, the king and his lords, having well armed their men, urged them on with shouting, "St. Denis! Town won!" A large party having forced an entrance, the townsmen fled to the churches and other strong places; but about five hundred of the English were soon put to the sword, and the remainder, to the amount of four hundred, made prisoners. Among the slain was an English knight called sir Nicholas Burdet,—but the governor of the town was taken prisoner. Only forty, or thereabout, were killed on the king's side at the attack, or died afterward of their wounds. Many new knights were made on the occasion: among whom were the brothers John and Robert d'Estouteville, Regnault de

Longueval, le bon Roly, and others. With regard to the person who first mounted the tower du Frice*, he was much praised by all for his valour, and was ennobled, himself and his successors, by the king, who also gave him large estates to support his rank. The king entered the town with those who had stormed it, and, on its being gained, issued his orders that no harm should be done to the inhabitants who had retired into the churches, excepting such as had borne arms. On his arrival with his banner in front of the great church, an Englishman issued forth and surrendered himself to him. He was mercifully received, and not only delivered without ransom, but the king made him handsome presents. He entered the church, and devoutly offered up his prayers and thanksgivings at the great altar, to God his Creator, for the good success he had experienced.

The French sought day and night after the English who had hidden themselves, and put them to death or made them prisoners. Thus did Charles VII. king of France, reconquer his town of Pontoise by a most gallant attack, notwithstanding the many and severe skirmishes that took place before it. In respect to the nobles, as well knights as esquires, and other captains, who were there in great numbers, very many behaved themselves valiantly and prudently,—but I was told that sir Charles de Bosqueaux was much praised by all.

CHAPTER CCLXII.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS RETURNS TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY FROM FRANCE.

The duke of Orleans this year returned from France to the duke of Burgundy, then residing at Hêdin—and who no sooner heard of his coming than he went out with a large company to meet him. The duke of Burgundy showed him every mark of friendship, and entertained him handsomely during the eight days he remained at Hêdin, where he celebrated the feast of All-saints. The two dukes held frequent and secret conferences on the state of their own and the public affairs,—and agreed to meet the other princes and nobles of France, who were shortly to assemble at Nevers. The duke of Orleans, on departing thence, passed through St. Pol to the town of Arras, where he was most honourably received and entertained by the magistracy, who made him also rich presents. He went thence to Paris and to Blois.

The duke of Burgundy having assembled a body of men-at-arms, was escorted by them toward Burgundy. A number of the Burgundian nobles came to meet him at Troyes in Champagne, when he dismissed his Picards, who had escorted him thither, with strict orders not to oppress or hurt the country or subjects of the king of France. The fortress of the lord de Commercy, namely, the castle of Montaigu, was a second time destroyed,—for the lord de Commercy had rebuilt it.

CHAPTER CCLXIII.—REMONSTRANCES ARE SENT TO KING CHARLES OF FRANCE BY THE NOBLES ASSEMBLED AT NEVERS.†

The nobles assembled having considered the four propositions made to them by the king's commissioners at Nevers, with the answers to each, then remonstrated on the necessity of a general peace for the kingdom of France, according to the terms the king had assented to; adding, that he ought, in order to avoid expense, to continue the negotiations at the usual place, without making objections to its situation, which were not of sufficient interest to hinder the conferences from being holden,—and they recommended that the appointment for the relief of Tartas‡ should also be kept.

* Du Frice. Du Fresche.—Du Cange.
† Nevers,—capital of the Nivernois, seventeen leagues from Bourges.
‡ Tartas,—a town in Gascony, seven leagues from Dax.

CHAPTER CCLXIV.—THE ANSWERS OF THE KING OF FRANCE AND OF HIS GREAT COUNCIL TO THE REMONSTRANCES OF THE NOBLES OF FRANCE ASSEMBLED AT NEVERS.

With regard to the first point, it need not be noticed,—for it has not been repeated in the answers made by the nobles at Nevers to the lord chancellor of France, and to sir Louis de Beaumont, and others, deputed thither by the king.

Respecting the remonstrances for peace,—the king has always shown the sincerest wish to obtain so desirable an object by every reasonable and just means, and this the said nobles must have well known. Considering the very many advances he has made to this effect, he holds himself acquitted in this matter before God and before the world. It is notorious, that when the treaty of Arras was concluded, the king, by the advice of the duke of Burgundy, who was anxious to promote a union between the kingdoms of France and England, made greater offers than was becoming him to the English ministers sent thither by their king to treat of a peace,—but which offers were by them refused. It seemed, therefore, just, to the cardinals who had been deputed by our holy father the pope and the sacred counsel of Basil, and likewise to the relatives and allies of the duke of Burgundy, who were there assembled in great numbers, that from the unreasonableness of the English in refusing such offers, the duke of Burgundy was no longer bound in loyalty to them,—but that, for this and other causes, he was at liberty to quit their party, and unite himself in peace with the king of France, his natural sovereign.

Since then the king, at the request of the duke of Orleans and of the duke of Brittany, and with the consent of the duke of Burgundy, without whom he would never have listened to the treaty of Arras, nor to any overtures of peace with the English, although on their part some had been made, but simply to perform his duty, he sent a solemn embassy to the duke of Brittany to fix on a spot for the holding of a conference between commissioners to negotiate a peace, from the kings of France and England, and whither the duke of Orleans was to be conducted. Cherbourg was the place appointed, although this conference never took effect. The king again, at the solicitations of the duke of Orleans and the duchess of Burgundy, consented to another conference being held on the subject of peace, between Gravelines and Calais. To this place he sent ambassadors with full powers to treat, notwithstanding that Gravelines and Calais were far distant, and the last in the hands of his enemies. But this he did in favour of the duke of Orleans, who was to be brought thither,—for the king was desirous that he should be present at or near to the place of conference, to give his advice and opinion on the terms that should be proposed, considering how nearly connected he was in blood with the king, and also that he might endeavour to obtain his deliverance from England. Had it not been for these reasons, the king would never have assented to the conferences being held at Gravelines.

At this conference, a schedule, containing many articles respecting a peace, was delivered to the duchess of Burgundy by the duke of Orleans, and which was transmitted to the king of France, then holding the three estates of the realm, to have their opinions thereon: but from the absence of the dauphin, whom it more immediately concerned after the king, as must be known to all, and of many of the great barons from Languedoc and Vienne, another conference was appointed to be held at Bourges in Berry in the ensuing month of February, and which the king proposed personally to attend, but was prevented by other important matters intervening. Nevertheless, a solemn embassy was sent to this conference in the month of May, in compliance with the appointment of the said duke of Orleans and duchess of Burgundy, with full powers to treat of peace; but they remained there for the space of seven or eight months without coming to any final conclusions,—except, indeed, appointing another meeting for the month of May in the year 1442, when the king again sent thither his ambassadors. Nothing, however, was done, through the fault of the English, who only sent a simple clerk, a very insufficient person to treat of and discuss such various and weighty matters.

The lord chancellor, in consequence of fresh overtures made him by the duchess of Burgundy, appointed another conference on the first days of this present month of May, at any

place in the countries of Beauvais, Senlis, or Chartres,—which appointment the duchess made known to the king of England; but he sent for answer, (which letter she transmitted to the king of France) that he would not consent to hold any conference but at Gravelines, a place which the king had especially objected to. Considering that the king had consented to three conferences being held in places under the subjection of his adversaries, the English ought not to have refused meeting for once within his territories, where they might conveniently have assembled; and the king had not consented to a congress so often meeting at Gravelines, except in the hope that it would expedite the deliverance of the duke of Orleans. The king, notwithstanding, to show further his great willingness and anxiety for peace, has, through his chancellor, made known to the duchess of Burgundy, that he is content that another conference should be holden on the 25th of next October in the parts before named, either between Pontoise and Mantes, between Chartres and Verneuil, or between Sablé and Le Mans, wheresoever the commissioners on both sides shall fix on as most agreeable to themselves for a place of meeting.

The king cannot propose any earlier day than the 25th of next October, for two very substantial reasons. In the first place, he should wish to be returned from the relief of Tartas, to attend this meeting in company with the princes of his blood, and such of the nobility of his kingdom as might choose to be present, more particularly the lords and prelates of Normandy, without whose presence, and that of those before specified, the king will not agree to any negotiations being carried on; for they have most loyally served both him and his father, and have suffered so much in their cause that they are well deserving of being called to this congress, and having their opinions asked—and also because the negotiations for peace affect them more than any others. Secondly, in regard to the ancient alliances still maintained between France and the kingdoms of Spain and Scotland, there must be time allowed for the king to send information thither of the time of meeting of this congress, to them and to their allies, that they may send ambassadors with their consents thereto; for, by the articles of alliance, neither party can conclude a final peace with England without their being parties, or at least consenting thereto,—and the king would not on any account infringe these alliances, which have been most advantageously maintained respecting France,—for the subjects of these respective kingdoms have done him and his predecessors the most essential services.

The king, therefore, most anxiously desires that these his reasons may be publicly known, (which all men must think satisfactory and reasonable for his acquittal toward God and man); and he declares his willingness that a congress should be holden at any of the places aforesaid, for treating of a general and lasting peace with his adversaries, who may have assurances of safety from our holy father the pope, the kings of Spain and Scotland, and their allies.

The king will make known these his intentions to his adversary the king of England, that he may send thither sufficient ambassadors. The king also requires from the duke of Orleans, the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and the duchess of Burgundy, who have exerted themselves in the business, that they also send proper notice of this conference to England, that efficient ambassadors may meet them to negociate the terms of a peace on the appointed day; at which time the king will not fail to send thither men of note, with full powers to bring this matter to a conclusion. The king is desirous at this moment, to open his mind fully to his nobles, as to those on whose attachment he depends,—being assured that they can only wish to support his honour and that of his crown,—and to those who are so nearly allied to him by blood, touching certain expressions which the king has been informed were used respecting the terms of a peace. At the first conference, held between Calais and Gravelines, present the duchess of Burgundy and the cardinal of England, the archbishop of York said, that the whole English nation would never suffer or consent *usque in ultimo flatu*, that their king should hold any lands in homage, or dependent on other sovereign than himself, which expression would not accelerate a peace; for the king was determined not to concede anything to the English but under similar terms with his other subjects and vassals, by doing homage and service. He will not that what has been gained or augmented by the valour and good conduct of his ancestors should be thus lost; and the king cannot believe

that any of the princes of his blood, or the gallant nobles of his realm, would suffer such act to be done, or consent thereto, considering the superiority and excellence of the crown of France.

In order that no blame may attach to the king respecting the non-accomplishment of peace, he will cause an account of the different efforts he has made to effect it to be drawn up and enregistered with a copy of this answer in his chamber of accounts, for the perpetual remembrance of what he has done.

Item, as the nobles have required that proper provision be made against the enterprises of the English in the countries of Chartrain and Beauce, prior to the king's departure for the relief of Tartas, the king will provide a remedy, and send thither the bastard of Orleans, whom these nobles cannot object to, with sufficient powers to resist the further enterprises of the English.—Item, as these nobles are soon to assemble at Nevers, and as their ambassadors have notified the same to the king, requesting also, that as the king was contented that the duke of Brittany should there join them, he would be pleased to write again to the said duke of Brittany his consent to his meeting the other nobles at Nevers, sending him passports for his personal security, should there be occasion.

Item, the king makes known to his nobles by the lord chancellor and sir Louis de Beaumont, that he is contented with their assembling, in the hope of seeing them in his good town of Bourges, or in any other place, where he would have given them good cheer, and received them kindly as his near relatives, and discussed openly with them the affairs of the realm. With regard to the duke of Brittany going to Nevers, the king is surprised that any complaint or doubt should be made concerning it,—for the king was so well inclined towards him that, had he travelled by land, it was his intention to have invited him to pass through Tours, and accompany him to Bourges, to meet the said nobles, if the duke could have done so with convenience to himself,—otherwise, the duke might have thought that he had estranged himself from him. The king, nevertheless, sent the lord de Gaucourt to him with letters patent, which he has, and, should he travel by water through Blois and Orleans, to accompany him, that he might afford an opportunity to the duke to open his mind to him, as if the king had personally been present. But to write again to the duke of Brittany, to repair to the assembly at Nevers, does not seem to the king a proper or reasonable request, —nor is it very decent that the nobles should hold any meetings to treat of the affairs of the nation, except in the king's presence or by his commands. The king, on his return from Tartas. intends calling on them for their aid and advice, and to lead as large an army as possible into Normandy, as the surest means of obtaining a better peace, or with the aid of God and their support to recover his lost territories.

Item, in answer to their complaints of the want of justice being duly administered, as well in the parliaments as in the other jurisdictions of the realm,—and their requests to the king that he would be pleased to nominate only such as have experience and knowledge in the laws, and that suitable persons be appointed to the different offices without favour or affection, —The king has ever filled up the places in his parliaments with the most learned and intelligent lawyers he could find; and it now consists of the most experienced and of those most versed in the laws of the realm. At the solicitations of and to please the duke of Burgundy, the king has nominated twelve persons whom he recommended as judges in parliament; and when other lords have applied, the king has attended to their recommendations, and appointed such as were said to be fully competent to discharge faithfully the several duties of their respective offices, in the administration of justice throughout the realm.

Item, the king has been requested to shorten the proceedings of the courts at law, as well in respect to the subjects of these nobles as of all the king's subjects without partiality as in former times, and that indiscriminate justice may be had. In reply to this request,—the king has been much grieved at the delays of the courts of law, and earnestly desires the due administering of justice with as little delay as possible, and will punish such as may act to the contrary. It is the king's intention to write to his courts of parliament, and to his other law-officers, that henceforth they abridge all suits at law more than they have hitherto done, and that they do strict justice to all without the least partiality.

Item, in respect to the complaints made to the king of the robberies, crimes, and abuses, committed by many soldiers under the king's name, and calling themselves the king's men,

whether they be the king's or the nobles' subjects, a remedy is demanded for such abuses, not by letters but by effectual measures,—and it has been remonstrated, that it would be proper that only those who are well known, and have loyally served the king, should have the command of these companies of soldiers: likewise, that all soldiers should be well and regularly paid, and quartered on the frontiers, which they were not to leave and harass the country people without being severely punished; that the king should only keep near his person those experienced in war, and not a multitude of undisciplined men; and that all of low degree, idlers, and ignorant of war, should be constrained to return to their trades and labour.—The king, in answer, says, that such robberies have always gone to his heart, and he has made frequent attempts to rid the kingdom of such pillagers. With regard to quartering his soldiers on the frontiers, when the king was last at Angers, he had settled this business; but the new levies that have been raised have alone caused a renewal of these abuses,—and other causes have arisen to prevent the proper notice being taken of these pillagers, as was intended to have been done. The king, in consequence of the complaint from his nobles, will issue ordinances to put an end to them, and to dismiss all that are useless in war: he therefore requires these said nobles not to countenance or support any one who shall act contrary to these proposed regulations.

Item, respecting their request to the king, that he would be pleased to take measures that the poorer ranks be not unnecessarily vexed or harassed, from the excessive taxes that are now raised on salt and other articles,—the king replies, that he is extremely affected at the poverty of his people, for that his interest is connected with theirs, and it is his meaning to relieve them as soon and as much as he conveniently can. He last year put an end to the vexations they suffered in Champagne, and will not cease doing the same in the other parts of his realm as speedily as may be. The king has also taken measures for the regular supply of provision and pay to the troops on the frontier, otherwise he knows what destruction and ruin will ensue to his subjects. But with regard to the excessive taxes which these nobles complain their vassals are aggrieved with, the king has shown far greater indulgence to them than to his own; and it will be found that in the course of a year, when two taxes have been raised on the king's subjects, the vassals of these lords have paid but one, or that these nobles themselves have laid hands on the greater part of what should have been paid to the king. It is clear that the king must have the aid of his subjects for the support of the war and the maintenance of his crown and dignity.

Item, it has been advanced, that before any taxes be laid, the king should call together the three estates of the realm, to consult with them and have their opinions thereon. In reply to this: the taxes have been laid on the lands of these lords with their consent,—and, as for the other impositions, the king, when there has been an opportunity, has called them together, and shown them, of his royal authority, the urgent state of his kingdom, when great part was occupied by his enemies. There can be no need for calling the three estates to lay on taxes,—for this would only add to the expenses of the poorer people in paying the deputies' charges for coming and going; and many lords of great weight have, in consequence, required that such convocations should cease, and were satisfied that proper warrants should be issued in the king's name for the raising of these taxes. In respect, however, to the affairs of the nation, the king is bounden to consult with the princes of his blood in preference to all others, considering how much they are interested in its welfare,—and this has been usually done by the most christian kings, his predecessors.

Item, the nobles have requested the king to preserve to them their prerogatives and authorities which they hold, as well from their peerage as from the other lordships they possess within the realm of France. The king in reply says, that he has never treated on any affairs of consequence without their knowledge, or at least that of the greater part of them,—and it is his intention not to do otherwise. It is his pleasure, as well as his will, to preserve to them all their prerogatives and authorities, and in no way to act contrary to them: they will therefore govern their vassals and lands in the manner in which they are bounden to do.

Item, the king is requested that he would be pleased to select, as members of his great council, men of knowledge, fearing God, and who have not been partisans in the late

disturbances; and likewise that he would be pleased to elect a sufficient number, so that the weight of the business of the kingdom may not be entrusted to two or three, as has been hitherto the case.—The king replies, that he has always selected for his council the most able men of his realm, without thinking on what may have passed during the late disturbances, which he has put clean out of his remembrance, and in such numbers as the state of public affairs at different periods may have required.

Item, the nobles request the king to receive favourably these remonstrances, in consideration of the four reasons already laid before him, which have induced them thus to make them. They also remonstrate with him on the case of the lord duke of Alençon, required that he should be restored to his town of Niort, or that payment be promptly made him in money for the loss of it; that he should be re-established in his lieutenancy and pension; and that his place of Sainte Susanne should be delivered up to him, together with an Englishman whom he had made prisoner, and that speedy and equitable justice be done him.—The king makes answer to these demands, that when he was in Poitou, putting an end to the pillaging and robberies that were going on there, and taking possession of several towns and castles the resort of the robbers, he was suspicious that, during his absence for the relief of Tartas, the town and castle of Niort would continue these evil practices as it had been accustomed to do, and consequently laid hands on it with the intent of paying its full value. But though the whole amount was not at that time paid, he had given to the lord d'Alençon six thousand crowns, with an engagement to that lord to make the remainder of the payments punctually at the time specified in writing, without making any deductions for the rents which the lord d'Alençon had continued to receive since the first payment had been made.

In regard to re-establishing him in his lieutenancy and pension, when the lord d'Alençon shall conduct himself in a becoming manner toward his sovereign, the king will treat him as a relative and subject, holding in his mind the nearness of their kindred, and the services which he and his ancestors may have rendered to the king and the realm. This the king continued to do, until he was obliged to change his behaviour from the fault of the lord d'Alençon. In respect to the place of Sainte Susanne*, the king has not given it to the lord de Bueil, nor is it held by him by the king's orders. The lord de Bueil is fully able to answer the lord d'Alençon's accusation respecting his holding this place wrongfully. Whenever the lord d'Alençon shall appeal to the king's justice, it shall be willingly and duly administered; and in like manner shall he have justice done him in regard to the prisoner whom he demands.

Item, the nobles also made a requisition that the duke of Bourbon should have his pension restored to him, for that it was not excessive. The king replied that he had regularly continued the payments of this pension, and nothing was now due. Of fourteen thousand and four hundred francs, the whole amount of this pension, the king had ordered nine thousand francs to be paid to the duke's servants at Bressure†, in the month of January last, but which they refused to receive; and the king wonders greatly how this matter has been, at this moment, introduced.—Item, they likewise mention the case of the lord de Vendôme, and supplicate the king that he would be pleased to continue to him his former pensions, of which he has great need, as there were not sufficient grounds for striking them off; and that it would please the king to permit him to exercise his office of grand master of the household, as he had usually done in former times. The king answers that he did not dismiss the lord de Vendôme from his household, but that he dismissed himself; and when the lord de Vendôme shall conduct himself toward the king in a proper manner, the king will do on his part all that shall be thought right.

Item, the nobles beg leave to state the case of the lord de Nevers; and, considering how near akin he is to the king, and that the lord his father died in his service, and also the services the present lord may render to his majesty, to solicit that all opposition to his establishing a warehouse for salt, at the town of Arcy-sur-Aube, may be removed, and that

* Sainte Susanne,—a village in Normandy, election of St. Lô: or it may be a city in Maine, nine leagues from Mans.

† Bressure. Q. Bressolles? a village in the Bourbonnoic, near Moulins.

he may receive the accustomed payment of his pension. The king makes for answer, that, notwithstanding the very heavy charges he is now at for the expenses of the war, out of favour, and in kindness to the lord de Nevers, he consents to his having his former pension,—for the payment of which he will receive the protection-money of the Rethelois, as far as it shall go; and the balance shall be paid from the amount of the taxes on the lands of the said lord de Nevers, until he shall have received the whole sum. But the king is much dissatisfied that the lord de Nevers should suffer his vassals, and those of others, to overrun and despoil the country of Champagne, by means of the country of the Rethelois, to which they retreat, and expects that such measures will be taken to prevent it in future as will satisfy him. In regard to the salt-warehouse at Arcy-sur-Aube, the king wishes that the matter be laid before his court of exchequer, for them to decide whether the lord de Nevers be entitled or not to have a warehouse for salt at that place,—and whatever their decision may be, the king will conform to it.

The nobles remonstrate also on the case of the duke of Burgundy, not by way of complaint, but in the manner he had desired them, namely, to make the king acquainted that many articles of the treaty of peace between them had not been fulfilled on the part of the king,—and that several were daily attempted to be infringed, contrary to the intent of the peace, and to the great loss of the duke of Burgundy. The king replies, that he always most ardently wished for peace with the duke of Burgundy, and to obtain it has nothing spared. The king has hitherto maintained the peace inviolate, and has the intention of ever doing so. For the better establishing of this peace, the king gave his daughter in marriage to the duke's son the lord de Charolois. As for the non-performance of some of the articles, the duke has seen what weighty affairs the king has had on his hands to prevent its being done,—but he has the will and inclination to have the remaining articles fulfilled as speedily as he possibly can, and in such wise that the duke of Burgundy shall be satisfied. As for the daily attempts to infringe the peace, the king is perfectly ignorant of any such being made, for he has never given the least encouragement to them, but the king has great cause for grief at the business which is now carrying forward.

When the ambassadors from the nobles had remained some days at the king's palace, where they were very honourably entertained, and had discussed at length the subjects of complaint in the remonstrance they had brought, as well as the answers thereto from the king, as well in writing as verbally, they took leave, and returned to their lords. The king, however, was very uneasy at his nobles thus assembling without his being present,—for they were daily attended by some of the greatest lords in the realm; and his ministers reported to him, that these meetings were not for his welfare; that the nobles were endeavouring to gain to their party the barons of his realm, the churchmen, and the common people, to make great reforms, and to place the government of the kingdom in the three estates,—which must turn out to his destruction; for, if they succeeded in their plans, he would possess no other authority than the three estates should be pleased to allow him. The king said, that he could not believe that his nobles would be desirous to do anything to his prejudice, or to the prejudice of his crown,—and more especially that the duke of Burgundy, with whom he had so lately made peace, would interfere or consent to anything so destructive to the royal authority. He added, that if he were assured they intended to bring forward such measures to his prejudice, he would lay all other matters aside, and instantly attack them with his forces.

CHAPTER CCLXV.—KING CHARLES ASSEMBLES A LARGE BODY OF MEN-AT-ARMS AND MARCHES THEM TO TARTAS, WHERE, HOWEVER, THE ENGLISH DO NOT APPEAR.

[A. D. 1442.]

At the beginning of this year, the king of France issued his summonses throughout his realm, for the assembly of a very large force to carry on his warlike enterprises, and to relieve the town of Tartas, whither he intended marching in consequence of a time being fixed for its surrender, unless relieved by the king. He was determined now to have the greatest army that had been raised during his reign: indeed, there was much necessity for

it,—for, had he neglected this business, he ran great risk of losing all Gascony and Guienne and the obedience of the greater part of the lords in those countries. This army was collected with all diligence in the different parts of the kingdom, and ordered to march by various roads, and rendezvous at Toulouse. The day of relief had been fixed for the first of May,—but at the request of the English captains who had signed the capitulation at Tartas, it was prolonged to the ensuing feast of St. John Baptist, and during this time, the king continued his preparations.

At length the king marched from Toulouse,—and for a truth, when he, his great lords and all the captains, with their men, were assembled, there were four-score thousand horse, and carts and cars without number to carry artillery, provision, and stores of all descriptions. Almost all the principal nobility came thither,—among whom were the dauphin, the count de Richemont constable of France, the lord Charles d'Anjou, the count d'Eu, the count de Foix *, the viscount de Helman †, son to the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albreth, the count de Comminges, the two marshals, namely, the lords de Lohéac ‡ and de Jaloignes §, who commanded the vanguard with the constable, the lord de Coetivy admiral of France, the lord de Villars, the lord de Mongascon ||, the lord de St. Priath, the lord de Chalenton ¶, the lord de St. Valier, the lord de Videmont, and many more great lords. The king was also accompanied by numbers of adventurous men-at-arms, the flower of French chivalry, who had for a long while followed warlike enterprises,—such as La Hire, Poton de Saintrailles, Anthony de Chabannes, Olivier de Coetivy, the lord de Blainville, and his brother sir Robert Blanchefort, Pennesach **, Floquet, Joachim Rohault, Pierre Rohault, Mathelin de l'Escouan, Dominic de Court, and many others of renown.

On the king's arrival at Toulouse, he was informed by the lords of Gascony, that the English were not in force sufficient to oppose him on the day appointed for the relief of Tartas. Having called a council, it was therefore determined to advance thither with only part of the army, that they might more easily obtain provisions. The king marched from Toulouse with but sixteen thousand horse,—among whom, however, were most of the lords and captains above named. He was lodged at a small town called Meillan ††, two leagues from Tartas, belonging to the count d'Albreth, but in the possession of the count de Foix, and his men were quartered round about. On the morrow, which was the day fixed on for the surrender of Tartas unless relieved by the king of France, the king drew up his men in battle-array before the town, and thus remained from early morn until ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon,—when the lords de Coignac and Enguerrot de Sainct Per, who had the command of the place, appeared before him, and brought with them the young Charles d'Albret, who had remained in the town as an hostage. They surrendered the keys of Tartas into the king's hands,—and at the same time, the lord de Coignac did him homage, but Enguerrot retired to the city of Dax. The lord d'Albret now entered Tartas,—and the king went to sleep at Coignac, which is a pretty good town, about two leagues distant from Tartas, where he remained on St. John's day and the ensuing one.

* Archambaud de Greilly, Captal de Buche, who became count de Foix as before-mentioned, in right of his wife Isabel, sister and heir to Matthew de Chateaubon, died in 1412, leaving five sons, of whom John, the eldest, was count de Foix, and died in 1437, leaving Gaston IV. his successor, and Peter, lord of Lautrec and Villemur, his two sons. Gaston IV. (the count of Foix here mentioned) had for his mother a daughter of the count d'Albret ; and marrying Eleanor, daughter of John king of Arragon by his first wife the queen of Navarre, transmitted to his grandson Francis Phœbus the title to that kingdom. Of the four remaining sons of count Archambaud, Peter was a cardinal ; Archambaud was lord of Noailles, killed by the dauphin at Montereau, in company with John duke of Burgundy ; Gaston was Captal de Buche, count of Longueville and Benanges ; and Matthew was count of Comminges, in right of his wife the heiress of that county. This Matthew died in 1453, leaving by his second wife, Catherine de Coras, two daughters only. The title of Comminges was then given by Louis XI. (who claimed it as a male fief) to the bastard of Armagnac, commonly called De Lescun.

† Helman. Lomaigne.—Du Cange.

‡ Andrew de Laval, lord de Lohéac, second son of Guy XIII., and brother of Guy XIV., lord of Laval. He was admiral of France after Louis de Culant, but resigned that office to be made a marshal in 1439. He married Mary de Laval, lady of Retz, widow of the admiral de Coetivy, by whom he had no issue, and died in 1486.

§ Philip de Culant, lord of Jaloignes, seneschal of the Limousin, created a marshal of France the year before, on occasion of the siege of Pontoise. He died in 1454, without issue. He was nephew to Louis lord of Culant, admiral of France, and younger brother to Charles de Culant, lord of Chateauneuf, &c. ; grand-master in 1449.

|| Godfrey, second son of Bertrand de la Tour, count of Auvergne and Boulogne, bore the title of Montgascon. He was betrothed to Jane de Brezé, daughter of Peter, count de Maulevrier, but afterwards married Anne de Beaufort, daughter of the marquis de Canillac.

¶ Chalenton. Chalencon.—Du Cange.

** Pennesach. Vennensach.—Du Cange.

†† Meillan,—a small town in Gascony, near Tartas.

CHAPTER CCLXVI.—THE KING OF FRANCE, AFTER GAINING TARTAS, COMES BEFORE SAINT SEVERE, AND CONQUERS THAT TOWN AND CASTLE, WITH SOME OTHERS IN GASCONY.

On the Wednesday following the surrender of Tartas, the king of France marched his army before the town of Saint Severe*, whither, as it was very strongly fortified with five bastions, the whole country had withdrawn with their cattle and effects. The dauphin's men, on their arrival, made an attack on two of these bastions with such success that they gained them, and lodged themselves therein. Within a few days, another was won by the king's division, who ordered an immediate attack on the fourth: the English made a vigorous defence, but were driven thence, and pursued as far as the gate of the principal bastion. The French continued their attacks on this place, without having had any orders from the king or his captains,—and they lasted for a long time with great valour on both sides; but at length the French gained the victory, and conquered the place by storm, putting to death about eight hundred English, with the loss of from twenty to thirty of their own men, but in that number was the little Blanchefort.

The town was won on the side where the constable attacked it, when on the part of the English, sir Thomas Rampstone and a few more were made prisoners. The king after this conquest, remained there for twelve days, and thence marched to besiege the town of Dax, which occupied him for the space of five weeks, as there was a strong fortification in front of one of the gates. When the battering cannon had partly demolished the walls of the town, orders were given for storming this fortification, which held out most obstinately for five hours, but was at last won about nightfall. Ten or twelve English were killed and very many of the French wounded. The king withdrew his men after this event, with the exception of those who had the guard of it. On the ensuing day, the townsmen of Dax, fearing that a stronger attack would now be made on their town, surrendered themselves to the king, except the lord de Montferrand, governor of the town for the English, and the before-mentioned Enguerrot de St. Per, who were permitted to march out in safety, but with staves in their hands. The lord de Montferrand also promised to surrender into the king's hands two castles which he held near to Bordeaux,—for the due performance of which he gave his son in hostage. He remained a prisoner a long time, because the lord de Montferrand refused to keep his promise of surrendering these two castles.

Gascony and Guienne were at this time governed, for the king of England, by the captal de Buch, the lord de Montferrand and sir Thomas Rampstone, seneschal of Bordeaux. In the absence of the king of France, the English reconquered the town and castles of Saint Severe; but the king shortly after, marched back his army thither, retook it by storm, and put numbers of English to death. At this time, all the towns and castles of the lord de la Rochetaillade turned, and did homage to the king of France.

The king of France next marched to Marmonde†, which opened its gates to him, and thence to La Réole‡. It was vigorously besieged, and the town was taken by storm; but the castle held out for about six weeks, when it surrendered on the garrison being allowed to march away in safety. Olivier de Cointiny was appointed by the king governor of this and of other places that had been conquered in the course of the expedition. The baron of Dax commanded in La Réole for the king of England,—but he afterward turned to the French interest.

While these conquests were making, the English much distressed the French, particularly by encouraging their peasantry to harass their scouting parties, so that, from the multitudes in the French army they frequently suffered famine. Great numbers of their horses died; a severe loss to those adventurers who had been accustomed to keep the field all the year round. Many of them, in consequence, quitted the army in search of provision for themselves and horses, and advanced as far as Navarre, where they committed all sorts of mischief on the poor farmers. In another quarter, the English collected a body of men, and through friends

* Saint Severe,—near to Coignac.

† Marmonde,—a town on the Garonne, between Bordeaux and Toulouse.

‡ La Réole,— on the road between Bordeaux and Toulouse.

in the town, regained the city of Dax from the French. The governor, Regnault Guillaume le Bourguignon, was made prisoner, and most part of his garrison put to the sword. The king of France was much vexed at thus losing a place, through the neglect of the governor, which had cost him so long a time and such an expense to conquer.

When the king of France had remained for seven or eight months in Gascony, where he had made such valuable conquests, he considered the dreadful state of his army, and the danger it was daily exposed to from want of provision, and resolved to direct his march toward Montauban. He staid at Montauban about two months, whence he issued his orders for the defence of the country, and then, by slow marches, returned to Poitiers.

Shortly after the king had left Montauban, La Hire, who had suffered extremely in this expedition, and was advanced in years, died in the castle of that town. The king, on hearing of his death, was much affected, and ordered that his widow should possess the lands he had given to him for his life.

CHAPTER CCLXVII.—PIERRE DE REGNAULT IS FORCED TO DISLODGE FROM THE CASTLE OF MAILLY *

I HAVE before noticed how Pierre de Regnault had taken possession of the castle of Mailly, two leagues distant from Beauvais, which he had repaired and refortified. He had with him about two hundred determined combatants, with whom he overran the countries round, seizing and carrying off to his fort all he could find, as well from those dependent on the king of France as from others. He overran, in particular, the dependencies of the duke of Burgundy, the count d'Estampes, and other great lords of that party: he even at times crossed the river Somme, and advanced into Artois, twelve or fifteen leagues from his castle. He acted in like manner within the castlewicks of Peronne, Roye, and Mondidier, where he made some capital prisoners, who paid large sums for their ransoms, just the same as an enemy would have done in time of war, so that the country was grievously harassed,—and heavy complaints were made frequently to the superior lords, who were much vexed at this conduct. The duke of Burgundy at last sent to remonstrate with the king of France on this destruction of his country, and to require that a remedy be applied. The king gave a similar answer to what he had done before: that he was much concerned at what had happened, and would be well pleased if the duke should conquer Pierre de Regnault whenever he found him marauding on his territories, or that he would besiege him in his castle of Mailly, and drive him thence; that he would send positive orders to all his captains in that part of the country not to give him the smallest aid against the troops of the duke of Burgundy, under pain of incurring his highest indignation.

The duke was satisfied with this answer, and began to arrange his plans accordingly. He concluded a treaty with some of the English captains on the frontier of Normandy, that they should give security not to molest his men nor aid the enemy; and when he was assured that neither French nor English would take part against him in this business, he sent orders from Burgundy, where he then was, to the count d'Estampes, who had the government of Picardy, to collect as many men as he could raise, and march against the castle of Mailly. The count on this made great diligence, and assembled in a short time twelve hundred combatants, knights, esquires, and others, the most expert warriors in Picardy and in the adjoining parts. In the number were Waleran de Moreul, Guy de Roye, Jean d'Ange, the lord de Saveuses, Simon de Lalain, Jean de Haplaincourt, Charles de Rochefort, sir Colart de Mailly, and many more great lords and gentlemen.

The rendezvous was in the town of Amiens, whence they marched with a numerous train of artillery, stores, and baggage, to Beauvais. The count and great lords were handsomely received in that town, and their men were quartered in the villages round. The count d'Estampes lost no time in advancing to the castle of Mailly, and posted his men as near as he could to the gate, the strongest part of the castle, and to the lower court, which had been newly strengthened with casks and beams of timber. The garrison defended themselves

* Mailly,—a town in Picardy, near Peronne.

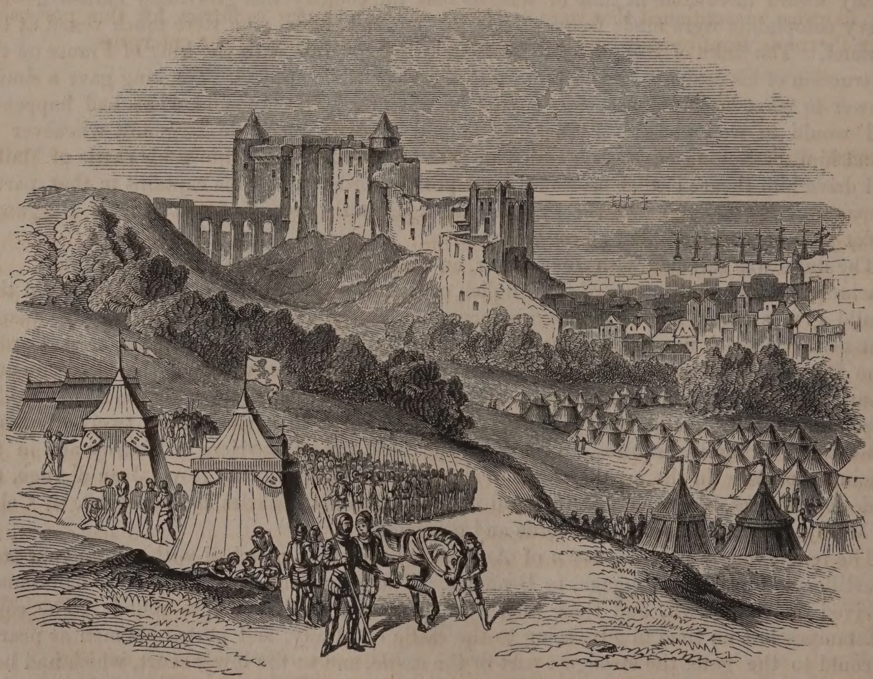
courageously with cannons and other engines of war, and killed many of the count's men: among the slain was sir Matthew de Humieres. The besiegers had left the greater part of their horses in the town of Beauvais, whence and from Orleans they were daily supplied with provision.

When the artillery had made a breach in the walls of the lower court, a general and very sharp assault was made, in which great prowess was displayed on both sides; but the lord de Saveuses and his men gained the most renown. The besieged defended themselves with such obstinacy that the count, finding the conquest would be attended with too much loss, ordered a retreat, leaving behind from eight to ten dead: of the besieged, only a few were wounded. The besieged, perceiving that they could not hold out much longer, and that they had no great hopes of succour, capitulated with the commissaries of the count to surrender the place, on being allowed to march away in safety with their arms and baggage. On the surrender of the castle, it was set on fire, and razed to the ground, and the count marched his army during Passion-week to the places they had come from. This siege of Mailly had lasted upwards of three weeks,—and the whole country that had been laid under contributions by the garrison, were greatly rejoiced when it was known for certain that the castle was demolished and the garrison driven thence.

CHAPTER CCLXVIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE ASSEMBLES A LARGE ARMY TO MARCH INTO NORMANDY.—THE EARL OF SOMERSET MAKES SOME CONQUESTS FROM THE FRENCH IN ANJOU AND ELSEWHERE.

[A. D. 1443.]

At the beginning of this year, the king of France assembled a numerous body of men-at-arms, with the intent of marching them into Normandy the ensuing summer to relieve Dieppe, which was hardly pressed by a very strong block-house the English had raised



Dieppe. Relief of the Town.—From a study made on the spot in 1839.

against it. The king meant, under escort of this succour, to revictual the town; and consequently the men-at-arms conducted thither numbers of cattle and other stores, which they

drove forcibly into the town, notwithstanding the severe skirmishes that took place, when many were killed and wounded on both sides.

About this time, the earl of Somerset* had collected a body of six thousand combatants, or thereabout, and marched them into the province of Anjou, committing great waste with fire and sword; after which, he advanced toward Brittany, and took by storm La Guerche,† belonging to the duke of Alençon, which town was plundered by the English. He thence advanced to Ponsay‡, where he remained upwards of two months, but detached parties of men, who overran the countries of Anjou, Touraine, and near to Chartres, where at times they were attacked and defeated by peasants.

The marshal de Lohéac had the defence of this part of the kingdom intrusted to him by king Charles, and to oppose the English with the men of the duke of Alençon. They formed a plan to attack the English camp by night; but the earl of Somerset, having had intelligence thereof, advanced to meet them, and fell on them unawares. The French were thrown into confusion, and from twenty to thirty were killed or taken: the rest saved themselves by flight as well as they could. Among the prisoners were, the lord d'Assigny, Louis de Beuil, and many other gentlemen. The earl of Somerset now dislodged from before Pouencé and took the castle of Beaumont le Vicomte §. Having posted garrisons along the frontier, he returned to Rouen.

CHAPTER CCLXIX.—SOME KNIGHTS AND GENTLEMEN OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY'S COURT HOLD A TOURNAMENT NEAR TO DIJON.

During the duke of Burgundy's residence in that duchy, several gentlemen of his household, with his permission, and for his amusement, had it proclaimed throughout Burgundy, and in other countries, that if there were any men of name desirous of gaining honour and renown by deeds of arms, there were gentlemen, whose names shall be presently declared, who offered to receive and furnish them with arms suitable for the enterprise. The challenges shall likewise be mentioned that were dispersed through divers countries for this purpose, by sir Pierre de Bauffremont lord of Chargny, who was the chief of the enterprise.

CHAPTER CCLXX.— THE CHALLENGES FOR THIS TOURNAMENT AND THE NAMES OF THE CHAMPIONS.

"In honour of our Lord, and of his most glorious mother, of my lady Sainte Anne, and of my lord St. George, I, Pierre de Bauffremont lord of Chargny, of Monliet and of Montfort, knight, counsellor and chamberlain, to the most high, most puissant and excellent prince the duke of Burgundy, make known to all princes, barons, knights and esquires, without reproach, with the exception of those of the kingdom of France and of the countries in alliance, or subjects to my said sovereign lord, that for the augmentation and extension of the most noble profession and exercise of arms, my will and intention is, in conjunction with twelve knights, esquires and gentlemen, of four quarterings, whose names follow,—Thibault lord of Rougemont and Mussy, sir William de Bresremont lord of Sees and of Sonnegnon, William de Brene lord of Mombis and of Gilly, John lord of Valengon, John lord of Rap and of Tirecourt, William de Champdivers lord of Chevigny, John de Chiron lord Rancheineres, Antony de Vaudray, lord of Aille, William de Vaudray lord of Collaon, James de Challant lord of Ainville, sir Amey lord of Espirey, and John de Chavigny,—to guard and defend a pass d'armes, situated on the great road leading from Dijon toward Exonne, at the end of the

* John earl of Somerset succeeded to the earldom of Somerset in 1443: he was created duke of Somerset and earl of Kendal, &c. in the 21st year of Henry VI. Dying without male issue, he was succeeded by his brother Edmund, earl of Mortain, in Normandy, and marquis of Dorset. He was slain at the battle of St. Albans. See Collins' Peerage,—Scudamore Beaufort,—and also sir William Paston's letters, wherein are many curious particulars relating to him. Sir William married into that family.

† La Guerche,—a town in Brittany, near Vitre.

‡ Ponsay, Pouencé.—Du Cange.

§ Beaumont-le-Vicomte, — a town in Maine near Fresnay.

causeway from the said town of Dijon, at a great tree called the Hermit's Tree, in the form and manner following.

"In the first place, two shields (one black besprinkled with tears of gold,—the other violet, having tears of sable), shall be suspended on the tree of the Hermit, and all those who shall, by a king at arms or pursuivant, touch the first shield, shall be bounden to perform twelve courses on horseback with me, or with one of my aforesaid knights or esquires, with blunted lances.—Item, if either of the champions, during their twelve courses, be unhorsed by a direct blow with the lance on his armour, such person, thus unhorsed, shall present to his adversary a diamond of whatever value he please.—Item, the champions may arm themselves according to their pleasure, double or single, but without any wicked intentions, having their rest similar to the usual custom in war.—Item, each person shall make provision of lances,—but the rondelle, which lies on the hands, shall be only four fingers broad, and no more *.—Item, the lances shall be all of similar length, from the point to the rest.—Item, for the accomplishment of these feats of arms on horseback, I will supply all who may come without lances, precisely like to my own and to those of my companions.—Item, these deeds of arms on horseback shall be performed *à la toille*†, which shall be six feet high."

CHAPTER CCLXXI.—HERE FOLLOW THE ARTICLES FOR THE DEEDS OF ARMS ON FOOT.

"Those princes, barons, knights, and esquires, of the rank before-mentioned, who shall rather take their pleasure in performing feats of arms on foot, shall touch the violet shield, and shall perform fifteen courses with battles-axes or swords, as may be most agreeable to them.

"Item, if, during these courses, any champion shall touch the ground with his hand or knees, he shall be bounden to present his adversary with a ruby of whatever value he please.—Item, each champion shall be armed with the accustomed armour for combating in lists.—Item, should any person be unprovided with battle-axe or sword, I will furnish him with the same, similar to my own or to those of my companions. These axes and swords are not to have anything extraordinary in their make, but such as are usual in these kind of combats.

"Item, he that shall have engaged himself to fight with me, or either of us, and shall throw the other to the ground, the person so thrown shall be obliged to surrender himself a prisoner whithersoever the conqueror shall order him.—Item, the person thus made prisoner shall pay for his immediate ransom, to whomsoever the conqueror shall direct, any sum above five hundred crowns.

"Item, foreigners need not seek for particulars from me, or from my companions, for they will find persons ready to deliver such at the usual hours and places.—Item, no stranger will be permitted to enter the lists with me or with any one of my companions, for more than one course at arms, namely, once on horseback and once on foot,—and no one can require more of any of us during the present undertaking.

"Item, the aforesaid feats of arms, on horseback and on foot, shall be performed on the following days: those on horseback on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays,—those on foot, Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays.—Item, this pass d'armes shall commence on the first day of July, in the year 1443, and shall last forty days, exclusive of feast-days and Sundays, and the feasts commanded to be kept by the court of Rome.

"Item, no prince, baron, knight, or esquire, shall pass within a quarter of a league of the spot assigned for these combats without entering the lists and taking part, or otherwise leaving as pledges his sword or spurs, according to his pleasure.

"Item, for the accomplishment of these feats of arms, as well on horseback as on foot,

* This article I do not understand. In the original it is *tondelle*,—altered by Du Cange to *rondelle*, which is translated by Cotgrave, "a small target;" but four fingers wide would be too insignificant for any defence. I have, therefore, left it for better antiquaries to explain.

[By the *rondelle*, which is strictly speaking a small target, the butt of the tilting spear, which formed a defence to the hand, and was sometimes enlarged to extravagant dimensions, appears to be here indicated.—Ed.]

† That is to say, that barriers dividing the combatants should be erected in the lists. It is worthy of remark, that that this is the first instance in the annals of Froissart or Monstrelet where mention is made of this invention for preventing in some degree the dangers attendant on these warlike games.—Ed.

according to the articles above specified, I have most humbly supplicated and entreated my aforesaid sovereign lord, that he would grant me his licence and permission to perform them, which he has most benignantly assented to. He has likewise most graciously appointed, as judge of the lists, that puissant prince and my most redoubted lord the count of Nevers and of Rethel,—and, in his absence, the lord marshal count of Fribourg and of Neufchâtel.

"In order that this my intention of performing these deeds of arms in the manner before specified may be more fully declared, I have affixed my seal to these presents, and signed them with my own hand, this 8th day of March, in the year 1442.

"Item, I beseech all princes, barons, knights, and esquires, not to construe this my intention as proceeding from any presumption on my part; for my sole motive is to exalt the noble profession of arms, and to extend the exercise of it,—and also to make acquaintance by arms with such renowned and valiant princes and nobles as may be pleased to honour me with their company.—Item, all noble foreigners shall have sure and loyal passports from my aforesaid sovereign lord, or, in his absence, from his marshal."

CHAPTER CCLXXII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES, WITH A LARGE BODY OF MEN-AT-ARMS, INTO THE DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG.

At this period, the duchess of Luxembourg, widow to duke Anthony of Brabant and to John of Bavaria (both of them uncles to the duke of Burgundy, one by the father's, the other by the mother's side), made heavy complaints to the duke of Burgundy that the greater part of her subjects and vassals in the duchy of Luxembourg[*] had refused to obey her, or pay her the rents that were her due. The inhabitants of Luxembourg and Thionville were particularly rebellious, with those of other places in their neighbourhood, by driving out of their towns her officers. She most humbly requested of him, from his love to God, and in honour to his two uncles, whom she had married, and to whom she had always behaved most honourably, that he would take compassion on her case, and afford her such succour

[*] The cause and progress of this war respecting the duchy of Luxembourg may deserve some explanation. After the death of Wenceslaus duke of Brabant and Luxembourg (the patron of Froissart) the duchy reverted to the emperor Wenceslaus, as head of the elder branch of the family; and on the marriage of Elizabeth of Gorlitia, his niece, with Anthony duke of Brabant, the emperor made a mortgage of the duchy to the said Anthony to secure the payment of his wife's portion, amounting to 120,000 florins. This sum was never paid; and possession of the duchy was retained by Elizabeth after the death of Anthony, and until some time after the death of her second husband, John of Bavaria, bishop of Liege, so often before mentioned. At this period, however, both Wenceslaus and Sigismund, and also the empress Elizabeth daughter of Sigismund, being no more, and the rights of the elder branch having descended on William III. marquis of Thuringia and Casimir IV. king of Poland, in right of their wives Elizabeth and Anne, the daughters of the empress Elizabeth, those princes took advantage of the apparently unprotected state of the province to claim the privilege of redemption; to enforce which, they sent a powerful army under the command of the count of *Click* of the house of Saxony. To oppose the invaders, Robert, count of Wirnemburg, collected what troops he was able from the duchy itself; and duke Philip sent considerable supplies under the command of his bastard son Cornelius, of the count of Estampes, and other nobles, by whose assistance the Saxons were at length expelled. *In gratitude for this signal service*, Elizabeth soon afterwards conveyed the duchy and all its dependencies in absolute possession to duke Philip and his heirs for ever; and the vanquished claimants were forced to purchase peace by a solemn ratification of her cession. The king of Poland, however, did not deliver his confirmation till after the death of Philip, when the transaction was completed in favour of Charles the Warlike. See Bertelius and Heuterus.

The short table annexed will render this affair more intelligible.

Charles IV. (Emperor) died 1378.
- Wenceslaus (Emperor) died 1419.
- Sigismund (Emperor) died 1438.
  - Elizabeth died 1440, married Albert of Austria, emperor.
    - Elizabeth married Casimir IV. king of Poland.
    - Anne married William III. marquis of Thuringia.
- John of Gorlitia, marquis of Brandenburg, died 1395.
  - Elizabeth duchess of Luxembourg, married, first, Anthony duke of Brabant; second, John of Bavaria.

as should replace her with honour in her duchy, otherwise she should be reduced to live in great poverty and misery.

The duke made her a very kind answer, saying that he would heartily assist her against her rebellious subjects with every means in his power,—for which she gratefully thanked him. In consequence, he lost no time to assemble his council, for them to deliberate on the matter and determine on the most efficacious method of performing his engagement.—It was resolved at this council, that the duke of Burgundy should send a solemn message to the inhabitants of Luxembourg, to require of them to perform their duties to the duchess and to her officers, as they were bounden to do,—and that, should they refuse, he, the duke, would support her with all his power to restore to her her rights. The inhabitants refused to attend to this summons, although several requests were made to them for the purpose, and instantly introduced into their towns a body of troops from duke William of Saxony*, who laid claim to the duchy as next heir. He sent thither eight hundred combatants from the borders of Germany, under the command of a relative called the count de Clicque, who garrisoned the town of Luxembourg, Thionville, and others of their party.

The duke of Burgundy, perceiving they persevered in their rebellion, determined to make war upon them, and wrote letters to the count de Vernembourg, the heir of Sarrebrusse, Henry de la Tour, and to other nobles of the duchy of Luxembourg, the greater part of whom supported the duchess, to request that they would join him in his war against her rebellious subjects. He added that he would shortly send thither an army, and command it in person, to conquer that duchy, and drive out those who at present occupied it. They returned for answer, that they were very ready to join him; and after they had sent to the different towns in rebellion their challenges, made open war upon them. In the mean time, the duke of Burgundy ordered the count d'Estampes into Picardy, to assemble a large force, and march with it to meet him in Burgundy. When his army was ready, he commanded it to advance towards St. Quentin, whither he himself went, accompanied by Waleran de Moreul, Guy de Roye, the Lord de Humieres, the lord de Saveuses, sir Simon de Lalain, the lord de Neufville, Gauvain Quieret, sir Anthony de Wissoch, Jean de Haplaincourt, and many noble knights and esquires, to the number of twelve or thirteen hundred combatants.

From St. Quentin, the army marched toward Laon, to pass through the county of Rethel: but when near to Montagut†, intelligence was brought that Dimenche le Court, le Roucin, and others of the king of France's captains, were posted in Montagut and Sissonne‡, whence they had lately laid waste the whole country of the Rethelois. The count d'Estampes was very indignant on hearing this; for a short time before, Dimenche le Court had been defeated in Burgundy, and had then promised never more to invade the territories of the duke of Burgundy, nor of his allies. The count sent to order them to decamp, for that he intended to lodge in Montagut; but as they refused to obey, a dispute ensued between the two parties, and the count instantly attacked them, when the French were defeated, with the loss of their horses and baggage, taken by the Picards. Few were killed, but many wounded,—and such as had been made prisoners were afterwards set at liberty. Some had even their baggage restored,—in particular, that of de Court,—and they made a retreat as speedily as they could.

Neither the king nor dauphin were pleased that their men should have been attacked and defeated on the territories of France, more especially as these troops, in obedience to a summons from the dauphin, were on their march to the relief of Dieppe, of which ample mention shall be made: the mischief, however, was done,—which caused, hereafter, great remorse.

The count d'Estampes marched his army toward Burgundy, and encamped in the plains near to Langres and Montfaucon: during which, the count and principal nobles waited on the duke of Burgundy at Dijon, where they were joyfully received and feasted. They remained there some time, while the duxe was finishing his preparations to march with his army into Luxembourg.

* William marquis of Thuringia, youngest son of Frederick the Warlike, elector of Saxony.

† Montagut,—a village in Picardy, near Laon.

‡ Sissonne,—a town in Picardy, near Laon.

CHAPTER CCLXXIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY REDUCES THE DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG TO HIS OBEDIENCE.

We must now speak of the duke of Burgundy, who was making great preparations for the attack of Luxembourg. In the interval, several attempts were made to reconcile the duchess and her disobedient subjects, but in vain. The duke was, therefore, resolved to make a severe war on them, and reduce them to his obedience. He first detached sir Simon de Lalain into Luxembourg, with three or four hundred combatants, who formed a junction with the count de Vernembourg, and the other nobles allied to the duke of Burgundy. They quartered themselves in Arlon, and other towns attached to the duchess, and thought to have gained Thionville by an understanding with the inhabitants, but failed, from the count de Clicque and his party having the ascendancy, together with a considerable garrison to enforce obedience. Shortly after, the count de Clicque, with a large army and train of artillery, advanced near to Arlon, with the intent to besiege it, and several skirmishes took place, when many were killed and wounded on both sides,—but fearing the superior force of the duke of Burgundy, he retreated into Luxembourg.

The Picards made several excursions, and at times advanced even to the gates of Luxembourg. The duke of Burgundy now left Dijon in handsome array, and grandly attended by knights and esquires. He fixed his quarters at Yvoy, in the duchy of Luxembourg, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants. While at Yvoy, he ordered the castle of Villy to be besieged, as it contained a party of marauders, who had done great mischief to the poor farmers, under the command of one called Jacquemin de Beaumont.

The command of this expedition was given to Guy de Roye, the lord de Saveuses, Hugh de Hasines, and others, having with them six hundred combatants. They pointed many engines against this castle, which damaged it much; but those within declared, that they belonged to the young lord de Commercy, who had been with the Dauphin to the relief of Dieppe. They also sent to inform him of what was passing, when he assembled about a thousand combatants,—among whom was Pierre Robert, Le Roucin, and many other veterans. They pushed forward by forced marches until they were near the castle, and then, at early morn, they surprised the Burgundian camp, without meeting much resistance. Those, however, who had the command of the siege, hearing a noise, assembled their men in haste, and, in handsome array, attacked the enemy, drove him out of their camp into the plain, where a sharp engagement ensued, and where Sir Gauvain Quieriet*, sir Hugh de Longueval, and others of the chiefs displayed great courage. Sir Gauvain had joined them the day before, and had informed them of the march of the young lord of Commercy.

This lord and his companions, finding that they would lose rather than gain by a longer stay, galloped off in haste, and returned to Commercy, leaving behind eight or ten dead and several wounded. On the part of the Burgundians, a gentleman named Walter de Pavant was slain, and a few with him. During the engagement, Jacquemin de Beaumont abandoned his men, and issuing out at a postern of the castle, joined the young lord de Commercy, and returned with him. The garrison now surrendered on capitulation, that they should march away with arms and baggage. The duke of Burgundy encamped his army nearer Luxembourg, and the count d'Estampes, with the greater part of his captains, went to Ez†, a large town that was formerly inclosed, and remained there some time. His men made frequent excursions thence, and when they met any of the enemy's troops, made very light of them.

While these things were passing, the duke, who had with him some of his ablest advisers, held frequent consultations with those best acquainted with the country on the means of putting an end to the war. He was advised to attempt scaling the walls of Luxembourg during the night, to which he readily listened, and ordered preparations to be made accord-

* Gauvain Quieriet, lord of Heuchin, son of James Quieriet, who was distinguished in the conquest of Normandy, and grandson of Guy, who was made prisoner at Azincourt.

† Ez. Q. Metz ?

ingly. Two gentlemen—one from Burgundy named Guillaume le Grevant, and the other from Picardy called Robert de Miraumont—were despatched, under care of proper guides, to examine the place and make a trial. They set out, having with them some excellent scalers, and soon discovered that the enterprise was feasible,—for, finding the watch inattentive, they mounted the walls, and examined at their ease the whole state of the town. They then returned as secretly as they could, and related to the duke all they had observed.

On their report, he determined to make the attempt, and sent information thereof to the count d'Estampes and the other captains with him, signifying to them that it was his pleasure they should undertake it, and that he would support them should there be occasion. The duke was at this time at Arlon, and the count d'Estampes at Ez. The count, on receiving this information, assembled the majority of the captains, and laid before them the plan and orders from the duke, and demanded their opinions. It was long debated, when some declared themselves doubtful of its success, and gave their reasons for so thinking; but at length it was resolved to undertake it, since it was the will and pleasure of the duke.

After this determination, it was next considered who should take command of the first party of scalers—and sir Gauvain Quieriet, the lord de Bosqueaux, Guillaume le Grevant, and Robert de Miraumont, were appointed, with sixty or eighty men, to support the scalers. They began their march under the direction of able guides of the country, and were overtaken by the lord de Saveuses, although at the time he was labouring under a severe disorder, whose arrival gave them great pleasure. They advanced in silence to within half a league of Luxembourg, when they dismounted, and there left their horses, and continued to advance to the appointed place. Having then ordered who were to mount first, and those who were instantly to follow in a line, the ladders were raised against the wall, and the enterprise proceeded. The lord de Saveuses was requested to remain at the foot of the ladders to see that order was observed, and that such mounted as had been fixed on,—for there was not a man among them who would have refused to obey him

When sir Gauvain and the others had gained the ramparts, they seized some of the inhabitants, threatening to put them to death if they made the least noise, and hastened to break open a postern, to admit the lord de Saveuses and those who had followed them, to the number of two hundred, who instantly shouted, "Town won!" to the dismay of the inhabitants, who cried out "To arms!" in several places. The Burgundians hastened to the market-place, which they gained, notwithstanding some few of the townsmen had assembled there to defend it. They made little resistance, but sir Gauvain was wounded, and two of the townsmen being slain, the rest fled for the castle and the lower town. The count d'Estampes, having received on his march several messages of the success of the detachment, hastened as fast as he could to Luxembourg. On his arrival, he ordered a party in front of the castle, to prevent those within from making a sally; but they had already set fire to the houses in the street opposite, which destroyed several handsome buildings, and the greater part of the horses of the men-at-arms in their stables, their masters having retired within the castle. When the populace, who had retreated in multitudes to the lower town, saw that the place was won without hope of rescue, they issued forth, and went to Thionville, and other places, in despair, abandoning all their effects.

This same day, the duke of Burgundy came to Luxembourg, and his men were then regularly quartered through the town; the great wealth, and abundance of all things therein, were plundered by those who had made the conquest. It had been ordered, prior to the march, that no indiscriminate pillage should take place, but that all things should be regularly shared to each person, according to his rank, without fraud; but this order was not observed, and the majority of the middling and lower ranks in the army were defrauded of their portion: indeed, few had any portions but the chiefs of the army and those who had commanded the expedition. Those also gained who were intrusted with the guard of the plunder; but this conduct caused great murmurings in the army,—and complaints were loudly uttered by many, saying that this was a bad example for them to adventure their lives another time for plunder, when they now received no share of it; but, notwithstanding their complaints, they gained nothing. On the contrary, they were forced rigorously to

deliver up whatever they had taken, into the hands of commissaries appointed for that purpose.

The lord de Humieres was on this expedition, and exercised the office of marshal for the lord de Beaumont, marshal of Burgundy. Beside the count d'Estampes, there were with the duke of Burgundy, from Picardy and its borders, the lord de Croy, count Porcein, Waleran de Moreul, sir Simon de Lalain, Guy de Roye, the lord de Saveuses, his brother Hugh de Hames, Hugh de Longueval, the lord de Bosqueaux, sir Anthony de Wissoch, and numbers of others of the nobility. From Burgundy were the lord de Ternant, sir Pierre de Bauffremont lord of Chargny, the lord of Brassay, Charles de Rochefort, Philibert de Vaudray, Jean de Vaudray, Philibert d'Aincourt, and many more knights and esquires.

The count de Clicque had retreated, with his men, into the castle, but escaped thence secretly during the night, and went on foot to Thionville. The castle of Luxembourg held out for three weeks after the capture of the town, during which sir John, bastard of Dampierre, was killed by the shot of an arrow on the head, from one of the garrison; and the lord de Saveuses was grievously wounded on the breast by a cross-bow shot, at a sally made from the castle: he was in danger of death, but by the abilities of the duke's surgeons he recovered. At the end of three weeks, the count de Clicque signed a capitulation with commissioners from the duke of Burgundy for the surrender of the castle of Luxembourg, on condition that his men therein might depart in safety, but without carrying away anything with them. The town of Thionville surrendered at the same time,—when the count de Clicque returned with his men to his country of Germany, covered with disgrace and confusion. Thus did the duke of Burgundy in a short time subdue the whole duchy of Luxembourg to his obedience, and with little loss of men.

He was now joined by his duchess and the duchess of Luxembourg, with whom a treaty was concluded for her enjoyment of the duchy during her life with the same powers as before, and that she was to pay annually to the duke of Burgundy the sum of ten thousand francs, French money, as a reimbursement for his expenses, and the duchy was to revert to him and his heirs on her decease.

The duke published a proclamation during his stay at Luxembourg, to forbid all persons, whatever might be their rank, from seeking any quarrels or doing wrong to any of the lords of that country or to their vassals. This was infringed by one of his body-archers, called the Little Scotsman, who quarrelled with sir Pierre Bernard, and struck him; for which the duke had him instantly hanged, notwithstanding the entreaties of several great lords of his household, and even the solicitations of sir Pierre Bernard, to save his life, and although he had been before very fond of him, and was well pleased with his services; but he would not remit the sentence, to afford an example to all others not to dare infringe his edicts or ordinances.

At this time, several embassies took place between the kings of France and England, to endeavour to conclude a peace between them, or at least to prolong the truce. The king of France was now at Tours in Touraine, when many great councils were held on these matters, and for which a meeting of the three estates was called; but notwithstanding these measures, the two parties continued a severe warfare on each other.

CHAPTER CCLXXIV.—SOME OF THE DAUPHIN'S MEN, HAVING ADVANCED INTO BURGUNDY, ARE ATTACKED AND DEFEATED BY THE MARSHAL OF BURGUNDY.

About the beginning of this year, the dauphin returned to the king his father at Tours. He had been long absent in Languedoc, as well as in respect to the affair of the count d'Armagnac * as on other business. On his return, many of his army advanced into Burgundy, and committed similar mischiefs to what they had done before. They had fixed their

* The count d'Armagnac, disgusted with the king's taking the county of Cominges from him, and for other causes, had revolted, and entered into a treaty with England, offering one of his daughters in marriage to king Henry VI. Hall seems to say, that the cardinal of Winchester betrayed this to the king of France, from hatred to the duke of Gloucester; and consequently the king of France attacked and overpowered the count of Armagnac.

quarters at a large village called Espoise, where the lord de Beaumont, marshal of Burgundy, accompanied by a party of nobles, overtook and attacked them, and the French were defeated, with the loss of numbers killed and taken.

Intelligence of this event was soon carried to the dauphin, who swore a round oath that he would march himself into Burgundy to revenge the loss. On the other hand, the duke of Burgundy having heard what the dauphin had said and sworn, declared that he would personally defend his country. Thus was the foundation laid for the ill blood between these two princes; but shortly after, by the mediation of prudent persons on each side, matters were made up, and the dauphin restrained his anger and resentment.

CHAPTER CCLXXV. — A TRUCE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE KINGS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND WITH ALL THE ALLIES AND RELATIVES OF EITHER PARTY.

The meetings for peace were, during this time, continued with much activity at Tours, whither came many of the high nobility of France and of England: such as could not personally attend sent their commissioners, with full powers to act for them. On the part of the duke of Burgundy came sir John de Croy, bailiff of Hainault, the prior de Vergy, master Oudart Caperal, and other notable men: there were likewise envoys from the principal towns. On the part of the king of England were sir William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk; master Adam Moleyns, keeper of the king's privy seal and dean of Salisbury; sir Robert Roos, and others *.

Several conferences were holden to conclude a general peace; but so many difficulties arose, that it was found to be impracticable at present to bring it about, and the meetings were continued until the terms of a truce were agreed to, the articles of which were as follow:

"Charles duke of Orleans and of Valois, count of Blois and of Beaumont, lord of Coucy and of Oisy; Louis de Bourbon, count of Vendôme and of Chartres, grand-master of the royal household of France; Pierre de Brésé, lord de la Varenne and of Bressac, seneschal of Poitou and of Anjou †; Bertrand de Beauveau, lord of Precigny ‡, knight, counsellor and chamberlain to the most excellent king of France, our most redoubted lord and sovereign; to all to whom these letters may come, greeting.

"Conformably to the frequent requests and solicitations of our holy father the pope, and latterly by a renewal of them through his ambassador, the reverend father in God the bishop of Viese, to the king, our redoubted and sovereign lord, that he would condescend to take speedy measures for the accomplishment of a lasting peace, or long truce, with the most high and potent prince his nephew, king of England, who on his part has sent hither, with full powers to treat of the same, certain lords as his ambassadors; namely, William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk; master Adam Moleyns, keeper of his privy seal, doctor of laws and dean of Salisbury; sir Robert Roos, sir Thomas Hors §, knight; Richard Andrews, one of his secretaries. The king, our redoubted lord, from his reverence to God, and from the compassion he has ever felt for the afflictions and distresses the poorer people have so long suffered from each contending party, and to prevent the longer continuance thereof, and likewise to avoid further effusion of human blood, has liberally condescended to treat on these matters with the aforesaid ambassadors from his nephew the king of England, and has been pleased to commission us to act on his part in the said business, giving to us letters with full powers to treat of the same.

"Charles duke of Orleans, &c. Be it known that we have assembled, for several days,

* Page 53, vol. xi. of the Fœdera, contains the warrant for their wages for three months. The *others* were master Richard Andrews, king's secretary and doctor of laws, and John Wenlok, esquire.

† Peter II., the father of James count of Maulevrier, who married Charlotte, the daughter of Charles VII. and Agnes Sorel. This Peter was appointed to the command of an expedition sent to England in support of queen Margaret of Anjou, and was afterwards killed in the battle of Montlehery, in 1465. See Bayle, art. Brézé.

‡ Second son of John III. lord of Beauveau, grand maître-d'hôtel to René king of Sicily and Naples. He died in 1474.

§ Sir Thomas Hors—must be a mistake; for only the four mentioned in the preceding note are contained in the warrant in the Fœdera.

in the town of Tours, to treat of a peace or truce with the ambassadors from England; and at their request, in the full persuasion that we may in the end conclude a final and lasting peace between our redoubted lord and sovereign and his aforesaid nephew for the two kingdoms of France and England, have consented and agreed to a truce in the name of our sovereign lord, conformably to the powers granted to us, with the before-mentioned earl of Suffolk, and the other ambassadors from England, on the following terms:—

"A general truce on the part of the king, our sovereign lord, and his kingdom, as well by sea as by land, his vassals and subjects, including those most powerful princes the kings of Castille and Leon, of the Romans, of Sicily, of Scotland; the dukedoms of Anjou, Bar, and Lorraine; the dauphin of Vienne; the dukes of Orleans, Burgundy, Brittany, Bourbon, Alençon; the count du Maine; and generally the whole of the princes of the blood-royal of France, and all allies of our sovereign throughout Europe: including, likewise, all their vassals, subjects, and adherents, provided they be not of suspicious character to either party, and shall wish to be included in this truce,—promising, at the same time, on oath, to preserve the truce inviolate, and to make reparations for any infractions that shall be committed. This truce shall take effect throughout the kingdom of France in manner following:—In the duchy and country of Gascony, and in the seaports and adjacent isles, on the 15th day of May next ensuing, at sunrise, and in all other parts of the kingdom. But in regard to the sea, the truce shall not commence on the coasts of England, Ireland, and Wales, until the first day of July, at sunrise; and throughout the other parts of the dominions of the said high and potent prince, nephew to our said lord, on the same day and hour. With respect to the allies on each side, the truce shall take effect from the moment they shall have signified their acceptance to either of the parties. It shall be sufficient for the acquittal of the king, our sovereign lord, that he declare the acceptance of any of his allies to the person who shall have the government of the territories of his nephew, the king of England, on this side of the sea, in Guienne or Normandy. And it shall be sufficient for the said high and potent prince, his nephew, king of England, to make similar declarations to the court of parliament of Paris. This truce shall last until the complete revolution of the year, which, according to the usual mode of counting in France, will be on the first day of April, in the year 1445, before Easter day.

"Item, during this truce our sovereign lord will put an end to all warfare between the two kingdoms and their allies; and the said high and potent prince, his nephew, shall not aid or abet any of the king's subjects in designs prejudicial to his honour or dignity. In like manner will our said sovereign act towards the said high and puissant prince, his nephew.—Item, during this truce neither of the parties shall attempt to gain any city or town by force or stratagem, by sale or seduction, or under any colour or manner whatever; and our said redoubted lord and sovereign will order all captures of persons, whatever may be their rank and ransoms, to cease (excepting, however, the ransoms of such as may have been made prisoners prior to the signing of the truce), together with all plunderings, robberies, and every misery attendant on war. Those who have borne arms on one side ought not to intermix with such as have borne arms on the other, nor seek the doing of mischief.

"Item, should it happen that the men-at-arms of either party take possession of any city, town, or castle, that party shall be bounden to yield it back again fully repaired, should any damage have been done to it; and in case those who have thus taken it shall refuse to give it back unless forced thereto, the party to whom they belong shall be bounden to recover the same by force of arms, and at their expense; and supposing there may not be time sufficient during the existence of the truce to finish all the repairs, the party that had taken it shall be bounden to complete it wholly.—Item, during the truce the subjects of either shall have free liberty to pass to and from each country with their merchandise (excepting always military stores) freely and securely, and to transact their business in whatever manner they shall choose, without any let or molestation whatever, free from arrest for any debt or obligations contracted prior to this truce, on paying duly all the accustomed tolls through the different provinces or jurisdictions they may pass: provided always that none of the subjects of either party, noble or men-at-arms, shall enter any castle, inclosed town or fort, without having previously demanded leave from the governor or his lieutenant of all such places, and then

without arms and in small parties. In respect to real pilgrims, they may travel in small or large parties, according to the usual mode of pilgrims going on pilgrimages to the accustomed shrines. In regard to merchants and common people, it will be enough for them to demand leave of entrance from the porters at the gates of any towns or castles.

"Item, whereas several of the subjects of our said redoubted lord and sovereign possess lands under the obedience of his said nephew, the revenues of which, or in part, they have enjoyed by the hands of farmers or otherwise, they may now again enjoy the same during the truce in the manner and form as before.—Item, in regard to the contributions which have been customarily levied by each party, the conservators of the truce and others commissioned from the two kings shall regulate them according to their pleasure.—Item, should any attempts be made to infringe the truce, which God forbid! it shall not be broken, nor shall war be declared on either side, but the truce shall remain in full force, as if nothing had been done contrary to the meaning and purpose of these articles. Such attempts shall have due reparation made for them by those who committed them, and be punished corporally by the aforesaid conservators of the truce.—Item, if, during the truce, any dispute or quarrel shall arise between one of the parties and the subjects or allies of the other, the latter party shall not form any alliances for his support with those who have commenced the dispute.

"All the above articles, and each of them, we duke of Orleans, and the other commissioners for our said lord the king, have solemnly promised on oath to observe, and do solemnly promise and swear for and in the name of our said lord and king to observe, and to make these said articles agreeable to our most potent and redoubted sovereign; and we will, according as the case shall require, send ratifications of the same to the person who may have the government of the town of Rouen, on or before the 15th day of July next ensuing, provided that the same be done within the aforesaid term by the most potent and noble prince the nephew of our said lord and sovereign.

"In testimony whereof, we, each of us, have signed these articles with our hands, and sealed them with our own seals.—Given at Tours, the 20th day of May, in the year 1444."

While this treaty was going on, several other matters were introduced, and a treaty of marriage was proposed between king Henry of England and the daughter of René king of Sicily, duke of Lorraine and Bar, which was afterwards concluded*.

* The genuine work of Monstrelet ends with this book, according to M. Buchon, who has bestowed much pains and labour in investigating the proofs of the authenticity of the succeeding book, which has heretofore passed as the work of the author of those preceding. A fourth book even—undoubtedly spurious, since it relates to events which occurred after the death of the pretended author—has been attributed to Monstrelet; and the latter parts of the succeeding book must lie under the same imputation, since it carries up the narrative to 1516, many years after the death of Monstrelet, which took place in 1453. From the year 1444 to 1497, the whole materials seem to be drawn from other "Chronicles;" but from the latter date to the conclusion (1516), the work appears to be original, M. Buchon himself being unable to point out the book from whose pages it has been "clipped."—Ed.

THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.—THE ENGLISH PROLONG THE TRUCE FOR EIGHT MONTHS.—THE KING OF ENGLAND IS BETROTHED TO THE DAUGHTER OF RENE KING OF SICILY.—THE KING OF SICILY DEMANDS SUCCOURS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE.

[A. D. 1444.]

Toward the end of April, and after Easter, in the year 1444, the English prolonged the truces for eight months, and at the same time betrothed the daughter of René king of Sicily to king Henry of England, in the hope that this measure would establish peace between the two kingdoms. The English ambassadors then returned to England, to report to their king and parliament what they had done, and to accelerate a peace.

In this state of affairs, the king of France determined with his ministers to send his men-at-arms, as well French as foreigners, to take up their quarters in Germany during the truce, under the command of the dauphin. In consequence, the dauphin marched from Troyes in the month of July, and, by short marches, came before the town of Montbelliart in Germany, bordering on the country of Burgundy, which he laid siege to, because the bailiff of that place had made an inroad as far as the city of Langres in France, had carried away men and cattle, and done many other mischiefs, which had greatly displeased the king. The town and castle of Montbelliart surrendered on capitulation. The king shortly after followed the dauphin with a large army, by slow marches, to the city of Langres, whence he detached his van to a castle called Arlay, on the borders of Lorraine, held by the bastard of Vergy, who had done from thence, and others of his forts, great damages to the country of Champagne. All these castles the bastard yielded up to the king, except that of Arlay, which he said he possessed as a pledge for money advanced to René king of Sicily: it was very strong, in excellent repair, and well victualled.

The king advanced his army to a town called Espinal, on the frontiers of Lorraine and Germany, which was held by the bishop of Metz, and the castle by the commonalty: both surrendered to the king on his appearing before them. He thence marched to Nancy. While he was there, René king of Sicily earnestly entreated that he would assist him to conquer the city of Metz and other towns in Lorraine, which, although his own personal domain, were in rebellion against him. The king, in compliance with his request, sent to summon Metz to surrender, otherwise he would march his army to besiege it. The inhabitants having remonstrated on this, and declared that they were independent of the king of Sicily and of any other lord, they were closely besieged for the space of five months

or more, when they concluded a treaty with the king, and the blockade was raised. During this siege, a great lord from Germany, called the lord Bourgalemoine *, came thither, having been sent by the emperor to the dauphin, as his guide to the countries round Basil, Montbelliart, Coulombaria †, Selestat ‡, Strasbourg, Hagenau, in the district of Aussays §, to conquer the Swiss and Germans, who had thrown off their dependence on the emperor.

The dauphin, accompanied by many lords and captains, advanced as far as Basil; but when he had come within a league of that place, he was met by about eight hundred Swiss, who took possession of an hospital and garden, where, considering the smallness of their numbers, they made a gallant defence, and killed the German nobleman whom the emperor had sent as a guide to the dauphin, with several others, although they lost the greater part of their own men. The dauphin now approached Basil, and the townsmen thinking his army must be fatigued, sallied out against him; but at this affair upward of a thousand Germans were slain, and from two to three hundred made prisoners: the rest took to flight. The dauphin next marched to the town of St. Hippolyte || to take it by storm, but it capitulated, as did that of Vau-du-Lieure. The army began now to pillage and commit great devastations on the country round, insomuch that the Swiss and Germans rose in large bodies and killed numbers of the men. Their captains, perceiving that the whole country was rising against them, and that their leader, who was acquainted with all the passes, was dead, returned with the army to the king of France at Nancy.

With the king were René king of Sicily, and numbers of great lords and knights, the queens of France and Sicily, the dauphiness, and the daughter of king René, whom the earl of Suffolk had come with a splendid embassy to demand in marriage for the king of England. After a few discussions, everything was agreed on; but before their departure with the new queen, a magnificent tournament was held, in which the kings of France and Sicily, the lord Charles d'Anjou, the counts de Foix and de St. Pol, the lord Ferry de Lorraine, and several other great lords, tilted. These feasts lasted eight days,—and the ladies were most splendidly dressed.

The kings of France and of Sicily escorted the queen of England two leagues from Nancy, where the king took leave of his niece with many tears, and recommended her to the protection of God: their grief was so great that they could not speak. The king returned to Nancy; but her father, the king of Sicily, accompanied her as far as Bar-le-Duc, where he and her mother took their leave of her, with floods of tears, and prayers for her welfare.

Soon after the return of the dauphin, the Germans, in contempt of their oaths, gained the towns of St. Hipolyte and Vau-du-Lieure, by force, and set fire to both of them. At this moment, the archbishop of Treves, elector of the holy Roman empire, and the count de Blancquemain ¶, came to the king of France from the Germans, to propose a perpetual peace and alliance **.

I had forgotten to say, that during the long siege of Metz many vigorous sallies were made by the garrison, but courageously repulsed by the besiegers. Several small castles were won by the king's troops without interrupting the business of the siege. One belonged to a gentleman called William Chance, governor of Harfleur. Two or three were held by the duke of Burgundy's men, but no attempts were made on them, because they had been given

* Bourgalemoine. Du Cange MS. has Belleforest. Q. Bourgumoine?

† Coulombaria,—Columbaria, the Latin name for Colmar.

‡ Selestat,—or Schlestadt, a town in Lower Alsace, about four miles from Strasburg.

§ Aussays. Q. Aussois?

|| St. Hippolyte,—a town formerly of Germany, now of the duchy of Lorraine, a few leagues distant from Schlestadt.

¶ Blancquemaine. Blanquevau.—MS. Du Cange. Q. Blankenheim: William de Loz, count of Blankenheim, married Mary, a daughter of Anthony de Croy, count of Porcien, who afterwards had for her second husband George count of Wirnemburg.

** "To keep the disbanded soldiers out of mischief, (during the truce,) the dauphin leads twenty thousand of them, of whom eight thousand were English, to assist the duke of Lorraine and the town of Zuric against the Switzers. Near Basil, they attack four thousand men, who had come to assist that town. The dauphin, after an obstinate resistance, slays them all but sixteen; nay, some say one, and that he, on returning to his canton, had his head cut off for cowardice. The French retreat, and abandon the war in that district. They then besiege Metz, and raise vast contributions from the towns around to buy their absence. With this money the dauphin pays his soldiers, and discharges all but fifteen hundred."—*Andrews* from *Mezeray*.

by the king of Sicily to the duke of Burgundy, as pledges for the payment of his ransom which was still owing to the duke.

The governor of Metz was a very cruel man, called John Vitout, who, during the siege, rode a small courser, having at his tail a bell which made a great noise. He did this that all might hear and know when he was riding about the town. This governor was very severe on all women who left the town to ransom their husbands that had been made prisoners by the French; for on their return, he had them drowned, because they had supplied the enemy with money. He put to death, without mercy, all French prisoners, and would not hear of a ransom or exchange. Nevertheless, the king was so benign a prince, that he wished not his death nor that of his accomplices, but granted them most handsome terms of surrender. The heavy articles of the capitulation were a handsome present of gilt plate, two hundred thousand crowns for the expenses of the siege, and the acquittance of one hundred thousand florins of gold which king René and his predecessors had borrowed from them. On these terms they preserved all their rights and privileges from any innovation; and their quarrel with the king of Sicily remained undetermined, nor were any further measures taken towards bringing it to a conclusion.

When this matter had been settled, and during the stay of the king at Nancy, he ordered a general muster of all the troops who had marched into Germany, and of those who had served at the siege of Metz, from whom five * hundred of the best-appointed lances and four thousand archers were to be selected. The remainder of his army he disbanded and sent to their homes, at the same time breaking the greater part of their captains, retaining only fifteen of the most experienced; to each of whom he gave the command of one hundred lances, and a proportionate number of archers. This was intended for a permanent establishment, to be quartered in different towns in the kingdom, and to be fed and paid in so ample a manner that for the future no soldier was to be suffered to plunder at his pleasure the country farmers or villages, as had formerly been done. When this ordinance had been carried into effect, the king and his court went to Châlons, and there remained some time.

At this period, the king of Poland and the cardinal of St. Angelo, the pope's legate, conquered, with the aid of a body of Christians, who had joined them, all Greece and Wallachia, driving the Saracens thence to the Black Sea. But shortly afterward, the sultan and great Turk raised a large army of Saracens, crossed the sea, came up with the Christians, who at that moment were but few in number, and completely defeated them. Among the dead, were slain and killed alive, the king of Poland and the cardinal, who, please God, are now martyrs in Paradise,—for they were killed while endeavouring to extend the doctrines of JESUS CHRIST †.

On the return of the dauphin's army from Germany, the English left him, with their leader Mutago, who marched them back, for subsistence, to Normandy, then in the possession of king Henry of England.

CHAPTER II.—THE KING OF SICILY MEETS THE KING OF FRANCE AT CHALONS, TO TREAT WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY RESPECTING HIS RANSOM.—THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY COMES THITHER.—AFTER THE DEATHS OF THE QUEENS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS AN EMBASSY TO THE COURT OF ENGLAND.

[A. D. 1445.]

IN the year 1445, during the residence of the king of France at Châlons, the king of Sicily came thither to treat of his ransom with the duke of Burgundy, whose prisoner he was. He had not money enough when taken, and had therefore turned over to him, as pledges

* *Five.* Q. If it should not be *fifteen* from what follows? This is the origin of a standing army in France.

† In the "Art de Vérifier les Dates," the account of this event is as follows :—"A peace was concluded with the Turks and Christians for ten years, and signed about the middle of June 1444, but almost immediately violated by the Christians, on the representations of the cardinal Julien Césarini, who had been present at the treaty. A battle was fought on the 10th November, 1444, near Varna, in Lower Mesia, between Ladislaus, at the head of eighteen thousand men, and Amurath, who had upward of sixty thousand. The victory, long disputed, was at length gained by the Infidels. Ladislaus, after performing prodigies of valour, was killed. He was but twenty years old. The cardinal Julien was among the dead,—but the manner of his death is variously related."

for the payment, the towns and castles of Neufchâtel in Lorraine, of Beaumont in Argonne, and Gaudricourt *, and in all of them the duke of Burgundy had placed garrisons, paid by the king of Sicily; but when they wanted money, from neglect of due payments, they made incursions over the duchies of Bar and Lorraine, and committed all sorts of outrages.

The duchess of Burgundy came to meet the king at Châlons, to make a treaty with the king of Sicily; and it was agreed that the above-named towns should be restored to him, on condition he would settle in perpetuity, on the duke of Burgundy and his heirs, the town and castlewick of Cassel in Flanders†. Many grand feasts were made on the arrival of the duchess of Burgundy at Châlons.

At this time the queens of Spain and Portugal departed this life: they were sisters to the kings of Arragon and Navarre. The queen of Scotland died also this year, as did the dauphiness of France at Châlons, daughter to the king of Scotland by his late queen. She was buried in the cathedral church at Châlons,—and her loss caused great sorrow to all who knew her, for she was a handsome and good lady ‡.

The king of France sent from Châlons, on an embassy to England, his cousin the count de Vendôme, grand master of the household—the archbishop of Rheims, first ecclesiastical peer of France, with others, to endeavour to bring about a general peace between the two kingdoms. The king of Castille, brother-at-arms and ally to the king of France, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Brittany, Burgundy, and Alençon, sent likewise ambassadors thither, to confirm whatever should be proposed by those of the king. This embassy was graciously received by the king of England, his nobles and prelates, but only concluded a prolongation of the truce from the month of April until the ensuing November, in the year 1446. In the mean time, a meeting was fixed for the two kings between Rouen and Chartres, or between Rouen and Paris; and, for a further accommodation, the king of England sent master Adam de Mouleyns, keeper of his privy seal, and bishop of Exeter § elect, to king Charles, to prolong the truce from November 1446 to the following April, that there might be sufficient time allowed for the full discussion of the various articles incidental to a treaty of peace. The king of France sent in return, to his nephew, master Guillaume Causinot, counsellor and master of requests of his household, and Jean de Havart, his esquire-carver, to signify his acceptance of this prolongation of the truce. When they went back, king Henry sent Garter king-at-arms with them, charged with letters to the king of France, in which he promised, on the word of a king, to come to France before the ensuing month of November. Garter brought back to the king of England similar letters which were proclaimed throughout the two realms.

At this time, duke Francis of Brittany did homage to the king, in the castle of Chinon, for that duchy, and likewise for the county of Montfort.

About the same time, two daughters of the king of Scotland arrived in France, expecting to find their sister the dauphiness alive; for she had desired them to come to her, that she might marry them. They first learned the account of the dauphiness's decease at Châlons, on their landing in Flanders, and were exceedingly affected by it. On their arrival at the court of France, the king ordered them to be waited on by the servants of the late dauphiness, and appointed them a similar establishment at his expense, until other arrangements should be made or they should be married.

* Gaudricourt,—Gondrecourt, a village in Champagne, near Bar-sur-Aube.

† René became possessed of Cassel and its lordships by virtue of a gift of the cardinal Louis de Bar, his uncle, who died 1430.

‡ It was this dauphiness who made the celebrated answer for giving Alain Chartier a kiss when he was asleep.

§ Exeter. Gloucester.—MS. Du Cange. See Fœdera.

CHAPTER III.—IN THE YEAR MCCCCXLVI. WHEN THE KING OF FRANCE RETURNED FROM HEARING MASS, HE FOUND ON HIS BED THE FOLLOWING DITTY.

Bad payments, evil counsellors,
The discord of our warriors,
Gabelles and burdensome taxation,
Again torment this hapless nation;
With wars, which, till our state be mended,
We ne'er shall see or check'd or ended:
For multitudes, with trait'rous arts,
Serve France's king with English hearts;
And service wrought against the will
Can ne'er turn out to aught but ill.
True is the maxim of the sage,
Which saith, The broils of civil rage
Surely befal that wretched state
Whose king his subjects view with hate.
War, too, delights the ravening train
Who still the royal treasure drain:
Who, 'midst the strife, with greedy hands,
Seize gold and silver, house and lands;
Who, aye the first to seize the prey,
Are aye the last their dues to pay.
But, dukes and kings, to me attend:
If thus your warfare know no end,
Be sure at length you'll rue the cost,
When all your lands are waste and lost;
For friends by ready pay are won,
While tardy payers are undone.
No more within your castle's walls
Court libbard ease while honour calls,
But quit your forests and your streams,
And haste where many a banner gleams.
Alas! for France so meek and tame,
No glory dwells upon thy name!
To thee, O duke! to thee, O king!
With honest grief this plaint I bring.

CHAPTER IV.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY PUTS HIS BROTHER, THE LORD GILES, TO DEATH.—THE GENOESE SEND AN EMBASSY TO THE KING OF FRANCE, TO OFFER HIM THEIR SOVEREIGNTY.—THE EVENT.

In the year 1446, the lord Giles of Brittany was arrested in the castle of Guilledon*, by order of his brother the duke, who suspected him of intending to favour an invasion of the

Genoese Ambassadors on their voyage to Marseilles.—Composed from Contemporary Authorities.

English on his coasts. This arrest was made by four hundred of the king's lancers, under the command of sir Pregent de Coetivy, admiral of France; sir Regnault de Dresnay bailiff

* Guilledon. Guilledou.—MS. Du Cange.

of Sens; and sir Pierre de Brésé, seneschal of Poitou. They delivered their prisoner to the duke of Brittany, to do with him as he should please,—and he soon after had him murdered in his prison.

In the month of September, the bishop of Exeter, keeper of the king of England's privy seal, and the lord Dudley *, waited on the king of France on an embassy, at a house in Touraine called Rassilé, near to Chinon; and on their departure, king Charles sent to his nephew of England master Guillaume Cousinot and Jean Havart, to prolong the truce for a year.

In this year, the families of Doria and Fregoso sent a fleet of five vessels to Marseilles from Genoa with ambassadors, to offer the sovereignty of their country to the king of France, if it were agreeable to him to accept of it. The king despatched as ambassadors the archbishop of Rheims and others, to examine into the matter, and to proceed accordingly, who went to Marseilles to practise for the reduction of Genoa. At this time, John Fregoso had gained possession of Genoa, Pisa, and other places, in the king's name, having many family connexions in the first town. He, in consequence of a concerted plan, came before Genoa in a single galley, with no more than four hundred men; and on his landing, he raised the king's banner, when he was instantly surrounded by his friends in arms, and marching to the palace, was proclaimed doge of Genoa. Bernabo Adorni fled on his approach, who, a little before, had been raised to the same dignity.

Fregoso had been accompanied by one of the king's esquires, called the Bastard of Poitiers, who had assisted him in gaining Genoa, thinking he would restore it to the king; but no sooner had Fregoso succeeded than he put the esquire out of the town. When news of this reached the archbishop of Rheims and the others, they embarked on board a galley at Villafranca, near Nice, and came to Genoa, where they remonstrated with Fregoso on his treachery, and summoned him to restore the place to the king of France as he and his friends had promised under their hands and seals. Fregoso replied, that as he had conquered the town by his sword, by his sword he would keep it †. On hearing this, the archbishop and his companions returned to Marseilles, and thence went to the king at Bourges.

In the month of February following, pope Eugenius died; and on the 28th instant, Nicholas V. was elected pope ‡.

CHAPTER V.—THE KING OF FRANCE, ON THE DEATH OF POPE EUGENIUS, HAS A GRAND COUNCIL HELD AT LYONS, WHITHER CAME MANY AMBASSADORS FROM GERMANY, ENGLAND, AND OTHER PARTS, TO RESTORE UNION IN THE CHURCH AND PUT AN END TO ALL SCHISMS.

[A. D. 1447.]

On the first of April, in the year 1447, the truces between the kings of France and England expired, but were prolonged until the first of April in 1449, and thence until the first day of June ensuing, in the hope that a general peace might be concluded in the mean time.

Great differences had existed during the late papacy between pope Eugenius and the council of Basil; which council the pope declared was at an end, for that he had transferred it to Ferrara, and afterward to Florence and to Rome. The council at Basil maintained that the pope could not thus transfer them without their consent—and had proceeded against

* Dudley. Audley.—MS. Du Cange.

† In the "Art de Vérifier les Dates" is a short account of the factions which prevailed in Genoa. In 1448, Luigi Fregoso was elected doge: deposed in 1450. Peter Fregoso succeeded him. The Adorni, and other families whom he had exiled, made repeated attempts, with the aid of Alphonso king of Arragon, to re-enter their country and depose him. Fregoso, nearly overpowered, prevailed on the Genoese, in 1458, to submit themselves to the government of the king of France. Ambassadors were sent to negotiate this affair, which terminated happily.

John duke of Lorraine was sent by the king of France to Genoa, and took possession of the town the 11th of May, 1458. He received the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants,—and the principal forts were delivered up to him. The duke was soon after besieged in Genoa by the Adorni, and others of the discontented in league with Alphonso. An Arragonian fleet blockaded Genoa,—but the death of Alphonso put an end to the siege.

This extract will sufficiently show the inexactness of Monstrelet's account as to dates and names.

‡ Thomas de Sarzana, cardinal-bishop of Bologna, was elected pope 6th March, 1447, and took the name of Nicholas V. The king of France sent him a magnificent embassy, with many propositions respecting the general peace of the church. I cannot find that any council was held at Lyons this year: one was held at Lausanne in 1449.

him, with the authority of a general council, to suspend him from all power in the church, and to depose him from all authority. They afterwards elected pope the lord Amadeus of Savoy, who led the life of a monk at Ripaille, and took the name of Felix V.*

Several anathemas and excommunications were issued, as well by pope Eugenius as by pope Felix, which created many wounds and schisms in the church. When the king of France heard of these differences, being anxious to restore union and greatly hurt at the measures now passing, he sent several embassies to Basil, to Rome, and to Savoy, to put an end to such shameful disputes. In like manner did duke Louis of Savoy, son to Amadeus now pope Felix, send several times to the king of France at Tours, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation.

The king of France, in the month of November in the year 1447, seeing there was no end to these disputes, deliberated with his council on the shortest means to stop this schism, and resolved that all the anathemas and censures that had been published respectively by each pope against the other should be considered as null and void; that pope Eugenius should be acknowledged as the true pope, as had been done before the commencement of these disputes; and that the lord Amadeus of Savoy, who had been styled Felix V. should remain with dignity and honour in the holy church; that those of his party in the council of Basil should be recommended to ecclesiastical dignities and honours, that peace might be universally restored, and a general council called for the strengthening of the union of our holy church, which could not take place until an end was put to these discords, nor could any solid judgments be given until such a happy pacification should take effect.

King Charles sent these resolutions, which had been concluded by himself and his council, to pope Eugenius by the archbishop of Aix in Provence, who was going to Rome on other matters. He sent likewise copies of them to Savoy and Basil, by master Helye de Pompadour†, archdeacon of Carcassonne, who was afterward bishop of Alet in Languedoc. It happened unfortunately, that before the king could receive an answer from eight of the parties, pope Eugenius died, namely, in the month of February following, and the archbishop found him dead on his arrival at Rome. Almost instantly on his decease, Thomas de Sarzana, bishop of Bologna, was elected pope, and took the name of Nicholas V. At his election, every accustomed ceremony was observed.

Duke Louis of Savoy sent also to the king at Bourges, to urge him to cause pope Nicholas to be acknowledged, and to desire that he would in the first place have a general council assembled. In the mean time, the king, having received bulls from pope Nicholas to make him acquainted with his election, determined, after some deliberations in council, to acknowledge him in the same manner as he had done pope Eugenius, but not to desist from the measures he was taking for the general union of the church. The king, in consequence, sent commissioners to Lyons, and told the ambassadors from the duke of Savoy, that he wished their lord to do the same,—and that the members of the council of Basil should also meet them, in order that there might be a numerous assembly, to consider on the means of restoring peace to the church.

In the ensuing month of July, the king's commissioners arrived at Lyons, where they met the archbishop of Treves, and ministers from the archbishop of Cologne, from the duke of Saxony, one of the electors of the empire, who had waited on the king, respecting this matter of union. Thither came also the cardinal of Arles‡, the provost of Montieu, and many others, as well from the duke of Savoy as from the council at Basil.

After several conferences, it was the opinion of those who came from Basil, that the king's commissioners should go to Geneva, where pope Felix resided, to have a personal interview with him, who would gladly see them. While this matter was under discussion, the count de Dunois came to Lyons, sent thither by the king to escort the ambassadors from England. These ambassadors agreeing in the said proposal, they all set out together for Geneva, in

* For a very particular history of the quarrel which took place between Eugenius and the council of Basil, see Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini.

† One of the sons of John I., lord of Pompadour, and of Margaret de Ventadour his wife, and mother of Golfier, lord of Pompadour, who died in 1441, leaving John II. his son and successor, a counsellor and chamberlain of the king Louis XI. This Helie de Pompadour, entering into the church, became bishop of Alet in 1448, and of Pamiers in 1454.

‡ Cardinal of Arles. See his life in Moreri.

the month of November, accompanied by the archbishop of Embrun, the lord de Malicorne, the bishop of Marseilles, the ambassador from the king of Sicily, who had come to Lyons to assist in promoting a general union of the church. The ambassadors from the duke of Saxony went also with them to Geneva; but the archbishop of Treves had returned home, and the commissioners from the archbishop of Cologne had gone to Rome.

When they were all arrived at Geneva, they held many conferences with pope Felix, his cardinals and counsellors, and concluded on certain articles for a pacification, on condition that pope Nicholas would also agree to them. When this was done, the French commissioners returned with these articles to the king at Tours, and reported to him all that had passed. He approved of what had been done as a probable ground-work for a union of the church, and sent ambassadors to pope Nicholas to request that he would also approve of these articles, or otherwise arrange matters for a general pacification.

CHAPTER VI.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS RECEIVES FROM THE HANDS OF THE DUKE OF MILAN HIS UNCLE, THE COUNTY OF ASTI IN PIEDMONT.—THE KING OF FRANCE BESIEGES THE CITY OF MANS, WHICH SURRENDERS BY CAPITULATION.

In this year, the duke of Milan yielded up to the duke of Orleans, his nephew, the county of Asti,—and shortly after, the duke of Milan departed this life*.

The king of France, at this period, laid siege to the city of Mans, because the king of England, on his marriage with the daughter of the king of Sicily, had promised instantly to surrender that town, with all the other places he held in the county of Maine; and he had been deceived for three months by the specious promises of the English commissioners, who had not only refused to give it back but had introduced about fifteen hundred English into that town. The king, therefore, on being informed of this circumstance, ordered it to be besieged,—and sent thither a great force of men-at-arms and archers, to the amount of six or seven thousand combatants, under the command of the count de Dunois. The siege was pushed forward with such vigour that those in the town found resistance would be vain, as they had not sufficient forces to oppose their enemies on that side of the sea. It would have been taken by storm had not the bishop of Gloucester, keeper of the privy seal, remonstrated with the king of France on the risk of the truces being broken between the two kingdoms were this to take place, and obtained a capitulation for them, by which they were to yield up the town, and march away in safety with their baggage and effects.

The king of France then resided at Lavardin, near to Vendôme, attended by some of the princes of the blood-royal, and a large company of men-at-arms to support, should there be occasion, the besieging army of Mans. After its surrender, the king went to celebrate his Easter in the city of Tours, and those before Mans returned to their quarters and garrisons; while, on the other hand, the English that had been in Mans retreated to Normandy.

CHAPTER VII.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS AMBASSADORS TO POPE NICHOLAS V.—THE TOWN OF FINAL† IS BESIEGED BY THE GENOESE.—IT IS REVICTUALLED BY SEA.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS MAKES PREPARATIONS TO RAISE THIS SIEGE BY LAND.

[A. D. 1448.]

In the year 1448, the king of France celebrated the feast of Easter in the city of Tours,—and immediately after, his ambassadors to pope Nicholas departed on their embassy. Some of them went by sea on board of vessels belonging to Jacques Cœur, master of the wardrobe to the king, and embarked at Marseilles. At the same time, a fleet of victuallers sailed from Marseilles, to the relief of the town and castle of Final, near to Genoa, then besieged

* Philip Maria, last duke of Milan of the house of Visconti, died in 1448, leaving no issue by either of his wives, Beatrix de Tende, (the widow of the famous Facino Cane), and Mary, daughter of the duke of Savoy. His natural daughter, Bianca Maria, was married to Francis Sforza, who, in her pretended right, succeeded to the duchy, and transmitted it to his descendants.

† Final,—a town on the western coast of Genoa.

by the Genoese. It was defended for the king by sir Galiot du Garet *, lord of the place, who had made war on the Genoese, and they in return had besieged him. Notwithstanding their opposition, the town and castle were revictualled, and the vessels returned to Marseilles. When this was done, Tanneguy and the master of the wardrobe, with three galleys, sailed for a port near Rome called Finette Vielle †, where they arrived in safety, although pursued closely by a numerous fleet of the Genoese.

The duke of Orleans was at this time in his town of Asti, and having heard of the relief thrown into Final collected a large body of men to raise the siege; but when the Genoese learned his intentions, they quitted their siege and marched away.

The French ambassadors met, by appointment, in the city of Sienna; and, being all assembled, they set out for Rome, where they arrived on the 10th day of July in such grand magnificence that the like had not been seen or heard of before; with the king of France's ambassadors were those from the king of Sicily, and the dauphin. The English ambassadors had arrived at Rome long before them, and had laid before the pope the articles that had been agreed to at Geneva; but he had replied, that they were unworthy of his attention, and that he would not by any means consent to them. These ambassadors had on this left Rome for Viterbo, where they met the French embassy, to whom they related what had passed, and said that they would stay a short time at Viterbo, to learn from them whether it would be expedient for them to return to Rome,—as in fact they did, from the intelligence they received from the French ambassadors.

On the 12th day of July, the ambassadors from the kings of France, of Sicily, and from the dauphin, had an audience of the pope on the matters they were come upon,—when the archbishop of Rheims, having declared the solemn obedience of their princes to the pope, explained the articles that had been agreed on as a ground-work for a general union of the church, reserving to himself to discuss them hereafter more fully in detail. The pope made them a solemn answer, and from that day treated them with greater kindness and attention than ever any former embassy had experienced. They had several conferences with the pope and the cardinals on the articles of union,—to some of which the pope agreed, to others not.

When they had obtained all they could from the pope, they departed, and went to Lausanne, where pope Felix resided. Having explained to him all they had done at Rome, and what pope Nicholas was willing to agree to, they persuaded him to give peace to the church by renouncing his claims to the papacy. Pope Felix replied, that he would consult with the duke of Savoy his son who was on his road to Lausanne, and his principal counsellors, how he should act, and requested the ambassadors to wait the return of those he intended to send to the king of France in the city of Geneva, which, for the furtherance of peace, they assented to. They also, in compliance with the wishes of pope Felix, desired the lord de Tollette, ambassador from pope Nicholas, to come to Lausanne from Lyons, where he was waiting the effect of their conferences with pope Felix, with the bulls, to publish them, in case he should agree to the articles as settled at Rome.

Pope Felix, and his son the duke of Savoy, lost no time in despatching ambassadors to king Charles, to solicit his interference with pope Nicholas, that he would consent to more of the original articles than he had done. The king, on this, assembled his council, and, after mature deliberation, it was resolved to send other ambassadors with those from Savoy, to assist the archbishop of Rheims in the procuring a peace. He had with him the patriarch of Antioch, the bishop of Poictiers and the bishop of Alet, who, with sir John le Boursier, were to proceed to Rome to obtain certain letters, the form of which they were to draw up, for the more speedy accomplishment of union in the church. After many persuasions, the above-mentioned letters were obtained from pope Nicholas, and the ambassadors returned with them to Lausanne, when pope Felix V. relinquished all right or claim he might have to the papacy. He was after this made perpetual legate of all Savoy. Those who had assembled at Lausanne, pretending to be the general council transferred from Basil, declared their submission to pope Nicholas as the true father of the church. and dissolved their assembly as a council.

* Sir Galiot du Garet. De Caretto.—MS. Du Cange. † Finette Vielle. Q. Civita Vecchia?

This being done, the ambassadors returned to their respective princes. The patriarch of Antioch, the bishop of Alet, and sir John le Boursier, took the road to Rome, with the ambassadors from the pope, for the confirmation of all the acts done at Lausanne, and then returned to the king of France with the bulls of confirmation. Thus was this whole assembly broken up, and each went whithersoever he pleased,—and thus was healed that deep wound in the church, by the re-establishment of peace and union, through the indefatigable exertions of the king of France, who had taken great personal pains to bring it about, and had expended very large sums in sending embassies to the different kings in Christendom to unite them in so praiseworthy an object; for the kings of France would never support any schisms,—taking for their guide the Holy Scriptures, which have always led them in the right way.

At this time, the king of France ordered every parish throughout his realm to have one archer ready armed to march whithersoever he might be commanded, to make war, should there be occasion; and that they might the more readily obey this order, they would be relieved from paying any future subsidies. The bailiffs were commanded to select the most expert and able in all the parishes throughout their bailiwicks.

CHAPTER VIII.—SIR FRANCIS DE SURIENNE, CALLED THE ARRAGONIAN, TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF FOUGERES*, BELONGING TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, NOTWITHSTANDING THE TRUCE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND.—THE GREAT MISCHIEFS HE DOES THERE.

On the eve of the feast of our Lady in March in this year, sir Francis de Surienne, called the Arragonian, knight of the order of the Garter, and a great captain for the king of England in those parts of France under his dominion, took the town and castle of Fougeres, belonging to the duke of Brittany, situated on the borders of Normandy, notwithstanding the truces were not expired between the kings of England and France, and their allies. This town was of great antiquity, and full of people and wealth. Sir Francis had with him seven hundred men, as well English as from other countries, who committed every mischief by pillaging the houses, killing the inhabitants, and ravishing the women. Not satisfied with this, he overran the adjacent parts of Brittany, making prisoners, and doing every exploit usual in war.

The duke of Brittany was very indignant when he heard of this conduct, and sent the bishop of Rennes to the king of France at Chinon, to complain that the English had, notwithstanding the truce, taken his town and castle of Fougeres, and had despoiled many other parts of his duchy, and requesting of him, as his relative, lord paramount and protector, that he would aid him by declaring war against England, for that he was prepared to do so without any way sparing his own personal exertions. The king replied, that he would never abandon him, but make common cause with him, as was just. In order, however, to have Heaven on their side, and to throw the blame wholly on their enemies, he would first demand reparation from the king of England, and also from the duke of Somerset, his lieutenant-general on that side of the sea, for the wrongs that had been done him,—the duke having had full powers to make any reparation for evils that might ensue from the infringement of the truce. The king added, that he hoped the duke would make reparation, to avoid the inconveniences that must ensue from a renewal of war.

King Charles sent to England to make this demand, his esquire-carver, Jean Havart, and master John Cousinot, one of the masters of requests of his household,—and to the duke of Somerset, Pierre de Fontenay, equerry of his stables. They brought answers from king Henry and the duke, that they disavowed what sir Francis de Surienne had done, although it had been currently reported that this capture had been made by their order and connivance.

The duke of Brittany, who was much interested in this capture of Fougeres, sent his herald at arms to demand a surrender of the place from the duke of Somerset,—that it

* Fougeres,—a town in Brittany, on the frontiers of Normandy, diocese of Rennes.

should be completely repaired, and restitution be made for all the plunder of houses, jewels, and effects, amounting, in the whole, according to a valuation, to the sum of sixteen hundred thousand crowns. The duke of Somerset made answer that he would no way avow any concern in the said capture. When the duke of Brittany's herald was departed, the duke of Somerset, desirous of repairing the fault that had been done in those parts by sir Francis de Surienne, sent ambassadors to the king of France more amply to excuse himself from having been any party in the business, declaring his disavowal of it, and how very unpleasant it had been to him; which was frivolous, for he made no mention of any offer to repair the place, nor of making restitution for the wrong, but requested, for the general safety, that everything might remain on its present footing.

The king replied, that if the duke of Somerset was so very much displeased at what had happened he should do his duty, according to the full powers vested in him, and make due restitution for the plunder so unjustly carried away, and restore the place in sufficiently good repair: and that if he would not do this, he might be assured that he would support his nephew of Brittany: that in regard to giving up to the English certain places as pledges for the maintenance of peace, he would do no such thing; adding, that his nephew of Brittany was allied to the greatest lords of his realm, and had many able commanders in his duchy, all of whom were very indignant at this capture of Fougeres, and who, it must be believed, would be eager to revenge it, by making conquests from the English: they would, therefore, attend to the guard of their own towns and castles; that for his part, he would take especial care to guard his own.

The ambassadors, having had this answer, requested the king to send to Louviers commissioners fully instructed; for that on their return to Rouen, they knew well the duke of Somerset would send persons properly authorised to meet them, and endeavour to bring about an accommodation. The king, ever wishing to avoid the effusion of human blood, and more desirous of employing gentle measures than force, complied with their request, and appointed commissioners accordingly. The English now returned to the duke of Somerset, and told him all that had passed at the court of France, and that the king had sent to Louviers commissioners to settle the dispute respecting the capture of Fougeres. The duke immediately ordered thither commissioners to make up the dispute, if possible, with those of France.

This year, the English repaired the town of St. James de Beuvron, which was what they ought not to have done; for by the articles of the truce, no places were to be repaired during its continuance, either by the French or English. In this year also, the English surrendered the towns and castles of Mayenne, and of Juliez in the county of Maine, which they had promised to yield up when they marched away from Mans.

CHAPTER IX.—THE POPULACE OF LONDON RISE AGAINST THE KING'S OFFICERS.—THEY INHUMANLY MURDER THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER, AND IMPRISON THE MARQUIS OF SUFFOLK,—BUT THE KING SETS HIM AT LIBERTY.

About the end of Lent, in this year, there was a great commotion of the populace in the city of London, headed by the mayor of that city. Instigated by their evil inclinations, they inhumanly murdered the bishop of Gloucester, keeper of the king's privy seal,—a good plain man, and very learned. They also arrested the marquis of Suffolk, who was a great lord, and imprisoned him in the Tower of London. This mayor had great influence in the city; and, wherever he went, a sword was borne before him. The king was, at this moment, three miles distant from London, at one of his palaces on the Thames, and greatly astonished when told what was going forward in London. He instantly sent for the lieutenant of the Tower, who lost no time in obeying this order; and, after having heard a true account of what had been done by the mob, he commanded him to bring the marquis of Suffolk in safety to him, without delay, or that his own life should answer for it.

The lieutenant found means of delivering the marquis of Suffolk without the knowledge of the mayor or people, and of carrying him to the king's presence. After a short conver-

sation, the king made the marquis mount his horse and fly toward the northern part of his kingdom, where he might find convenient means for passing over to France. He was, however, met by some of the duke of Somerset's men, who cut off his head, and sent it, with the body, to London. In the mean time, the king summoned the mayor and townsmen of London before him. They were much discontented that he had set the marquis at liberty, and insisted that those of his council who had advised his deliverance should be given up to them, which was done for fear of enraging the populace still more, who instantly had them beheaded. Thus for some time were the citizens appeased*.

CHAPTER X.—THREE MALEFACTORS, TWO MEN AND ONE WOMAN, ARE CONDEMNED TO DEATH BY THE COURT OF PARLIAMENT AT PARIS.

[A. D. 1449.]

On the 18th day of April, in this year, three malefactors, two men and one woman, were condemned to be hanged. Two high gallows of wood were consequently erected, that the punishment for such evil deeds as they had committed, might be exhibited to the public. They had confessed themselves guilty of thrusting out the eyes of a child of two years old, whom they had in wardship, of putting it to death by running thorns into its body, which was most cruel, and of being great thieves. One gallows was erected without the gate of St. James, on which one of the two men was hanged, and another without the gate of St. Denis, between the chapel and windmill, on which was hanged the other man, who had been a player on the hurdy-gurdy, as also the woman; and although they were both married, they had lived together in double adultery. They were delivered to the executioner from the prison of the Conciergerie, but were attended by almost all the ushers of the parliament, because they had been sentenced by that court. Great multitudes assembled to see the execution, more especially women and girls, from the novelty of the fact; for this was the first instance of a woman beimg hanged in France. The woman was hanged with her hair all dishevelled, in a long robe, having her two legs tied together below the knees. Some said, that she requested that it should be thus done, as it was the custom of her country; while others said, that she was thus sentenced as a memorial for the longer remembrance of women, and that her crimes were so enormous she was deserving of a severer punishment.

Many prisoners were afterwards hanged from the dungeons of the Châtelet, who had been therein detained some time until others of their gang could be apprehended. They had gone to different parts of the kingdom where pardons were obtained, such as the dedication of Saint Denis, that of St. Maur, of St. Fiacre, of St. Mathurin, and elsewhere, and had attacked travellers in forests and on the high roads, under pretence of asking alms; but the greater part of them had been arrested, confronted with their companions, and executed by the king's officers of justice.

CHAPTER XI.—IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE CAPTURE OF FOUGERES, THE ALLIES OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY GAIN THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF PONT-DE-L'ARCHE FROM THE ENGLISH.—GERBEROY IS AFTERWARDS TAKEN.

On the 16th day of May, in this year, while the commissioners from the king of France and the duke of Somerset were assembled, according to appointment, in the town of Louviers, some of the friends and allies of the duke of Brittany found means to gain the town and castle of Pont-de-l'Arche, on the river Seine, four leagues distant from Rouen. This capture

* I copy from Fabian what he says of this business.—"A.D. 1449.—Thomas Chalton, mayor.—And continuing the said parliament, the duke of Suffolk was arrested and sent as a prisoner (to content some minds) unto the Tower, where he was kept at his pleasure a month, and after delivered at large,—the which discontented many men's minds; for to him was laid the charge of the delivery of Anjou and Maine and the death of the noble prince Humphrey duke of Gloucester," &c., &c.—For further particulars, see the Chronicles of Fabian, Hollingshed, &c.

I suspect that Monstrelet has made a mistake of the bishop of Gloucester being killed, for the murder of duke Humphrey of Gloucester, which took place before. Suffolk was put to death by some pirates, and not by the duke of Somerset's men.

was owing to a travelling merchant from Louviers observing, in his frequent crossing of Pont-de-l'Arche, that it was but slightly guarded, and giving information thereof to the before-mentioned friends of the duke of Brittany. He offered to take the place, if they would give him a sufficiency of men-at-arms; and having explained his plans, which seemed feasible, they fixed on a day to meet him at a tavern in the suburbs of that town.

On the day appointed, several of those who had been ordered on this expedition, came to the said tavern, one after another, to avoid suspicion; two of whom were dressed as carpenters, each with his hatchet swung round his neck. Shortly after, the carrier arrived, with his cart laden with provisions. About midnight they seized the tavern-keeper and his servants, and shut them up in a room, to prevent them from making any discovery, and then told their intentions, with which the master of the house seemed very well pleased, for he said he had been lately beaten by some of the garrison. During the night, the lord de Brésé came thither with some men on foot, whom he placed in ambush near to the gate of St. Ouen; he was followed by the bailiff of Evreux with four or five hundred horse, whom he posted in the wood on the side of Louviers.

When these measures had been taken, Jacques de Clermont and the carrier approached the drawbridge with his cart, and entreated the porter to let him pass, as he was in haste to get to Rouen, and return that night to Louviers, offering him, at the same time, a present for so doing. The two pretended carpenters were with him, and the carrier pledged himself for them. The porter, through avarice, called to him another Englishman, and let down the bridge. When the carrier had his cart on the first bridge, he took out of his purse two bretons and a placque *, to pay the Englishmen; but he let fall one breton to the ground, which the porter stooping to pick up, the carrier drew a dagger and stabbed him dead. In like manner, the two carpenters slew his companion on the second bridge. On a signal that this was done, the ambuscade of horse and foot sallied forth, and passing the bridges, entered the town, shouting, "St. Yves for Brittany!" All the English were asleep when this happened, and were made prisoners, to the amount of a hundred or six score; among whom was the lord Falconbridge, an English knight, who had only arrived the preceding day, and his ransom was worth twenty thousand crowns. He was carried to Louviers for greater safety, and the conquerors remained in the place for its guard, until other arrangements should be made.

When the English heard of this capture, they were much troubled and enraged. On its being told to king Charles, as he was desirous of the welfare of his nephew the duke of Brittany, he consented, after many conferences at Louviers, that mutual restitutions should take place, namely, that Fougeres should be given back to the duke of Brittany, with sixteen hundred thousand crowns, according to the estimate of damage done, and Pont-de-l'Arche yielded up to the English, together with the lord Falconbridge, who had been there made prisoner. The English, however, peremptorily refused to agree to such terms, which was a most unreasonable conduct; and the king's commissioners employed apostolical and imperial notaries to draw up the offer they had made, and the English commissioners' refusal of it, that God and all the world might see how handsomely the king had acted, and that if a war should ensue, which God forbid! the blame could not fall on him. The English commissioners departed, on their return to the duke of Somerset, to relate what had been the result of these conferences.

The king of France, to proceed with greater security, sent the count de Dunois, and others with ample powers to his nephew of Brittany, whom he met at Rennes, where he had assembled the greater part of his connexions, prelates, barons and knights of the duchy. A treaty was concluded, by which the duke promised to serve the king in person against the English, by sea and land, and never to make peace or any alliance with them, but with the approbation of the king; in confirmation of which, he gave letters patent, signed with the hands and seals of himself and the barons of the duchy. The said relatives and barons also promised, by putting their hands within the hands of the count de Dunois, punctually to maintain all the articles contained in the above-mentioned letters-patent; and the count de Dunois engaged that the king should ratify the said treaty, which he afterwards did by

* Two bretons and a placque,—small coins of Brittany and France.

letters to the duke. In these he promised to make the quarrel his own, and not to conclude any treaty with the enemy without comprehending him and his duchy, nor until the English should have restored what they had taken from him. In case the English should not, before the end of the ensuing month of July, surrender to the duke the town and castle of Fougeres, with an adequate sum for the plunder, the king would openly declare war against them.

At this time, the town of Gerberoy *, in the Beauvoisis, was taken by scalado, by the lord de Mouy, governor of that country; and all the English within it, to the number of thirty, were put to the sword. Their captain was John Harper, who that day had gone to Gournay †. Thus was the place reduced under the obedience of the king of France. A short time after this, the town of Conches ‡ was won by Robert de Flocques, called Flocquet, bailiff of Evreux. About the same period, a Gascon gentleman called Verdun, by the advice and consent of the duke of Brittany, took by storm the towns of Coignac § and St. Maigrin ||, under the command of an esquire, called Mondoch de Lansac, for the king of England. He himself was made prisoner, as he was coming from Bordeaux to Coignac, for he imagined that it was still under his command as before. In both towns many prisoners were taken.

When the English heard of these towns being lost, the archbishop of Bordeaux and the magistrates sent a pursuivant-at-arms to the king of France at Chinon, to request that Coignac and St. Maigrin might be restored, and that he would send them passports, pretending that they would come to him; but nothing was done, for reasons known to the king and his council. In like manner, the duke of Somerset and lord Talbot sent to the king at Chinon, to require that the towns of Pont-de-l'Arche, Conches, Coignac and St. Maigrin should be restored; to which the king answered, that if they would restore to his nephew of Brittany his town of Fougeres, and the effects taken away from thence, he would exert his endeavours that the duke of Brittany should give back the places that had been won by him, or by those who had taken them on his advice. The English ambassadors said that they had no powers to interfere in the surrender of Fougeres, and therefore returned to the duke of Somerset at Rouen, without effecting anything.

Soon afterwards, another conference was holden at the abbey of Bonport ¶, when the commissioners from France made offer to those on the part of England, that if they would, on a day to be appointed, surrender, for the duke of Brittany, the town and castle of Fougeres into the hands of the king of France, and pay the sum of sixteen hundred thousand crowns, the estimated value of the damages, all places that had been taken from the English should be restored, and even the lord Falconbridge, who had been made prisoner at Pont-de-l'Arche, and that all hostilities should cease on both sides. This the English refused; and the French commissioners returned to their king as before.

King Charles, having heard the report of all that had passed, and examined the instruments drawn up by the apostolical notaries, stating the damages the English had done to his relative the duke of Brittany:—that they had very frequently infringed the truce, without making any reparations or restitution of places or effects, and their peremptory refusal of all the offers he had made them for the preservation of peace and the satisfaction of his conscience,—resolved, after mature deliberation, that having done his duty most loyally, and the English obstinately refusing all his offers for peace, he was fully justified in taking every proper step for the defence of his country and of his allies, as well as for the recovery of such places as had been conquered from him or from his predecessors, the possession of which the English had so long usurped. He was advised to declare war against them, which would be just in the eyes of God, of reason, and of his conscience, otherwise he would not do his duty. It was concluded that he should send ambassadors to the duke of Brittany to concert measures accordingly.

* Gerberoy,—a town in the Isle of France, four leagues from Beauvais.

† Gournay, a town in the Isle of France, on the Marne, three leagues from Paris.

‡ Conches,—a market-town in Normandy, four leagues from Evreux, sixteen from Rouen.

§ Coignac,—a town of the Angoumois, on the Charente, seven leagues and a half from Saintes.

|| St. Maigrin,—a town in Saintonge, near Grolle.

¶ Bonport,—an abbey founded by Richard I., king of England, in the diocese of Evreux, in Normandy.

CHAPTER XII.—THE KING OF FRANCE, BEING SATISFIED THAT THE ENGLISH HAD BROKEN THE TRUCE, DECLARES WAR AGAINST THEM.—VERNEUIL IS TAKEN BY A MILLER, WHOM AN ENGLISHMAN HAD BEATEN.

The king of France, having received full information of the warfare carried on by the English against Scotland, which was included in the truce, and of that against the Spaniards by sea, who were also included in it, as well as that on his own subjects of Dieppe, La Rochelle, and elsewhere, ever since the signing of the truce, without making any restitution whatever for the damages done by them, more especially in the capture of Fougeres from the duke of Brittany, for which they refused to make any reparation, although often summoned by the king so to do, as well by ambassadors to king Henry as to those who had the government of Normandy: having, therefore, maturely deliberated on all these grievances in his council, and knowing that he had fully acquitted himself of his duty in endeavouring to preserve peace, he declared war against England by sea and land.

During the truce, the English garrisons of Mantes, Verneuil, and Laigny, had gone on the high-roads between Orleans and Paris, and had robbed and murdered all passengers and merchants that fell in their way. In like manner did the English of Neufchâtel, Gournay, and Gerberoy, on the roads between Paris, Abbeville, and Amiens. They also made inroads over the country, seizing all they could lay hands on, and murdering gentlemen in their beds who had sworn allegiance to the king of France,—such as the lord de Maillebois, the lord de St. Remy, Olivier de Noirequerque, and several more. On the other hand, such tradesmen and labouring farmers as had, on the faith of the truce, returned to their occupations, houses, and villages, were continually harassed and put to death by the English, who called them false Armagnac traitors. These were the fine exploits of the English during the existence of the truce. They were called Vizards, from wearing masks and frightful disguises over their other clothes when they went on any such expeditions, to prevent them being discovered.

To put an end to all these deceitful proceedings of the English, the king of France assembled a large body of men-at-arms, as did the duke of Brittany, on their frontiers. The garrison of Fougeres made a sally on these last,—but they were repulsed so valiantly that they lost upwards of six score in killed and taken.

At this time a miller in the town of Verneuil* was beaten by an Englishman going the rounds. In revenge, he went to the bailiff of Evreux, and promised, on certain conditions, to admit him and his men into the town. In consequence of this, sir Pierre de Brésé, seneschal of Poitou, the said bailiff of Evreux, Jacques de Clermont, and others, collected their men with all haste and appeared before the walls of Verneuil by break of day on the 29th day of July. The miller was on guard this night, and dismissed the watch sooner than usual because it was Sunday, that they might attend mass and then breakfast. The French, by the aid of the miller, fixed their ladders to his mill, and by this means entered the town without any one knowing or even suspecting it. Six score English were in garrison, some of whom were killed or made prisoners, and the rest fled in haste to the castle.

On the morrow the miller drew off most part of the water from the ditches of the castle, which was then vigorously attacked and defended,—but at last it was taken by storm. Many gallant deeds were done, particularly by the seneschal, who acquired greater renown than any other, although all fought well, for they had not any heavy artillery,—and numbers of the English were killed, wounded, and taken. The remainder took shelter in the *tour grise*, which was impregnable so long as provisions did not fail, being very thick and high, and detached from the castle, surrounded with ditches full of water. Notwithstanding its strength, the French attacked it on all sides; and while they were thus engaged, the count de Dunois arrived with the lord de Culant, and many other knights and esquires. The first had been lately appointed lieutenant-general of the armies of the king of France, and the lord de Culant had been made grand-master of the household†. Having

* Verneuil,—a town in Normandy, diocese of Evreux.

† Charles lord de Culant and Chateauneuf, elder brother of the marshal de Jaloignes, was appointed grand-master of France in 1449.

had information that Lord Talbot was on his march to relieve his countrymen in the tower, and was arrived at Breteuil*, they soon departed, leaving sir Florent Dilliers, who remained to manage the siege with about eight hundred combatants†.

The count de Dunois kept advancing until he met Lord Talbot near to Harcourt‡, who, when he perceived the French, fortified himself so strongly with stakes and the baggage-carts which carried his stores, that they could no way injure him. At nightfall he retreated in haste to Harcourt. All the ensuing day the French were drawn up in battle array in the expectation of an engagement, but Talbot would not quit the town. The following knights were this day created:—the lord de Herbault, sir John de Bar lord of Baugey, and John Daulon, equerry of the king's stables; and the French, finding that Talbot would not come out of Harcourt, withdrew that evening to Evreux.

On the sixth day of August in this year, the king of France advanced toward Amboise, to cross the river Loire, and march his army into Normandy to support the besiegers of Verneuil. The count de Dunois and his company remained two days in Evreux.

CHAPTER XIII.—THE COUNT DE ST. POL APPEARS BEFORE NOGENT, WHICH SURRENDERS TO HIM.—THE CAPTURE OF PONT-AUDEMER.

On Friday the 8th day of August in this year, the count de St. Pol, with about four hundred§ horse, came before the castle of Nogent, of whom twenty or thirty of the most valiant of the van, at the first shock, forced their way into the lower court and gained the barriers. Fearing the cannon of the English, they instantly retreated to wait for their companions,—but not before the portcullis had been rapidly let down, and inclosed two of their number, who were made prisoners. On the approach of the main army, the place was courageously attacked on the side toward the fields, when many were killed and wounded on each side. The governor for king Henry was called Jean le Fevre, born near to Louviers, who hadwith him about thirty companions in arms. On the Saturday the place surrendered between eleven and twelve o'clock, on condition that the garrison should march away in safety unarmed, except the governor, who was to wear his sword. They deposited all their effects in the church of St. Peter, whence they afterward came to seek and carry them away whither they pleased. The conquerors, perceiving on the Sunday that the place was not tenable, decamped, but not before they had set fire to it and burned it to the ground.

The same Friday the count de Dunois marched from Evreux with a large company of knights and esquires, and two thousand five hundred combatants. Two days after, the counts d'Eu and de St. Pol, the lords de Saveuses, de Roye, de Moy, de Rambures, and others, to the number of three hundred lances, and from fourteen to fifteen hundred archers, passed Pont-de-l'Arche, and continued their march until they formed a junction, on the 12th, before Pont Audemer, with the count de Dunois and his army. The count de Dunois was posted on the side toward Rouen, and the counts d'Eu and de St. Pol nearer to Honfleur on the other side of the river Rille, which runs by the town,—and each lord drew up his men to the attack of the place. That part of it near to the quarters of the count de St. Pol was so courageously attacked that it was carried by storm, notwithstanding the very gallant defence of the English. Many brilliant acts were done by the count de Dunois' men, who entered the place at the same time with the others, crossing the ditches with water up to their necks.

Four hundred and twenty English retreated into a strong house at the end of the town under their captains, Montfort, treasurer of Normandy, and Foucques Ebon, who surrendered themselves prisoners to the counts de Dunois and de St. Pol. Twenty-two new knights

* Breteuil,—a town in Normandy near Conches.

† Florent, lord d'Illiers d'Entragues, was distinguished for valour, and for his great retinue at the siege of Orleans, and on several subsequent occasions. His father Geoffrey lord d'Illiers, was grandson of Philip, one of the sons of Bouchard lord of Vendôme, who married the heiress of the ancient house of Illiers, and assumed his wife's family name on account of a stipulation in the marriage contract.

‡ Harcourt,—a town in Normandy, election of Conches, ten leagues from Rouen.

§ Four hundred. In the original it is *four thousand* —but this number appeared to me too great.

were made on this occasion, such as the lord de Moy, the son of the vidame of Amiens, the son of the lord de Rambures, and others. Thus was Pont Audemer replaced under the obedience of the king of France.

King Charles came to Vendôme on this day, the 12th, and remained there until the 18th day of August, when he marched for Chartres, and arrived there on the 22d.

CHAPTER XIV. — THE ENGLISH INVADE SCOTLAND TWICE, AND ARE AS MANY TIMES REPULSED *.—THE TOWER OF VERNEUIL SURRENDERS TO THE KING OF FRANCE.— OTHER MATTERS

It was evident that Heaven was against the English,—and they were deserving of it; for it is a fact that they have always encroached on their Christian neighbours, as well in the kingdom of France as in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and elsewhere. Many violences have most unjustly been done by them, by reason of their not having the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ before their eyes,—"Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and unto God the things that be God's."

Among their various plans of annoyance to their neighbours, they carried one about this time into effect, namely, an invasion of Scotland. The earl of Salisbury sent two lords of great renown, natives of England, sir Thomas de Hanton, knight, and the lord Percy, son to the earl of Northumberland, to wage war against Scotland. They had with them fifteen thousand combatants, and a numerous body of peasants, and, crossing the river Solway, entered Scotland, where they remained three days, having advanced six miles of that country, equal to three French leagues. When the earl of Douglas heard of this inroad, he collected, without delay, six thousand Scots, and attacked the English on the plain in open day. The battle was well fought on both sides, and many were killed and wounded; but it was won by the Scots, who kept the field, and made many prisoners: in the number were sir Thomas de Hanton and Percy: the rest escaped as quickly as they could, to carry the melancholy news to Lord Salisbury. He was very much grieved, and not without cause, but not cast down; for he instantly raised a greater army than before, consisting of sixty thousand men, thinking to destroy the whole kingdom of Scotland.

When the earls of Murray and of Ormond heard of the English having crossed the Solway with a large army, they, having the fear of God before their eyes, and finding the English determined thus conjunctly to destroy their country, took measures to oppose them; for it is perfectly lawful that every one should fight for his country. They soon, with the aid of other Scots lords, assembled a force of thirty-two thousand able warriors, and, falling upon the English camp unawares, put them to the rout, with great slaughter, and loss in prisoners and wounded. They were pursued as far as the Solway, wherein many were drowned. The English lost in these two invasions from twenty to twenty-four thousand men in killed and prisoners. The Scots gave all the merit of this signal defeat to God, and not to human force, for which they celebrated a thanksgiving; and to prevent the English from being in future so eager to invade their country, they resolved to continue the pursuit into England. Having crossed the Solway, they destroyed the country, full twenty leagues in length, and six in breadth, as far as the strong town of Newcastle, without leaving a town or house on their road unburned. On this expedition a knight of great power in Scotland was slain,

* Under the years 1446, 47, 48, 49, 50, in Andrews' History of Great Britain, &c.—"An invasion of Scotland is attempted by the English, led by the earl of Northumberland and Magnus Reidman. They are defeated at Sark, (a river in Scotland formed of two branches, the White and Black, falling into the Eden four miles below Carlisle,) by the Scots, under the command of the lord Douglas and his brother the earl of Ormond."

I see from Douglas's Peerage that it ought to be Archibald earl of Murray, (and not Lord Douglas), third son to James VII. earl of Douglas. The earl of Ormond was his next brother.

The following extract is from Hutchinson's History of Northumberland, page 233, vol. ii.—"Henry earl of Northumberland, in the 14th Henry VI. made an unsuccessful irruption into Scotland,—and at Piperden was defeated by the earl of Angus, with the loss of 1500 men. In the 29th of the same reign he entered Scotland again, and engaged, near the river Sark, a large body of Scots under the command of sir William Wallace of Craigey, where he again had a defeat, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner—his son choosing to throw himself into the hands of the enemy to save his father."

called sir John Vbouailles; and the Scots then returned unmolested home. The account of these battles was given to the writer of the Chronicles of St. Denis, at that abbey, by three Scots priests of the diocese of Dunblaine, of which church one was a canon, and affirmed it for true before the holy shrine of St. Denis, in the manner above related, and in the presence of the monks of that abbey.

On the 12th of August the king of France came to Vendôme, grandly accompanied by men-at-arms, as well lords, knights and esquires, as others. He remained there until the 18th; and during this time the lord de Lohéac, marshal of Brittany, sir Geoffry de Couren*, and Joachim Rohault and others, attacked the town of St. Jacques de Beuvron with great vigour, from nine in the morning until night, and, with heavy and small artillery, kept up a continual fire on the walls. It was, however, gallantly defended; but on the morrow the English capitulated for its surrender, on being allowed to march away in safety with their effects. On the 22d of the said month the king of France entered Chartres; and on the next day the garrison of the tower of Verneuil surrendered themselves prisoners. They were but thirty, of whom the greater part were renegado French,—several having escaped a little before, carrying off all their valuables, owing to the negligence of those who had the guard during the night. Sir Florent was very much blamed for this, as the king had sent him orders, by one of his heralds, to be very attentive in guarding the place. The king, on the departure of the principal leaders, made matters easy to those who had remained, from the consideration that the place was impregnable but from want of provisions; and he concluded a treaty with the lords de Presigny and de Baugey, for their paying a moderate ransom on delivering up the tower to the king.

At this time, or a little after, Joachim de Rohault, with these lords who had gained St. Jacques de Beuvron, took, after an attack of ten hours, the town of Mortain†. The count de Dunois, with the count de St. Pol and those who had been at the capture of Pont Audemer, marched to lay siege to the city of Lisieux; but when those within the city observed the great force brought against it, and which it was impossible for them to resist,—fearing also, that, should it be taken by storm, they would lose everything, they held several conferences together, and, by the advice of their bishop, offered to surrender the place to the king of France. The bishop managed so honourably and ably that not the smallest damage was done to any individual, but each peaceably enjoyed his property as before the surrender. Several small places round Lisieux surrendered to the count de Dunois at the same time.

CHAPTER XV.—THE KING OF FRANCE SUMMONS MANTES TO SURRENDER, WHICH IT DOES, AND IS TAKEN POSSESSION OF, IN THE NAME OF THE KING, BY THE COUNT DE DUNOIS, HIS LIEUTENANT-GENERAL.

On the 26th of this same month of August, and on the morrow of the feast of St. Louis, the king left Chartres with a noble company, and fixed his quarters at Châteauneuf-en-Timerais‡, and, the same day, sent his heralds to summon the garrison of Mantes, which town was held and occupied against his will. While the heralds were on their embassy, the counts de Dunois and St. Pol arrived with five or six hundred combatants, the same day, before the town of Mantes, and summoned the inhabitants to return to their obedience to the king of France. They at first refused, from fear of the garrison, although in their hearts they were well inclined to obey the summons; and the lieutenant-general ordered preparations for an immediate attack. The inhabitants noticed this, but were fearful that the English garrison, amounting to two hundred and sixty men, under the command of sir Thomas Hos§, knight, and chancellor for the king of England in these parts, would make a defence. He

* De Couren. Couvren.—MS. Du Cange.

† Mortain.—a town in Normandy, on the river Lances, on the borders of Maine.

‡ Châteauneuf-en-Timerais,—a town in Perche, election of Verneuil.

§ Q. Hoo? Sir Thomas Hoo, knight, in 1436 suppressed a rebellion in the Pays de Caux. In 1442, he obtained a grant of revenue from the crown in consideration of his great services in war. In 1448, he was created lord Hoo and Hastings, and knight of the Garter, and was summoned to Parliament from 26 H. 6, to 31 H. 6 inclusive. Thomas, his only son, died in his lifetime without issue.

was indeed, not in the town; but his lieutenant, Thomas de St. Barbe, bailiff of the place, was present, and determined on resistance as long as he could. The inhabitants, therefore, foreseeing the ruin of their town, caused the bailiff to be informed, that if he would not enter into a capitulation for the surrender of the place, they should certainly do so. This they would not have dared to say, if they had not felt themselves the strongest; and the better to force the English to terms, they seized the tower and gate called the Port-au-Saint, with the whole of that quarter, and then went in a body to the lieutenant-general, and concluded with him a treaty for the surrender of their town.

The English were desirous of making resistance, and would have opposed the French, had not this tower and its defences been occupied by the townsmen. A copy of the capitulation was sent them, about four o'clock in the afternoon, by a herald, accompanied by fifty men-at-arms, who were received by the inhabitants, and posted in this tower, to guard them against the English, should there be occasion. Although the lieutenant-governor had accepted the terms for himself and his companions the bailiffs, the count de Dunois remained with his army in order of battle before the walls from morning to evening, when he entered the place with a strong detachment, to guard the inhabitants from pillage and other mischiefs, which men-at-arms were accustomed to do on similar occasions, and also to confirm the townsmen in their loyalty and obedience towards the king.

CHAPTER XVI.—THE KING OF FRANCE MAKES HIS ENTRY INTO VERNEUIL.—THE RECEPTION HE RECEIVES.—THE SENESCHAL OF POITOU UNDERTAKES AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE CASTLE OF LOIGNY *.—IT SURRENDERS TO THE KING, AND SEVERAL ENGLISH ARE TAKEN IN IT.—VERNON SURRENDERS TO THE KING.

On the 27th of August in this year, the king of France made his entry into Verneuil with much pomp, and grandly attended. He was received there as magnificently as possible; for the churchmen and chief inhabitants came out in procession to meet him, dressed in their best clothes and hoods. The populace issued out also in crowds to welcome his arrival: they made bonfires, and strewed the streets with flowers in the best manner they could, singing carols day and night. The king remained some time in Verneuil, and thither came the bishops of Lisieux and Auxerre to do him homage. During this interval, the seneschal of Poitou formed a plan to gain the castle of Loigny, held by an esquire of Normandy, called the lord de Sainte Marie, as governor for sir Francis de Surienne, called the Arragonian, the owner of this castle, and who had married sir Francis's daughter. Although the seneschal did not come before the place personally, he had practised with the governor (who had under his command two hundred combatants quartered in the lower court); so that when the French appeared, they were admitted into the dungeon, without the knowledge of the men-at-arms sent by sir Francis for its defence, or of his lady, who was in the castle.

The English, when they saw the French, thought to defend themselves; but finding they were too weak in numbers, they desisted, and were with their horses in the lower court, and all their effects, seized in the name of the king of France, except the lady of sir Francis, who departed with her baggage, much enraged at the treachery of her son-in-law. The lord de Sainte Marie was re-appointed to the government of the castle, on the terms he had held it before.

On the same day, the captain of Robert de Flocques, bailiff of Evreux, was sent with a certain number of men-at-arms to summon the garrison and inhabitants of Vernon to submit themselves to the king of France, by sending to him the keys of the town. The governor, John Ormond, an esquire, son to the earl of Ormond in Ireland, replied, that he would willingly do so,—and, by way of derision and mockery, sent for all the old keys he could from the locksmiths in the town, and presented them to the pursuivant who had brought the summons; but he made answer, that they were too old to be of use to such a place, and departed, to make his report of what had passed to the count de Dunois, who was not far off with the

* Loigny,—a village in Beauce.

main army. On the morrow morning, the 28th, came the lieutenant-general, attended by the counts de St. Pol and d'Eu, the lord seneschal of Poitou, and several other captains, with a large body of franc-archers, (an institution lately established in France) attacked, and instantly gained possession of a small island, on which they raised a battery of cannon, although they did not fire them, but some sharp skirmishings took place between the archers; and the English lost the bridge, when their governor was pierced through both his cheeks with an arrow, to their great dismay. Seeing, therefore, the great force that was brought against them, and that numbers of towns and castles had of late surrendered, they, in conjunction with the inhabitants, demanded from the count de Dunois passports for four or six persons to hold a parley respecting the summons that had been sent them.

This was agreed to; and the following persons were selected by the governor and inhabitants to wait on the count de Dunois, namely, John Abaron*, an Englishman, captain of the troops in the town, master Guillaume d'Aguenet, a most determined partisan of the English, Regnault de Bordeaux and others,—and d'Aguenet was appointed spokesman. Having made the usual salutations to the lieutenant-general, he thus addressed him: "My lord, you have summoned us to surrender the town of Vernon to the king your lord: tell us on what grounds you have made this demand." The count de Dunois, with coolness and dignity becoming the representative of a king, answered most eloquently, (for he was one of the most eloquent men in all France) that the said town of Vernon, and its dependencies, belonged to the king his lord by rightful inheritance; that it had been taken from him more by violence than otherwise, with great part of his kingdom, during the life of the late king his father; and he then recited, in a style that would have done credit to a doctor, a history of the war between the kings of France and England, and the innumerable evils that had resulted from it: that the king of France, moved by his great charity, had consented to certain truces, in the hope that, during their continuance, means might be found to establish a permanent peace; but that the English had, through their disorderly love of conquest, in the interval, gained by force the town of Fougeres from the duke of Brittany, a relative and subject of the king, and especially named in the said truces. He then related all the conferences that had taken place on the occasion, and their result, which have been already mentioned. "The king, therefore, having maturely considered this conduct with his council, captains and allies, and witnessing the infidelity of the English, has raised a sufficient army to regain all that legally belongs to him, and has appointed me his lieutenant-general to carry his intentions into execution: I therefore have summoned, and do now summon, you to restore this town to its rightful lord, to avoid the perils you will run into from your rebellion and disobedience, and that you may not attribute the evils that will ensue from your refusal to your lawful lord and mine, whose benign grace is willing to receive you again as his subjects."

At the close of this speech, the English and the other deputies withdrew to consult how they should act. In the discussion, great disputes arose; for the French, considering king Charles as their lawful king, and feeling that what the lieutenant had said was founded in reason, wanted to surrender, but the English would not. After much altercation, the townsmen declared that they would surrender, whether the English would or no, if a fair treaty were offered for the tower, in which the English should be included if they were agreeable to it. The English, perceiving they could not resist the will of the inhabitants, so plainly discovered, demanded letters under the town-seal, declaratory that the surrender was agreed to without their consent, which were given them.

The deputies returned to the count de Dunois, who concluded a treaty with the assent of the lords in his company, by which the town and castle of Vernon were surrendered,—in which were twelve score English, under the command of the son of the earl of Ormond. They marched away in safety with their baggage, and the inhabitants remained peaceably in the town, without losing an article of their effects. The king afterwards gave this town and castle to the count de Dunois, for the great services he had rendered him, and in the expectation that he would do more in conquering Normandy, or wherever else he might be employed.

* John Abaron. Q.

CHAPTER XVII.—THE KING OF FRANCE COMES TO THE TOWN OF EVREUX, WHERE HE IS HANDSOMELY RECEIVED, AND GOES THENCE TO LOUVIERS.—THE CASTLE OF ANJOU SUBMITS TO THE KING.—GOURNAY SURRENDERS ALSO.—JOHN HOWEL YIELDS UP THE CASTLE OF LA ROCHE-GUYON TO ITS LORD, AND TURNS TO THE FRENCH.

About the end of August, the king departed from Verneuil, and made his entry into the city of Evreux with great pomp. He was sumptuously received by the inhabitants, who went out in procession to meet him, made bonfires, sang carols, and hung all the streets with tapestry through which he passed. He slept one night only in Evreux, and on the morrow went to Louviers, where he was equally well received. He was accompanied by the count du Maine, brother to the king of Sicily and the queen of France, the count de Clermont, eldest son to the duke of Bourbon, the viscount de Lomagne, eldest son to the count d'Armagnac, the count de Castres, son to the count de la Marche, the youngest son of the house of Albreth, John lord of Lorraine, many other great lords and barons, and knights and esquires without number. The king had two hundred lances for his body-guard, and his usual archers, without including four armies he had in the field,—namely, the army of the duke of Brittany, another under the command of the count de Dunois lieutenant-general, the army of the counts d'Eu and de St. Pol, and that of the duke d'Alençon. The king was very active in supplying these armies with everything they might want, as well with money as bombards, artillery, and all kinds of stores; and couriers were constantly passing and repassing between him and them, to convey orders and intelligence.

During this time, William de Chance, governor of Pontoise, marched a body of men before the castle of Anjou, and summoned Portugal, the governor, to surrender it to the king of France. Portugal, hearing how the whole country, with its towns and castles, was submitting daily to king Charles, and knowing the impossibility of any effectual resistance, capitulated for its surrender,—when de Chance was appointed, by the king of France, the governor. Sir Louis de Luxembourg, count de St. Pol, marched, on a Sunday, from Vernon, to lay siege to Gournay. On his march he was met by some of the townsmen, who came to make an offer to yield up the place, which was under the guard of William Harper, lieutenant to William Coram, an Englishman. The lieutenant, fearful of the event of a siege, and knowing also how the tide of war was turned,—and that all the towns and castles were surrendering to the French,—having also in mind that prudent maxim, "Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum," went out with one of the inhabitants, called Raoullet Pailleavoine, and some others, to the count de St. Pol, on his arrival before the place, and confirmed the treaty that had been made at Longueville. It was articled that the town and castle should be surrendered to the count de St. Pol, notwithstanding that the lord de Moy and William de Chance, ignorant of the count's enterprise, had attempted to take it by storm, and had opened batteries against its walls. The moment they were informed of the count's intentions, they abandoned their enterprise, and the king of France gave it to the count, with all its dependencies, for his life. He appointed, therefore, as governor of the castle and town, sir George de Croix, lord of Blainsel.

While this treaty was carrying on, the count d'Eu remained at Andeli-sur-Seine*, and thence went to quarter himself and his forces at Pont Saint Pierre†, where he staid three days, when he crossed the Seine to besiege Harcourt‡. On Monday, the 29th of August, all the lords who had been at the surrender of Vernon joined the king at Louviers, to arrange their plans for further conquests. During their assembly, the lord de Jalognes, marshal of France, and the lord of Roche-Guyon, marched a large body of men-at-arms to conquer the castle of La Roche-Guyon§. To effect this, they detached about thirty men by water, well supplied with cannon and ammunition, who approached the place as if intending to besiege

* Andeli-sur-Seine,—three leagues from Mantes.

† Pont St. Pierre,—four leagues from Andeli.

‡ Harcourt,—ten leagues from Rouen, near Brionne.

§ La Roche-Guyon,—a market-town in Normandy, three leagues from Mantes. The lord of Roche-Guyon mentioned above was Guy VII., son of Guy VI., who was killed at Azincourt, and of Perette de la Riviere. He died in 1460, leaving issue one daughter only, who by marriage conveyed Roche-Guyon to the house of Silli.

it, making as much noise as though they had been two hundred, and remained before it for three days, constantly skirmishing with the garrison; but although this garrison did not consist of more than sixteen men, the French gained no advantage over them.

On Thursday the 3rd of September, the lords de Jalognes and de la Roche-Guyon appeared before it with their forces; and when John Howel, the English governor, saw so numerous a body that it would be vain for him to oppose it, at the same time fearing the event of a siege, and considering the right the king had to reconquer his kingdom, entered into a treaty with these lords conditionally to surrender the castle, unless he should be relieved by the king of England, or his lieutenant in Normandy, within fifteen days; and that he and his men should have free liberty to march away with their baggage whither they pleased. Intelligence of this was sent to the duke of Somerset, lieutenant of Normandy, in Rouen, who tampered with the messenger to introduce four-and-twenty English into the castle, and put Howel to death. On his return, he attempted to gain over some of the garrison to his purpose, of admitting the twenty-four Englishmen to execute his damnable design; but knowledge of this plan coming secretly to the ears of Howel, he sent in haste for the lord de la Roche-Guyon, who had withdrawn himself and his forces until the fifteenth day should arrive, to whom he surrendered the place. The garrison marched away, under passports, with their effects; but Howel was so indignant at the plot formed against his life that he became a Frenchman, and took the oaths of allegiance, on condition that he should enjoy the landed property of his wife, who was a native of France,—and the lord de la Roche-Guyon continued him in the government of his castle.

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE COUNTS OF EU AND OF ST. POL TAKE BY STORM THE NEW CASTLE OF NICORPS*.—THE CASTLE SURRENDERS ON TERMS.—THE COUNT DE DUNOIS GAINS THE CASTLE OF HARCOURT.

About the middle of September it was resolved, in the councils held at Louviers, that, considering the great body of French chivalry, it would be necessary to form two divisions: the one under the command of Charles d'Artois count of Eu, Louis de Luxembourg count of St. Pol, and other captains, having with them from three to four thousand combatants, were ordered to besiege the new castle of Nicorps, which was held by the captain, Adam Illeton†, an Englishman. The French army came before it on Tuesday the 12th day of September, and took the town by storm on the following Thursday. The castle was then besieged,—and surrendered on capitulation fifteen days afterward. The other division was under the command of the count de Dunois, lieutenant-general, having with him the counts de Clermont and de Nevers, with four thousand veteran soldiers. On leaving Louviers, they marched to lay siege to the castle of Chambrais ‡ on the 18th of September, of which an Englishman, called William Crinton§, was governor, and had under him two hundred men for its defence. After seven days' siege it surrendered on capitulation with the count de Clermont,—and thus was it restored to the obedience of the king of France.

Without losing time, the lieutenant-general marched his army before the castle of Harcourt, which is handsome and strong. It was governed by sir Richard Frongueval ||, an Englishman, having under him about eight score of his countrymen. The siege lasted about fifteen days, with daily skirmishes with the garrison. Great advances were made, in which a very valiant man-at-arms from the garrison of Louviers was killed by a cannon-shot,—and an Englishman lost his life by the shot of a culverine, on the portal of the lower court. A mutiny now took place in the garrison, when the governor was disgraced, and hung by his feet under the gate,—when the French, taking advantage of it, played their cannon so well that they greatly damaged the walls of the lower court. The English,

* Nicorps,—a village in Normandy, diocese and election of Coutances.

† Adam Illeton. Q. Elton or Hilson?

‡ Chambrais,—a market-town in Normandy, thirteen leagues from Evreux.

§ W. Crinton. Q. Clinton?

|| Sir Richard Frongueval. Q. Freschevill? Sir Ralph Freschevill, who served under John of Gaunt in the wars of Edward III., left descendants.

fearful of consequences, entered into a capitulation to surrender, if they should not, on the ensuing Friday, be in force to meet them in the field, and gave hostages for the performance. When the day arrived, not receiving any succours, they yielded up the place.

While these armies were thus employed, the English garrison of the town and castle of Essay * made an excursion to fish a pond at some distance,—which coming to the knowledge of the duke d'Alençon he instantly ordered his men to mount, and marched, as secretly as he could, to cut off their retreat. He succeeded in making the whole prisoners, and, carrying them to Essay, forced them to deliver up the town and castle, on pain of losing their heads. The French garrison in Dieppe, knowing that there was but a small garrison in Fécamp, which is a sea-port, marched thither secretly, and won it by storm. Shortly after, arrived a vessel from England, and having on board ninety-seven soldiers to garrison the abbey, supposing it still to belong to king Henry, whom the French suffered to land without opposition, but instantly afterwards took them all prisoners.

CHAPTER XIX.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY AND THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE ENTER NORMANDY WITH A GREAT ARMY, AND LAY SIEGE TO ST. LO†, WHICH SURRENDERS TO THEM, AS DO MANY OTHER SMALL PLACES.—THE TOWN OF CARENTAN ‡ SURRENDERS ALSO.

About the same period of this year, the duke of Brittany, his brother the count de Richemont, constable of France, with other nobles and men-at-arms from his duchy, amounting to a thousand or twelve hundred lances, entered lower Normandy, to restore it to the obedience of the king of France from the dominion of the English (the ancient enemies of the realm,) who had usurped the government of it for nearly thirty-two years. They first advanced to the town of Mont St. Michel §; and the nobles and men-at-arms were quartered in the villages of upper and lower Les Pas ||, Courtis ¶, St. George en Gaine, Postulbanch, and thereabouts. The duke, on quitting Brittany, had left his brother, the lord Peter, on the frontiers, near to Fougeres and Avranches, for their defence, with three hundred lances. On the morrow, the duke and the constable formed their van-guard under the command of sir James de Luxembourg lieutenant to the constable, the marshal and admiral of France, of five hundred spears, who that day marched to Coutances **, and lay before it,—while the duke and the main army, consisting of five or six hundred lances, remained that night in and about Granville ††. On the morrow, the constable advanced the main army toward Coutances, and halted opposite to the hospital; but they were not there a day before the English in the town marched away, and the inhabitants continued in the same peaceful state as before this renewal of war.

The duke of Brittany next marched to lay siege to St. Lo, and ordered his van to advance and take up their quarters on one side of the town,—while he followed with the army on the next day, and posted himself on the opposite side. Sir William de Poitou commanded in the place, with a garrison of two hundred men,—but, notwithstanding these numbers, he made no resistance, but capitulated with the duke for its surrender, on being allowed to march away with his men whither he should please. The duke and the constable, during their stay at St. Lo, won the following towns, villages, and castles, namely, le Hommet ‡‡, Neufville §§, Torigny ||||, Beuseville ¶¶, Hambie ***, La Motte l'Evêque †††, la Haye-du-Puy ‡‡‡,

* Essay,—a market-town in Normandy, five leagues from Alençon, two from Sees.

† St. Lo,—a city of Normandy, on the Vire.

‡ Carentan,—a town in Normandy, three leagues from the sea-coast.

§ Mont St. Michel,—a strong town in Normandy, built on a rock, and surrounded by the sea at high water.

|| Les Pas,—a village in Normandy, diocese of Avranches.

¶ Les Courtis,—a village in Normandy, diocese of Avranches.

** Coutances,—capital of the Coutantin, two leagues from the sea.

†† Granville,—a sea-port in Normandy, six leagues from Coutances.

‡‡ Le Hommet,—a small town near St. Lo.

§§ Neufville,—a village near Alençon.

|||| Torigny,—three leagues from Coutances.

¶¶ Beuseville,—a village in Normandy.

*** Hambie,—a market-town near Coutances.

††† La Motte-l'Evêque,—a barony and castle near St. Lo.

‡‡‡ La Haye-du-Puy,—a market-town near Coutances.

Chanteloup*, L'Aunay†, and many other small places round St. Lo, in which city, as well as in those captured places, strong garrisons were posted. The van was now detached to the town of Carentan, and followed by the main body; but the garrison held out only three days before they surrendered, and then marched away with staves in their hands,—and those in the town were reinstated in their possessions.

The marshal and the admiral of France now separated from the duke and the constable, and came before Pont d'Oue‡, which having taken by storm, they overran all the country of Coutantin, without meeting any resistance. The government of it and Carentan was given to Joachim Rohault. From Carentan, the above lords returned to Coutances, and thence, in the month of October, detached a party to Gavrey§. On the morrow, the duke and the constable came to Coutances, where the duke staid that day, and before the constable could arrive at Gavrey, the bulwark had been won by storm; and on the morrow, sir Geoffrey de Couvren, who directed the siege, having made great approaches by his mines, attacked the castle with such vigour that the English garrison, of about six score men, demanded a parley, and concluded a treaty with the constable for its surrender, on being allowed to march away in safety with their effects.

CHAPTER XX.—THE DUKE OF ALENÇON CONQUERS HIS TOWN OF ALENÇON||.—THE COUNT DE FOIX GAINS THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF MAULEON¶.—THE COUNT DE DUNOIS TAKES ARGENTAN**.—THE ENGLISH RETIRE INTO THE KEEP OF THE CASTLE, AND, ON SURRENDERING IT, MARCH AWAY WITH ONLY STAVES IN THEIR HANDS.

The duke of Alençon, in consequence of intelligence with friends in Alençon, advanced thither by day-break, and by their means was admitted into the town. The English garrison retreated to the castle, which was instantly surrounded by the duke, who had with him eight hundred lances besides archers. There were numbers of English in the place,—but their hearts failed them, for they made little resistance, and surrendered the town to the duke, whose inheritance it was. Sir Louis de Beaumont, governor of Mans, had come to his assistance with sixty lances, and archers in proportion. During this time, the king of France was at Louviers.

About this same period, namely, the latter end of September, the count de Foix, accompanied by the counts de Comminges††, d'Estract‡‡, the viscount de Lautrec§§ his brother, and many other knights, barons, and esquires from the counties of Foix, Comminges, Estract, Bigorre and Béarn, to the amount of five or six hundred lances and two thousand cross-bows, marched from his country of Béarn through that of the Basques ||||, until he came before the town of Mauléon de Soule, to which he laid siege. The inhabitants, perceiving such numbers, were afraid of the consequences, should the siege be pushed to extremities, and capitulated to surrender, on condition that no harm should be done to them. Upon this the English garrison retreated into the castle, which is the strongest in all the duchy of Guienne, and is seated on a high rock. But the count de Foix, learning that it was badly provided with stores and provisions, surrounded it with his troops on all sides,

* Chanteloup,—a village near Coutances.

† L'Aunay,—a village.

‡ Pont d'Oue. Q. Pont d'Ouilly? a market-town in Normandy, on the Vire.

§ Gavrey,—a town on the Seine, four leagues from Coutances.

|| Alençon,—a handsome city in lower Normandy, forty-seven leagues from Paris.

¶ Mauléon. Q. Mauléon de Soule? a town in Gascony, eight leagues from Pau.

** Argentan,—seven leagues and a half from Alençon.

†† Matthieu, count of Comminges, one of the uncles to the count de Foix.

‡‡ D'Estract. In the MS. from Du Cange's copy, it is changed to *d'Estrar*. I suspect that it ought to be *de la Trane;* for the souldich de la Trane was of that country, and one of Edward the Third's great captains. He is frequently mentioned by Froissart.

§§ Peter lord of Lautrec, brother to the count of Foix, married Catherine daughter to John II. lord d'Estarac (or Astarac), by whom he had one son, John, afterwards lord de Lautrec. The house of Astarac is derived from Garcia-Sanches, duke of the Gascons, who lived in the tenth century, from whose youngest son, Arnoud *the unborn,* (so called by a quibble similar to that of the witches respecting Macduff), they trace eighteen descents to Martha the heiress of the family, who married Gaston II. count of Candale (or Kendal), in whose house the title afterwards remained.

|||| Basques,—a small country near the Pyrenees, surrounded by Spain, the ocean, Béarn and the river Adour.

and this coming to the knowledge of the king of Navarre, he instantly issued his summons for the relief of the English, and marched six thousand Navarrois, Arragonians, Gascons and English, to within two leagues of it, to raise the siege. Finding the enemy so strongly intrenched, and so numerous, he retreated, and sent messengers to the count to say that he was desirous of having a conference with him, if he would send passports for himself and what company he might please to bring with him.

The knig of Navarre, on receiving the passports, advanced with a small company to within a quarter of a league of the count's army, where he was waiting for him; when, after the usual salutations from the count, (who had married the king of Navarre's daughter, and had a beautiful family) the king said that he was much astonished, considering how nearly they were connected together, that he had besieged a place under his protection, his constable being governor for the king of England, to whom he had promised to defend it against all his enemies. The count good-humouredly replied (paying at the same time all honour and respect), that he was lieutenant-general for the king of France of all the countries between the river Gironde and the mountains: he was, likewise, a relation and subject to the king of France, and that it was by his command that he had taken the town and besieged the castle; and to preserve his honour unspotted, and that no blame might ever be cast on him by any of his family, he would never raise the siege until the place was reduced to the obedience of the king of France, unless he should be fought withal and conquered; that in every other respect he would assist and serve the king of Navarre, the father of his wife, against all persons whatever, excepting the king of France, his subjects and allies, and all things appertaining to the crown of France. Upon this, the king of Navarre returned with the troops to his own country.

The garrison in the castle, finding they had no hopes of succour, and knowing their scarcity of provisions, surrendered it on capitulation,—and thus was the castle restored to the obedience of the king of France. Shortly after, the lord de Luce *, attended by six hundred combatants, all wearing red crosses, came and did homage to the king of France in the hands of his lieutenant-general for the town and castle of Mauléon, which was his inheritance. After he had taken the oaths, he and his company returned to his mansion, wearing white crosses, to the great astonishment of all the men, women and children, of his country. When this had been done, the count de Foix marched his army back to Béarn, having left a sufficient garrison in the town and castle of Mauléon.

On the 27th of September, the lord de Blainville came with a large force of men-at-arms before the castle of Toucques, strongly situated on a rock close to the sea, and having an English garrison of sixty men. On seeing so large a body, they did not attempt resistance, but surrendered on having their lives and fortunes spared, and being allowed to march in safety whither they pleased. On the last day of this month, the counts de Dunois and de Nevers laid siege to the castle of Yemmes †, which the English instantly surrendered on similar terms.

The count de Dunois then marched his army to besiege the town and castle of Argentan. The English opened a parley, although they had not any intentions to surrender; but when the townsmen saw that they were only laughing at the French by these pretended parleys, and knew their intention of holding out to the last, and that what they were saying to the French was the farthest from their thoughts, they called some of their countrymen aside, and bade them have no more parleys with the English, for that they would hold out as long as they could. At the same time, they asked for a banner or pennon, which they would display from a certain part of the walls,—and that when they should see it they should advance thither with courage, and they would admit them into the town, which was done. The English, perceiving themselves betrayed, retreated into the castle; but a large bombard was instantly pointed against the walls, and made a breach wide enough for a cart to pass. The

* This should be Luxe. Luxe is the name of a sovereign county in lower Navarre, which passed in 1593 into the house of Montmorency-Fosseux. It was Francois de Montmorency, count of Luxe, of whom the court of Louis XIII. judged it proper to make a memorable example by way of preventive to the epidemical rage for duelling then prevalent. He was beheaded in 1627, for the honourable murders of the count de Thorigny and the marquis de Bussy in two successive rencontres.

† Yemmes. Q. if not Yesme, a village in Maine?

French, on this success, attacked the castle, and entered the breach,—but the English retired into the donjon, which they soon surrendered, fearing to be taken by storm; and although they demanded a capitulation, they were marched away with only staves in their hands.

CHAPTER XXI.—THE KING OF SICILY WAITS ON THE KING OF FRANCE AT LOUVIERS.—FRESNOY* SURRENDERS TO THE DUKE OF ALENÇON.—GISORS † CAPITULATES.—THE CASTLE OF GAILLON IS BESIEGED ‡.

At this season, the king of Sicily came to the king of France at Louviers, where he was very joyfully received. He had with him his brother the count du Maine, and a long train of nobles, knights and esquires, whose names it would be tedious to relate, to the number of more than two hundred lances, and archers, without including those from the army of the duke d'Alençon, the duke of Brittany, the count de Dunois lieutenant-general, the count de Clermont, nor those of the count d'Eu, or of the count de St. Pol, who all had with them very many men of note.

The king, seeing such a numerous and well appointed body of chivalry, resolved to pursue with vigour the conquest of the whole duchy of Normandy, and began his operations by ordering siege to be laid to the castle of Gaillon. This castle was very strong and impregnable but by famine,—for it was seated on a rock near to the Seine, out of cannon-shot, and could not any way be won, so long as provision for the garrison should last. The command of the siege was given to the seneschal of Poitou and others, who pushed their approaches toward it with great activity. The king went thither in person. In the mean while, the duke of Alençon laid siege to the town and castle of Fresnoy, wherein were many English; but they made no opposition to the prosperity of the king's affairs, and surrendered on capitulation.

During the siege of Gaillon, and about three or four days before its surrender, sir Richard de Merbury, an English knight and governor of Gisors, agreed to terms of capitulation with the brother of his wife, for its surrender on the 17th day of October following. In fact, the governor turned to the French interest, and took the oaths of allegiance, on condition that two of his sons, John and Hemond, who had been made prisoners at the capture of Pont-Audemer, should be restored to him without ransom; and also that he should enjoy unmolested the lands of his wife, which were now held by the French, whether by gift from the king or otherwise. At the solicitations of his wife's relations, the king granted his requests,—and, in expectation of the services that he looked to from him and his children, he also made him governor of St. Germain-en-Laye, and gave him, for his life only, all the profits and emoluments arising from this government. The king appointed, as governor of Gisors, the lord de Gaucourt, who had long laboured in his majesty's service: and considering his great age, of four-score years and upwards, he had lately acquired very great honour.

CHAPTER XXII.—THE KING OF FRANCE ORDERS THE COUNTS DE DUNOIS, D'EU, AND DE ST. POL TO JOIN HIM, AS HE INTENDED TO MARCH TO ROUEN, WHENCE, AFTER REMAINING THREE DAYS HE RETURNS.—SOME OF THE INHABITANTS OF ROUEN ARE NEAR DELIVERING UP THE CITY TO HIM.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY BESIEGES FOUGERES.—CONDE IS TAKEN.

In the month of October, the king of France ordered the count de Dunois, and the lords in his company who had subdued Argentan, to join him: and likewise the counts d'Eu and de St. Pol; for it was his intention to march to reduce Rouen to his obedience. They hastily complied with his orders, insomuch that their armies were soon in the plains of Neufbourg §,

* Fresnoy,—a village in Normandy.

† Gisors,—a city in Normandy, capital of Vexin-Normand.

‡ Gaillon,—ten leagues from Rouen, about a league from the Seine.

§ Neufbourg,—a town in Normandy, between the Seine and Rille, eight leagues from Rouen.

and assembled on the opposite side of the river, towards Rouen. The king of France departed from Louviers, attended by the king of Sicily and his nobles, and advanced to Pont-de-l'Arche, when the inhabitants came out with great joy, to welcome him on his arrival. He thence sent heralds without delay to summon Rouen to surrender, that all oppressions might be avoided by a voluntary submission: but the English garrison, aware on what embassy the heralds came, would not let them approach the walls, nor would they hear their summons, ordering them, at the same time, to make haste and return, under pain of death. They reported to the king all they had seen and heard, who, having learned the answers the English had given to his heralds, commanded the army to cross the bridge at Pont-de-l'Arche, which was done under the conduct of the count de Dunois, and thence to proceed to Rouen. They remained before that city for three days with a multitude of men-at-arms and soldiers of all descriptions; but during these three days, the army suffered so greatly from the continued rains and storms that the whole was nearly destroyed.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, the garrison made many sallies, in which very gallant deeds of prowess were done; and a French esquire, called the bastard de Forbier, was made prisoner by reason of his horse falling under him. The French lords drew their army up in battle array before the walls, and sent the king's heralds, a second time, to summon the city to surrender; but as the English would not suffer them to approach near enough to be heard by the people, they were forced to return as before, which was quite contrary to every rule of chivalry; for heralds are always allowed the liberty of freely going and coming, to deliver their messages, provided such messages do not contain anything treasonable. The heralds having made their report to the count de Dunois on their return, and he having cousidered that there seemed at present no chance that the city would surrender, and that the severity of the weather had much weakened his army, and worse was to be expected during the winter, which was nigh at hand, marched back to Pont-de-l'Arche, and quartered his men in the villages round that town. On the day of this retreat, the king of France had come with the king of Sicily to a nunnery within a league and a half of Rouen; but the king of France returned to his former quarters at Pont-de-l'Arche, while the king of Sicily remained until all the companies had marched for their cantonments near to Pont-de-l'Arche.

Shortly after, the king received intelligence that some of the inhabitants of Rouen had gained two towers that commanded part of the walls, and that they would admit them by this way into the city. On this information, the count de Dunois was ordered with the army to undertake the business, who marched off, on the 16th day of October, in handsome array. On their arrival before Rouen, the army was drawn up fronting the new castle, whence two detachments were ordered; the one to the gate of the Carthusians, and the gate Beauvoisienne, under the command of the counts de Dunois, de Nevers, d'Eu, and de St. Pol, having with them many knights and esquires. The other detachment was to take post between the place appropriated to the execution of criminals and the walls of the city, under the command of the counts de Clermont, de Chartres, the viscount de Lomaigne, and others. Each remained in battle-array until two hours after mid-day, when a person sallied out of the city on horseback, and told the above-mentioned commanders that some of the townsmen had gained, and kept by force, two towers, purposely to introduce, by their means, the king's army into the town.

Upon this, the count de Dunois, and the other lords in the detachment before the gate of the Carthusians, ordered their archers to march towards that part of the walls between these two towers; and the count and his companions instantly dismounted and advanced to the foot of the walls, against which they raised the few scaling-ladders they had, and made all diligence to mount them. On this occasion were made knights the count de Nevers, the lord Concresault, Brunet de Long-champ, the lord de Pleumartin, Pierre de la Fayette, the lord de Graville, master William Cousinot, Jacques de la Riviere the bailiff of Nivernois, Robert de Hurenville, who all exerted themselves manfully to scale the walls, so that there were more than thirty Frenchmen who were on the battlements or within the town.

The lord Talbot now advanced, with about three hundred men, planting his banner on the wall, charged the French most valiantly, to repulse those who had made good their entrance

into the town. They, however, fought well,—and great part saved themselves by leaping into the ditches, being forced thereto by the arrows of the English archers. Those who could not thus escape were put to death, or made prisoners; and the English became masters of the wall and of these two towers. At this attack, from fifty to sixty French, including

Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury planting his Banner on the Walls of Rouen.—Designed from contemporary authorities.

those of the townsmen who had assisted them, were killed or taken; and several, in attempting to escape, destroyed themselves. A few saved themselves from the towers: others had their legs broken by their fall, and such as remained were inhumanly slaughtered; so that it was an abomination to see the torrents of blood that ran in streams from the two towers.

During this time, the kings of France and of Sicily arrived at Darnetal*; but when they saw that the attempt had failed, and that the citizens of Rouen were not unanimous to assist them, they returned, on the 16th day of October, to Pont-de-l'Arche. The army was quartered in the villages on the banks of the Seine, according to their former disposition. On the 17th day of October, sir Richard Merbury, the English knight before-mentioned, fulfilled his engagement, and delivered the town and castle of Gisors to the lord de Gaucourt, for the king of France. In consequence, his children were restored to him, and all the articles agreed on fulfilled; after which, he departed. He, however, sent away, previously to yielding up the place, an English captain called Regnéfort†, who had been his lieutenant in the command of the garrison, and in the guard of the castle.

At this period, the duke of Brittany left lower Normandy, where he had taken many places, on his return to besiege the town of Fougeres, held by sir Francis de Surienne, called the Arragonian. The French, at this time, won the town of Condé-sur-Noireau‡ through neglect of the guard at the gate; and therein was taken the lady of sir Francis de Surienne, who had been driven from her lord's own residence, and forced to shelter herself in Condé. The French plundered everything within the town, and also carried away the English prisoners.

* Darnetal,—a town very near to Rouen.

† Regnéfort. Q. Rainford.

‡ Condé-sur-Noireau.—in the valley of Noireau, diocese of Bayeux.

CHAPTER XXIII.—THE ARCHBISHOP OF ROUEN AND OTHERS OF THE CITIZENS NEGOTIATE TO SURRENDER THAT CITY TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE KEYS ARE PRESENTED TO THE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, THE COUNT DE DUNOIS, WHO ENTERS THE TOWN WITH HIS ARMY.

On the 18th day of October, the inhabitants of the city of Rouen, being greatly frightened lest their town should be stormed by the French, and of course pillaged and destroyed, and also to avoid the further effusion of blood, assembled with one accord at the bishop's palace. They were much enraged at the deaths of their relatives and friends; and had they met the lord Talbot, it was generally supposed that they would have murdered him, as he had done their fellow-citizens and friends. They, however, saw the duke of Somerset, and plainly told him, that it was expedient that a treaty should be opened with the king of France, otherwise they would be ruined and starved; for it was upwards of six weeks since any corn, wood, meat or wine had entered the town. This language was not very agreeable to the duke; but looking round, and seeing that he had not more than fifty or sixty Englishmen with him, and that there were from eight hundred to a thousand of the townsmen, without including the remainder of the inhabitants who were under arms in the different streets, he began to be alarmed, and, addressing himself with much humility to the archbishop and people, said that he was ready to do whatever the inhabitants of the town should wish. To appease the populace, he went to the town-hall, where public meetings are usually held; and, after some discussion, it was resolved that the archbishop, with some English knights and citizens, should attend at the gate of St. Ouen, to confer with the king, or with a part of his great council, respecting the welfare and surrender of the city of Rouen.

In consequence of this resolution, the official of the town was sent to the king at Pont-de-l'Arche to obtain a safe-conduct for certain persons therein named, to treat of peace,—which being granted, the official returned to the archbishop and the duke. The archbishop, and some knights and esquires on the part of the duke of Somerset, together with certain of the townsmen, were sent to Port St. Ouen*, within a league of Pont-de-l'Arche, where they met, on the part of the king of France, his lieutenant-general the count de Dunois, the chancellor of France, the seneschal of Poitou, sir William de Cousinot, and some others. They had a long conference, in which the deputies from Rouen insisted on a general amnesty being granted, and that such as chose might depart with the English, and all who preferred to stay should have the enjoyment of their fortunes unmolested. It was also stipulated, that the English and their party should have safe-conducts for themselves and their effects when they marched away. All these demands having been agreed to by the count de Dunois and the king's counsellors, the archbishop and his associates promised to deliver up the town to the king's obedience. The archbishop and his companions then departed to make their report to the English and the citizens of Rouen,—but as they arrived in the night, they could not do it until the following day. On the 18th, therefore, the archbishop and the other deputies went very early to the town-hall, and related everything that had passed between them and the ministers from the king of France, which was very agreeable to the inhabitants but sorely displeasing to the English, who, when they saw the strong inclinations of the townsmen to turn to the French interest, were greatly astonished,—more especially the duke of Somerset and the lord Talbot. They therefore left the town-hall much discontented, and, instantly arming themselves, withdrew to the government palace, the bridges, and portals of the castle. The citizens, having observed their motions, began to take alarm, and armed themselves also. They, as well as the English, kept up a strong guard the whole of this Saturday, and likewise during the night; but the townsmen, anxious to expel the English for refusing to accept of the terms the deputies had agreed to, sent a messenger to Pont-de-l'Arche, who arrived there on Sunday by daybreak, to inform the king that if he would send a force to their relief it should have free entrance into the town.

On this same Sunday, the 19th day of October, about eight o'clock in the morning, the

* St. Ouen. I believe there must be some mistake, for there is no St. Ouen near to Pont-de-l'Arche: but a St. Ouen seems to be within a league of Elbeuf, which is near to Pont-de-l'Arche.

whole of the inhabitants were under arms and on their guard against any attempts of the English,—when they attacked all of that nation whom they found in the streets so sharply that it was with difficulty that they could join their companions on the bridge, and in the palace and castle. In the pursuit, from seven to eight English were killed, and the townsmen gained possession, in the interim, of the principal gates of the town. The count de Dunois lost no time in hastening to the relief of Rouen, but instantly mounted his horse, attended by a large company of men-at-arms. In the number was Flocquet, bailiff of Evreux; but in his hurry he forgot to put his greaves on, and was so badly kicked by one of the horses of his troop that his leg was broken, and he was carried back to be cured at Pont-de-l'Arche, after he had given the command of his men to the lord de Maulny. On the arrival of this force before Rouen, those within St. Catherine's were summoned to surrender the place to the king of France, who had, during the summons, set out from Pont-de-l'Arche, grandly accompanied by men-at-arms and archers, to appear personally before the walls of Rouen. He had ordered his artillery to be charged, for an immediate attack on his arrival at St. Catherine's, although there was no necessity,—for the governor of the place, having six-score English under his orders, seeing so noble a company, and knowing that the king was on the road, fearful also of the event if he made any resistance, surrendered it to the count de Dunois, and he and his garrison marched away whither they pleased. The bailiff of Evreux was appointed governor until the king should otherwise dispose of it. A herald was sent with the English garrison of St. Catherine's, to answer for their safety, and to conduct them to Port St. Ouen. On their march they met the king, who bade them take nothing from the poor people without paying for it; but as they said they had no money, he gave them the sum of one hundred francs to defray the expenses,—and then they continued their march with their baggage, of which, indeed, they had little, to Honfleur, or wherever else they pleased. The king took up his quarters that night at St. Catherine's, with the intent to accomplish his enterprise.

To gain the city of Rouen, the count de Dunois, the count de Nevers, the lord d'Orval, the lord de Blainville, and the lord de Maulny, advanced with all their men, with the king's banners displayed, before that gate of Rouen called Martinville, and drew up in battle-array near to the bulwark of the gate. The citizens came out with the keys of the gates and presented them to the count de Dunois,—at the same time pressing him to enter the town with as many of his men as he pleased. The count replied, that he would act as should be most agreeable to them, when, after some further conversation respecting the welfare of the city, sir Pierre de Brézé, seneschal of Poitou, was ordered to enter with one hundred lances and his archers, the lord de Maulny with the same number of lances, and the archers of Robert de Flocques, and one hundred lances and archers from the men of the count de Dunois. They posted themselves as near to the English as they could, namely the men of the count de Dunois in front of the government-palace, in which were the duke of Somerset and lord Talbot, with twelve hundred English, the lord de Maulny between the palace and the castle, and the seneschal of Poitou facing the castle. The other captains were encamped in the fields and posted in the villages on the side toward the countries of Caux and Beauvoisis. The king's army was a fine sight; for never, in the memory of man, had the king so grand or so numerous an assembly of lords, barons, knights, and esquires, with common men, as were now under his orders.

This evening the English surrendered the bridge, the guard of which was given to the lord de Herunville, and on the morrow the gates of the town were thrown open for all to enter or go out as they pleased. The duke of Somerset was afflicted at heart to see the great army the king had brought against him, and demanded a conference with him. On this being told the king, he was well pleased to agree to it. In consequence, the duke of Somerset set out, on the fifth day afterward, from the palace, accompanied by a certain number of persons and by some of the king's heralds, who escorted him to St. Catherine's on the mount of Rouen, where the king received him, attended by the king of Sicily, the count de Dunois, and others of his council and blood. The patriarch of Antioch, the archbishop of Rouen, and other prelates, were likewise present. After the usual salutations, and when the duke had paid his respects to the king, he requested that his majesty would

be pleased to allow him and lord Talbot, with the men under their command, to march away with their baggage in safety, according to the terms of the general amnesty which had been agreed to by the lords of his council.

The king deliberately and prudently replied that his request was unreasonable, because they had refused to accept or adhere to the terms of the amnesty, but in contempt of it had held, and now did hold, the palace and castle contrary to his will, and had also done everything in their power to prevent the inhabitants of Rouen from surrendering their town. The amnesty had, therefore, been annulled by their own conduct; and before they were suffered to leave the palace, Honfleur, Harfleur, and all places in the country of Caux, now in the hands of the king of England, must be given up to him. The duke of Somerset, on receiving this answer, took leave of the king and returned to the palace, and saw every one, in all the streets he passed through, wearing the white cross, which did not tend to raise his spirits. He was escorted back by the counts of Eu and of Clermont.

CHAPTER XXIV.—THE KING OF FRANCE BESIEGES THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, LORD TALBOT, AND THEIR MEN, IN THE GOVERNMENT-PALACE OF ROUEN.—THEY SURRENDER, ON CONDITION OF BEING ALLOWED TO MARCH AWAY ON YIELDING UP THE CASTLE OF ARQUES *, AND OTHER PLACES MENTIONED.

On Wednesday the 22d of October, the king of France commanded the government-palace and the castle of Rouen to be besieged at the same time. Eight hundred lances, with the archers, were ordered on this service, who made deep trenches round the palace, as well in the town as in the fields. Bombards and cannon were pointed against the gates that opened to the country and town. All these preparations greatly dismayed the duke of Somerset. Having considered that there was very little provision or stores within the palace, and a great many men, and that there was not a possibility of his being relieved, he requested, on the 28th of the same month, that the king would permit him to speak with him, which the king kindly granted. The duke left the palace accompanied by about forty of his principal knights and esquires: he was dressed in a long robe of blue figured velvet, lined with sables, having on his head a crimson-velvet bonnet, trimmed also with sables. The king's heralds escorted him through the tower to the sallyport leading to St. Catherine's, where he was met by the count de Clermont, eldest son to the duke of Bourbon, and other knights and esquires, who conducted him to St. Catherine's, where the king received him very kindly in an apartment most richly decorated.

The king had with him at this audience the king of Sicily, the counts of Maine, of Dunois, of Nevers, of Clermont, of St. Pol, of Castres, of Tancarville, the viscount of Loumaigne, and so many great lords and knights, that it would be tiresome to name them all. When the duke had saluted the king, he requested that his majesty would be pleased to grant to him, and the English in the palace and castle, the same capitulation he had granted to the town. The king replied aloud, and in handsome terms, that the same capitulation had been granted them at the conference at St. Ouen, but that neither himself nor his countrymen, like ill-advised persons, would accept of it: his request was therefore so unreasonable, that he could not grant it. The duke then took his leave of the king, and returned, with those who had accompanied him, to the palace, escorted, for his security, by the counts of Clermont, of Eu, and of Castres.

The king ordered the count de Dunois to push forward his approaches to the palace with the greatest vigour, on the side toward the country as well as on that toward the town. The lieutenant-general obeyed this order with so much activity, valour, and prudence, that the English were completely blockaded in both the castle and the palace. The English now demanded a parley with the count de Dunois, and a truce was concluded between them. The bailiff of Evreux, the marshal de la Fayette, and others of the king's council, were called in to the conference, when the truce was prolonged from day to day, for the space of twelve days, because the English would not leave the lord Talbot as a hostage for the performance

* Arques,—two leagues from Dieppe.

of the treaty. After many discussions, it was at length agreed that the duke of Somerset, lieutenant of the king of England, his lady, children, and all the English within the palace and castle should depart in safety with their effects, whithersoever they pleased, leaving behind the prisoners and heavy artillery. They were bound to pay the king of France the sum of fifty thousand crowns within the twelvemonth, and to those who had concluded this treaty six thousand. They also promised faithfully to pay everything they owed to the innkeepers, townsmen, tradesmen, and others of Rouen.

The duke of Somerset and his companions were besides bounden to deliver up the castle of Arques, the town of Caudebec, the castle of Tancarville and Lillebonne, the towns of Honfleur and Monstierville, to the king of France, or to such commissioners as he should appoint to receive them. For the fulfilment of these engagements the duke of Somerset gave written promises, and also left, as hostages for their performance, lord Talbot, the sons of lord Abergavenny, of lord Roos, and of the duchess of Somerset, of the earl of Ormond in Ireland, and two other English noblemen.

On the conclusion of this treaty, the duke of Somerset and the English departed from the palace on the 4th day of November, and went straight to the town of Harfleur,—some by water, others by land. The hostages remained under the care of the king's commissaries in Rouen. The duke of Somerset, before his departure, had directed sir Thomas Hou and Fulk Hou* to restore to the king of France the places mentioned in the treaty; which was done, excepting Honfleur; for the governor, called master Thomas Courson†, refused to surrender it, and the lord Talbot, therefore, remained prisoner to the king. On Monday, the 10th of November, the eve of the feast of St. Martin, the count de Dunois and the bailiff of Rouen had the king's banner displayed from the castle, palace, and walls of the city, by one of the king's heralds, and in the presence of the principal inhabitants.

CHAPTER XXV. — THE KING OF FRANCE MAKES A GRAND ENTRY INTO ROUEN. — HE IS SUMPTUOUSLY RECEIVED. — THE ENGLISH RESTORE TO THE KING THE CASTLES OF ARQUES, CAUDEBEC, TANCARVILLE, MONSTIERVILLE, ETC.

While the negotiations were carrying on with the English, the king of France celebrated the feast of All-saints in St. Catherine's with the utmost joy, on seeing his enemies fall before him; and he returned thanks to God for the good fortune that was daily pouring in upon him. The count de Dunois having restored good government in the town of Rouen, the king prepared to make his solemn entry into it. He set out from St. Catherine's on this same Monday, about one o'clock after mid-day, attended by the king of Sicily, and several great princes, as well of his blood as otherwise, with his army drawn out in handsome array. First marched his archers, the leaders of whom were dressed in striped jackets of red, white, and green, covered with embroidery. After these came the archers of the king of Sicily, of the count du Maine, and of other great lords, to the number of six hundred, well mounted and all armed with plate armour, under jackets of various colours, having greaves, swords, daggers, and helmets, richly ornamented with silver. The king appointed the lords de Preuilly and de Cléré, sir Theaulde de Valperge, and a few more, to command them, who had their horses covered with satin housings of different forms and colours.

After the archers came the heralds of the king of France, the king of Sicily, and the other princes in company with the king, all dressed in their tabards of arms; and with them were some pursuivants. Then came the trumpeters and clarions, who sounded so loudly, that it was very melodious, and gave much delight to hear them: the king's trumpeters were clothed in crimson, having their sleeves covered with embroidery. Next came sir William Juvenal des Ursins, knight, lord of Trainel, and chancellor of France‡, dressed in his robes of ceremony, namely, a robe, mantle, and hood of scarlet, trimmed with minever, and on each

* Sir Thomas Hou, &c. Q. Howe? Berry changes the names into Heu and Heston. See Hollingshed, &c. See also ch. xv. p. 156 of this volume.

† Thomas Curzon, captain of Harfleur.—Stowe.

‡ Afterwards also Viscount of Troyes. He was chancellor from 1445 to 1461, and again from 1465 to 1472, when he died.

of his shoulders were golden ribands, interlaced with strips of fur. Before him walked two footmen, leading by the bridle a white hackney, covered with a housing of blue velvet, besprinkled with flowers-de-luce and gold tissue. On this housing was placed a small coffer, covered also with blue velvet, and flowers-de-luce in silversmith's-work, in which were the seals of the king. After him rode an equerry of the stables, called Pierre Fonteville*, fully armed, and mounted on a charger covered with housings of azure velvet, having great clasps of silver gilt: he had on his head a pointed hat, with the point trimmed with crimson velvet and ermine. He bore before him, in a scarf, the royal mantle of scarlet, ornamented with purple fringes and ermine. Next came, without any interval between him and the king, the lord de Saintrailles, grand equerry of the royal stables, and bailiff of Berry. He was in complete armour, mounted on a charger with similar housings and clasps as the said Fonteville, and bore in a scarf the royal sword of state, whose handle, cross, and sheath, were covered with blue velvet, besprinkled with flowers-de-luce of gold.

Then came the king, in complete armour, on a stately charger, with housings reaching to the ground, of blue velvet, covered with flowers-de-luce in embroidery. On his head was a beaver hat, lined with crimson velvet, having on the crown a tuft of gold thread. He was followed by his pages dressed in crimson, their sleeves covered with silver plates, the armour of their horses' heads was of fine gold, variously ornamented, and with plumes of ostrich feathers of divers colours. On the right of the king rode the king of Sicily, and on the left his brother the count of Maine, both in full armour, their horses richly ornamented with similar housings, having white crosses, and their devices intermixed with tufts of gold thread. Their pages' horses had the like housings; but their head-armour was of fine gold with their devices.

After them came the counts de Nevers, de St. Pol, and de Clermont. The first was mounted, fully armed, on a charger covered with green velvet embroidered with gold, and followed by three pages dressed in violet and black: he was also accompanied by twelve gentlemen completely armed, mounted on horses covered with violet-coloured satin: each housing bore a white cross, except one whose housing was of green satin. The count de St. Pol was likewise in full armour, mounted on a charger having a housing of black satin covered with silversmith's-work and embroidery. His five pages were clothed in black satin, slashed below, which slashes were covered with silversmith's-work: the housings of their horses were the same. One of them bore a lance covered with crimson velvet, another a lance covered with figured gold tissue, and the third bore on his head a helmet of fine gold, richly ornamented; and behind these pages was his groom, handsomely dressed, with the housings of his horse similar to the others, leading a handsome charger in hand. The count de Clermont was also completely armed, mounted on his charger covered with housings of his livery, as were his pages.

The lord de Culant, grand-master of the king's household (having the command of a battalion of six hundred lances, each having a pennoncel of crimson satin, with a golden sun in the centre), followed the pages of the king, in complete armour, a hat on his head, and mounted on a charger covered with a housing of blue and red velvet in stripes, each stripe having a large golden or silver leaf: the armour of his horse was similarly ornamented. He wore round his neck a baldrick of pure gold, that hung down below the crupper of his horse. With the lord de Culant was an esquire called Rogerin Blosset, equerry of the stables to the king, who bore the royal standard of crimson satin, having the figure of St. Michael in the centre, and besprinkled with leaves of gold. Jean de Scaenville was also in the rear of the king: he was surnamed Havart, bailiff of Dreux, and esquire-carver to the king, and bore the royal pennon, which was of azure velvet, with three flowers-de-luce embroidered thereon in gold, and the border of this pennon was of large pearls.

In their attendance on the king were numbers of great lords, such as the viscount de Lomagne, the count de Castres, Ferry lord of Lorraine, sir John his brother, the lord d'Orval, the count de Tancarville, the lord de Montgascon, son to the count de Boulogne and Auvergne, the lord de Jalognes marshal of France, the lord de Beauveau, and more than I can remember, all clad in complete armour, and their horses covered with housings of velvet or satin, having on each a white cross.

* Fonteville Fonteuay.—MS. Du Cange.

Thus did the king advance until he came within bow-shot of the Beauvoisine gate, near to the Carthusian convent, where the count de Dunois, his lieutenant-general, came out to meet him, mounted on a charger covered with crimson velvet, and himself dressed in a crimson velvet jacket trimmed with sables: he was girt with a magnificent sword, whose pummel was set with diamonds, pearls aud rubies, to the value of fifteen thousand crowns. The seneschal of Poitou, and Jacques Cœur, master of the king's wardrobe, attended him mounted on chargers covered and clad like to the lieutenant-general. The bailiff of Evreux and sir William Cousinot were also there,—the first mounted on a charger covered with crimson velvet, and himself clad in the same stuff. Sir William Cousinot had lately been nominated bailiff of Rouen, and was dressed in blue velvet with rich clasps of silver gilt; his horse had housings of the same. The lieutenant-general had brought from the town to do reverence to the king, the archbishop of Rouen, the bishops of Lisieux, Bayeux, and Coutances, and the principal inhabitants. When these prelates had done their obeisance, they returned into the town, leaving the citizens, who were very numerous, clad in blue with red hoods, with the lieutenant, who presented them to the king. After paying their humble reverence, they delivered the keys of their town into the hands of the king, as their sovereign lord; and after many fine speeches from them, which he heard with kindness, he gave the keys to the before-mentioned seneschal, appointing him governor of the place.

The king then began his entrance into the city in the same order as I have described; but the moment he began to move, a procession of prelates and churchmen, in their pontifical habits, regulars and seculars, bearing jewels and relics, and accompanied by the four mendicant orders, came out to meet him, singing "Te Deum laudamus," for the joyful arrival of the king of France, their sovereign lord. They placed themselves before the chancellor of France, the lord de la Fayette marshal of France, the lord de Gaucourt first chamberlain to the king, the lord de Presseigny, and Jacques Cœur, who all had their horses covered with velvet and satin, and had jackets of the same with white crosses. The count de Dunois placed himself directly before the king, near to the equerry of the stables.

It is certain, that in the memory of man, never was king seen with so handsome a body of chivalry, so finely dressed, nor so great a number of men-at-arms as the king of France had with him on his regaining his good city of Rouen. At the entrance of the gates, a youth, aged about twelve or thirteen years, and son to the lord de Presseigny, was knighted by the seneschal of Poitou. At the gate of the bulwark were four of the most distinguished of the citizens with an exceedingly rich canopy, which they held over the head of the king until he came to the church of Our Lady in Rouen. All round this gate, and on the bulwark, were immense crowds of people, who, on the king's entrance in the midst of his men-at-arms, sang carols for joy at the happy event. In all the squares were different pageants: in one was a fountain ornamented with the arms of the town, namely, a lamb, who spouted out liquors from his horns. Elsewhere was a tiger with its young ones, who were admiring themselves in looking glasses; and near to the church of Our Lady was a flying stag, sumptuously made, having on his neck a crown,—and he kneeled down, by way of reverence to the king as he passed on his way to the church.

At this place were the count de Dunois with lord Talbot and the English hostages at a window, to see the pageant: the last were very pensive, and hurt at heart, on witnessing a sight so disagreeable to their interests. The king dismounted on his arrival before the church, where he was received by the archbishop and his clergy, richly dressed in their copes. Having entered the church, he continued some time in prayer, and thence went to the palace of the archbishop, where he was lodged.

Every one now returned to their homes, and the populace made great bonfires in all the streets, to testify their joy on the occasion. The archbishop, on the morrow, led several solemn processions, and the day was kept sacred from all labour and work, the same as if it had been Sunday. On the Wednesday and Thursday, the rejoicings were continued, and tables were spread in the street, covered with meats and wines for all comers, at the expense of the inhabitants. They also made rich presents to the king, his officers, his heralds and pursuivants, then present. While the king remained at the archbishop's palace, the churchmen, citizens and inhabitants, required an audience of him, touching certain requests they had to make. On its being granted, they entered the great hall, where the king was

seated on his throne richly adorned, and himself dressed in cloth of gold, surrounded by his ministers. They proposed various measures to him, and, in the number, most humbly supplicated that he would be graciously pleased to pursue his ancient enemies the English; for by means of the towns they yet possessed in Normandy they were still enabled to do great mischiefs to the country. To assist him in this measure, they offered their lives and fortunes.

The king was well pleased with their proposal, more particularly with their offers of service and of money, and made, by means of the chancellor, a satisfactory answer to all they had proposed. They then took their leave, and retired to their homes. The king staid some time in Rouen to remodel the government of it; during which the English surrendered all the places they had given hostages for, namely, the castle of Arques, Tancarville, Lillebonne, Monstierville * and Caudebec. But although they had engaged to restore Honfleur, it was not done, because the governor refused to obey, in this point, the orders of the duke of Somerset, and, consequently, the lord Talbot with the other hostages remained prisoners to the king of France. Sir Pierre de Brézé, seneschal of Poitou, was appointed governor of Rouen.

CHAPTER XXVI.—THE CASTLE OF GAILLON SUBMITS TO THE OBEDIENCE OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—FOUGERES SURRENDERS TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, AND BELLEME † TO THE DUKE OF ALENÇON.—A WELL-FOUGHT BATTLE TAKES PLACE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

On the 23d of November, in this year, the impregnable castle of Gaillon surrendered to the king's forces, after a siege of six weeks. The English garrison amounted to from one hundred to six-score, and marched away on capitulation, to carry with them their effects to Harfleur, or to any other place under their subjection.

About the same time, the duke of Brittany gained the town and castle of Fougeres, after a siege of a month. He had battered the walls with his cannons and bombards so that the breaches were nearly wide enough to storm, when the English, seeing their danger, and knowing their provisions were expended, surrendered on capitulation. Their captain was sir Francis de Surienne, called the Arragonian, having under his command from five to six hundred men, and they were allowed to march away with their horses and arms, but each with only a small bundle before him. This sir Francis afterwards turned to the French, and took the oaths of allegiance to the king, notwithstanding that he had taken the town of Fougeres from the duke of Brittany, and thus had broken the truce between the kings of France and England. The duke of Brittany had, at that time, in his army, eight thousand combatants, lords, knights and esquires; but after the surrender of Fougeres they returned home, on account of the great mortality in the army, which carried off very great numbers, and among the rest the son of the viscount de Rohan, which was a great pity. The duke went also into Brittany, after he had placed sufficient garrisons in his conquests.

Toward the end of November, the duke of Alençon laid siege to his town and castle of Bellême, then occupied by the English contrary to his will. He had with him about three hundred lances, knights and esquires, and a body of archers, without including the peasantry from the countries of Maine and Vendôme, who were estimated at three thousand fighting men. After several skirmishes and sallies, the English, finding all resistance vain, entered on a treaty with the duke, and engaged to surrender the town and castle on the 20th day of December, unless their friends should appear on that day in sufficient force to give the duke battle and conquer him. The duke, therefore, intrenched his army on the plain to wait the arrival of the English, who were on their march to relieve the place. Two thousand of them had advanced to Torigny ‡, and, on their departure, had set it on fire, and proceeded to Thury §, where they received certain intelligence of the exact strength of the duke's army,

* Monstierville—should be *Montivilliers*, a town in Normandy, three leagues from Havre, eight from Fécamp.

† Bellême,—a town in Perche, ten leagues from Alençon.

‡ Torigny,—a small town in Normandy.

§ Thury,—a small town in Normandy.

and in consequence marched back again. On the 20th day of December, the duke of Alençon and the lord de Saintrailles drew their army up in battle array, and waited thus until the hour for the appearance of the enemy was passed. The captain of the English garrison in Bellême, called Matago *, having about two hundred combatants with him, then surrendered the place, and marched away in safety with their effects, according to the terms of the capitulation, whither they pleased.

About Christmas-day, the English garrison in Vire †, to the number of twelve-score, marched out to seek adventures, but were met by a party of the constable's men in garrison at Gourey ‡, near to the Croix de Vamoux, under the command of sir Geoffry de Couvran, Joachim Rouhault, and others, when a very sharp engagement took place, but the English were discomfited, so many being killed or taken that few escaped.

CHAPTER XXVII.—THE KING OF FRANCE LEAVES ROUEN.—HE SENDS HIS LIEUTENANT-GENERAL TO BESIEGE HARFLEUR, WHICH SURRENDERS ON CAPITULATION.—THE FAIR AGNES IS TAKEN ILL.—HER DEATH, AND HER LAST TESTAMENT.

The king of France, having settled the government of Rouen to his satisfaction, marched thence clothed in a brigandine, having over it a jacket of gold tissue, accompanied by the king of Sicily, and the other princes of his blood, magnificently dressed, more especially the count de St. Pol, whose horse's forehead-piece was valued at thirty thousand francs.

Thus attended, the king rode to Caudebec, in which town it was resolved to lay siege to Harfleur; and in consequence, he advanced to Montivilliers, which is but half a league distant from Harfleur, and thence detached his lieutenant-general, the count de Dunois, to open the trenches. The count had with him the counts d'Eu, de Clermont, de Nevers, de Castres, with many men-at-arms, archers and franc-archers, so that his force was estimated at six thousand men, without including the franc-archers, who amounted to three thousand, or the cannoneers, labourers, and followers, or the mariners who blockaded the place with twenty-five large vessels, or those who had besieged the abbey of Graville, amounting in the whole to more than a thousand men.

The siege was commenced on the 8th day of December, with many difficulties,—for there were neither houses nor trees near at hand, and the weather was more severe, by reason of frosts and inundations, than had been experienced for some time. The besiegers suffered also greatly from the sea, which at times destroyed their huts, which were composed only of earth covered with juniper branches. Sixteen large bombards were pointed against the walls, which the king came frequently from Montivilliers to see fired. Deep trenches of communication were formed, wherein the king often exposed his person, armed only with a light helmet and covering shield, to witness the effect of this battery against the walls. Covered trenches were carried to the very walls of Harfleur; and these mines and trenches were formed under the directions of master John Bureau, treasurer to the king, in conjunction with his brother Jasper, grand-master of the royal artillery, both very expert and able in the sciences.

Thomas Aurmagan§, governor of Harfleur, and the English with him, to the amount of sixteen hundred, receiving pay, witnessing the great preparations of the king of France, opened a treaty with the count de Dunois, on the eve of Christmas-day, for the surrender of the place. On the morrow, the capitulation was signed, and they were to march away with their baggage, and were allowed to transport their effects by land or sea, the term for so doing being limited to the first day of the year. Eight English gentlemen were given as hostages for the due performance of the treaty, who were sent under an escort to Montivilliers. On the first day of January, they were brought back to Harfleur, for the accomplishment of

* Matago. Q. Matthew Gough?

† Vire,—on the river Vire in Normandy, diocese of Bayeux, generality of Caen.

‡ Gourey. Q. if not Gournetz, a village in Normandy.

§ Thomas Aurmagan. Q. Erpingham, captain of Harfleur, in conjunction with Curzon.—Stowe.

the treaty. About vespers, Thomas Aurmagan, the governor, presented the keys of the gates and towers to the count de Dunois, with much reverence and kneeling, in the presence of all the English, and even before master Sanice*, who had brought a reinforcement of five hundred English just before the siege.

The lieutenant-general, on receiving the keys, sent a party to take possession of the towers, and to lower the English standard, of a red cross on a white field, that was flying on one of them. He afterwards ordered two heralds to replace it with the standard of France, which was done with the shouts and rejoicings of the populace. The count also posted a party of his men in the towers on the side toward Rouen. This day, the greater part of the English departed; but as all could not be ready by the return of the tide, the lieutenant-general listened to their humble supplications, and permitted those who remained to tarry there until the Friday and Saturday at mid-day, and appointed a guard over them that they might not be ill treated. When the English were all gone, the king gave the government of Harfleur to the count de Dunois, who appointed the lord de Moy his lieutenant, with one hundred lances and a proportionate number of archers for its defence, and for that of the country around.

Jacques de Clermont, esquire, was made governor of Montivilliers,—and he had likewise one hundred spears and archers for its guard, and for the defence of other forts in the neighbourhood. The king, having made these appointments, left Montivilliers on the 5th day of January: he ordered detachments of his army to march through Rouen, Caudebec and Tancarville, to besiege Honfleur, and went himself to the abbey of Jamieges†, on the Seine, five leagues below Rouen, where he remained for some time while preparations were making for the siege of Honfleur.

At this abbey, the king met the fair Agnes, who had come thither (as she said) to give the king information that some of his officers intended to deliver him up to his enemies the English. The king, however, paid no attention to the intelligence, but laughed at it. This fair Agnes had been five years in the service of the queen, during which she had enjoyed all the pleasures of life, in wearing rich clothes, furred robes, golden chains, and precious stones; and it was commonly reported that the king often visited her, and maintained her in a state of concubinage,—for the people are more inclined to speak ill than well of their superiors. The affection the king showed her was as much for her gaiety of temper, pleasing manners, and agreeable conversation, as for her beauty. She was so beautiful that she was called the Fairest of the Fair, and the Lady of Beauté, as well on account of her personal charms as because the king had given her for life the castle of Beauté, near Paris. She was very charitable, and most liberal in her alms, which she distributed among such churches as were out of repair, and to beggars. It is true that Agnes had a daughter‡, who lived but a short time, which she said was the king's, and gave it to him as the proper father: but the king always excused himself, as not having any claim to it. She may indeed have called in help, for the matter was variously talked of.

At length, she was seized with a bowel complaint, and was a long time ill,—during

* Master Sanice. Q.

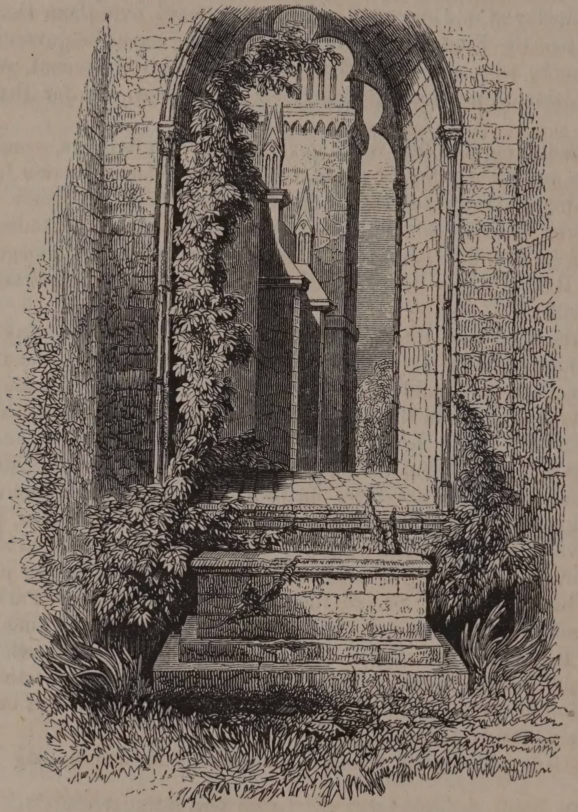
† Jamieges,—a market-town on the Seine, two leagues from Caudebec, six from Rouen.

‡ Monstrelet is remarkably tender of the reputation of the "fair Agnes." She had, as all other historians allow, not *one* only, but *three* daughters by the king. Margaret, married to Olivier de Coetivy, seneschal of Guyenne; Charlotte, married to James de Brézé, seneschal of Normandy; and Jane, to Antony de Bueil, count de Sancerre. Of these, Charlotte unfortunately followed the example of her mother's incontinence without the excuse of an illustrious lover. Her tragical history will be found recorded in the sequel.

By a species of retributive justice, Louis the son of this James de Brézé, submitted voluntarily to the same disgrace which his father thought that blood only could remove. *His* wife was the famous Diana of Poitiers. In these days, nobody of consequence could die in his bed without the suspicion of poison. The death of Agnes was attributed to that cause, and the dauphin is charged with having been the perpetrator. Of this accusation all that Du Clos says is what follows :—

"Le peu d'union qu'il y avoit entre Charles sept et le Dauphin, fut cause que celui-ci fut soupçonné d'avoir fait empoisonner Agnès Sorel, qui mourut, regrettée du Roi, de la Cour, et des Peuples. Elle n'abusa jamais de sa faveur, et réunit les rares qualités d'Amante tendre, d'Amie sure, et de bonne Citoyenne." He adds, "I cannot tell why Alain Chartier (the court poet) is so strenuous in defending her chastity, seeing that she died in child-bed." The Dauphin was not the only person charged with this imaginary crime. Jacques Cœur, superintendant of the finances, was also accused of it; but his innocence was established by public trial.

which, she was very contrite, and sincerely repented of her sins. She often remembered Mary Magdalen, who had been a great sinner, and devoutly invoked God and the Virgin Mary to her aid. Like a true catholic, after she had received the sacraments, she called for her book of prayers, in which she had written with her own hand the verses of St. Bernard, to repeat them. She then made many gifts (which were put down in writing, that her executors might fulfil them, with the other articles of her will), which, including alms and the payment of her servants, might amount to nearly sixty thousand crowns. Her executors were Jacques Cœur, counsellor and master of the wardrobe to the king; master Robert Poictevin, physician; and master Stephen Chevalier, treasurer to the king, who was to take the lead in the fulfilment of her will, should it be his gracious pleasure.



Tomb of Agnes Sorel in the Chapel of the Virgin, Abbey of Jamieges.—Frodier's Voyage Pittoresque en Normandie.

The fair Agnes, perceiving that she was daily growing weaker, said to the lord de la Tremouille, the lady of the seneschal of Poitou, and one of the king's equerries called Gouffier, in the presence of all her damsels, that our fragile life was but a stinking ordure. She then required that her confessor would give her absolution from all her sins and wickedness, conformable to an absolution, which was, as she said, at Loches; which the confessor, on her assurance, complied with. After this, she uttered a loud shriek, and called on the mercy of God, and the support of the blessed Virgin Mary, and gave up the ghost on Monday, the 9th day of February, in the year 1449, about six o'clock in the afternoon. Her body was opened, and her heart interred in the church of the said abbey, to which she

had been a most liberal benefactress; and her body was conveyed, with many honours, to Loches, where it was interred in the collegiate church of Our Lady, to which also she had made many handsome donations. and several foundations. May God have mercy on her soul, and admit it into paradise*!

CHAPTER XXVIII.—THE COUNT DE FOIX RAISES A LARGE ARMY TO BESIEGE THE CASTLE OF GUISCHEN.—THE ENGLISH ASSEMBLE TO RAISE THE SIEGE, BUT ARE DEFEATED BY THE LORD DE LAUTREC AND THE BASTARD DE FOIX.

About this period, the count de Foix raised a large army, and caused the strong castle of Guischen, situated four leagues from Bayonne, to be besieged by his brother, the lord de Lautrec, and the bastard de Foix. The English, on hearing this, instantly took the field with four thousand combatants, under the command of the constable of Navarre. He had with him the mayor of Bayonne, George Saltviton†, and many other English, who, having embarked their stores on the river that runs through Bayonne, to convey them near to this castle, marched as close to the vessels as they could.

News of their intentions was carried to the besiegers, who marched as secretly as possible to meet them, and made so sharp an attack on the English that they were driven from their boats, and lost twelve hundred of their men in killed and taken. When Saltviton witnessed this defeat, fearing it was impossible to recover the boats, he broke gallantly through the French army with only sixty lances, and saved himself for the moment in one of the outworks of the castle. Finding that he could not long maintain himself in his present post, he marched away with his men, thinking to regain Bayonne; but the bastard de Foix, knowing his departure, immediately pursued him, and made him and the greater part of his men prisoners. On the morrow, the castle surrendered, and all the country between Dax and Bayonne; in which were from fifteen to sixteen strong places, that surrendered to the count de Foix. When these forts had been sufficiently garrisoned, the count's army was marched home.

The siege of Honfleur was commenced with great courage on the 17th day of January, while the king remained at Jamieges, by his lieutenant general, the count de Dunois, and the other lords before-named. The franc-archers, who had been sent by these lords in advance ten or twelve days before, to skirmish with the English garrison of Honfleur, did their duty well. When the blockade was completed, the king left Jamieges, and fixed his quarters at the abbey of Grestain, two leagues from Honfleur. On his arrival, the approaches and trenches were pushed forward with vigour, and many cannons and bombards were pointed against the walls, to the astonishment of those within the town. The governor of the place was called master Courson‡, having a garrison of three or four hundred English, who exerted themselves valiantly in their defence with cannons and other missile weapons. By their means was killed a gallant Frenchman, named Regnault William, le Bourgognon, then bailiff of Montargis, which was a great loss. At length, the English were so

* Agnes Sorel, says Moreri, was one of the handsomest women of her time. She was a native of Promenteau, a village of Touraine, in the diocese of Bourges. King Charles VII. no sooner saw her than he fell in love with her. This prince made her great presents, and gave her the castle of Beauté-sur-Marne. It is said that his affection for her caused him to neglect public business, but that Agnes contrived to excite him with such animosity against the English that he exerted his utmost efforts to drive them out of the kingdom. It is added, that she assured him that an astrologer had foretold to her that she would captivate the affections of the greatest king in the world, but that this prediction had no reference to him, since he neglected to establish his authority in a state which his enemies had usurped, and that, in order to accomplish it, she would be obliged to repair to the court of the king of England. These reproaches roused the king from his lethargy,—and he took the field to gratify, at once, his love and his ambition. On this subject it is also said, that Francis I. being one day in the house of the count d'Estampes, who had been his governor, and who was then grand-master of France, he amused himself with looking into a port-folio which was upon the dressing-table of the countess, who was fond of painting, and had drawn in it the portraits of divers illustrious persons, and among others of Agnes Sorel. The king made devices and verses for each of these portraits,—and under that of the fair Agnes he wrote the following lines with his own hand:—

"Plus de loüange et d'honneur tu merites,
La cause étant de France recouvrer,
Que ce que peut dedans un cloitre ouvrer
Close nonnain, en bien devot hermite."

† Saltviton. In the MS. of Du Cange, it is *Soliton*; but this seems as far from the true name as the other.

‡ Courson. Q. Curzon?

overpowered by fear and want of provision that they were constrained to demand a parley, to arrange terms of capitulation; and they agreed to surrender the town and castle on the 18th day of February, unless there should appear a force sufficient to relieve them, by conquering the French, and gave hostages for its due performance, on which they were to march away with their effects in safety. The French now fortified their camp, and made preparations for a combat, but the English did not appear; for the duke of Somerset dared not leave Caen ungarrisoned, and, besides, they were not strong enough to expect success without great reinforcements from England. The place was therefore surrendered according to the terms of the capitulation, and the English marched to other parts under their obedience.

Soon after the reduction of Honfleur, the king left the abbey of Grestain, and went to Berucy *, and thence to Essay † and Alençon. He ordered a party of his guards, with the franc-archers, to lay siege to Fresnay ‡, which was under the government of two Englishmen, called Andrew Torfflot § and Janequin Vaquier ||, having with them from four to five hundred English and Normans, called French Renegadoes. The French advanced before the place in a numerous body, in handsome array, which so much alarmed the governors that they instantly offered to treat for a surrender. After a short discussion, it was agreed, that on the place being given up to the king of France, together with ten thousand golden saluts, their captain, called Montfort ¶, who had been made prisoner at Pont Audemer, should be restored to them, and they should be allowed to march away in safety with their baggage. Thus was the place surrendered; and the English departed, on the 22d day of March, for Caen or Falaise, or to wherever else they pleased.

During the time of Lent, in this year, three thousand English landed at Cherbourg, under the command of sir Thomas Kiriel, a knight of great experience and renown, and marched to lay siege to Valognes **, which was under the government of an esquire from Poitou, called Abel Rohault. He held it valiantly for some time, for his brother Joachim Rohault; but having no hope of succour, he was forced to surrender it to sir Thomas Kiriel, after a defence of three weeks, and was allowed to march his men away in safety with all they possessed. The king's army was, at the time, collecting to raise the siege; as were the English to oppose them, from their different garrisons, namely, sir Robert Vere, in Caen, had six hundred combatants; Henry Morbery, in Vire, had about four hundred; Matago, in the town of Bayeux, had eight hundred fighting men, so that they amounted in all, including sir Thomas Kiriel's force, to six or seven thousand combatants. The French, learning this, suffered the town to be surrendered without any attempt to the contrary, for they could not be assembled in time, considering that the king's army was then dispersed in cantonments throughout Normandy, for the better preservation of their conquests.

CHAPTER XXIX.—AFTER THE CAPTURE OF VALOGNES BY SIR THOMAS KIRIEL, HE TAKES THE FIELD WITH A LARGE ARMY OF ENGLISHMEN.—HE IS MET BY THE COUNT DE CLERMONT, WHO ATTACKS AND DEFEATS HIM.

[A. D. 1450.]

On the 12th day of April, in the year 1450, after Easter, sir Thomas Kiriel dislodged from Valognes, having with him the greater part of the garrisons of Caen, Bayeux, and Vire, and, crossing the fords of St. Clement ††, advanced toward the country of Bayeux and Caen. Intelligence of this movement was carried to the French head-quarters, and a detachment was ordered to pursue them, under the command of the count de Clermont, the count de

* Berucy,—Bernay, a market-town in Normandy, twenty leagues and a half from Alençon.—MS. Du Cange.

† Essay,—a market-town in Normandy, five leagues from Alençon.

‡ Fresnay. There are two villages of this name in Normandy.

§ Andrew Torfflot. Troslo.—MS. Du Cange. Q. if not Truslow?

|| Janequin Vaquier. Basquier and Baquier.—MS. Du Cange.

¶ Montfort. Q. if not lord Fauconberg? See in the preceding pages.

** Valognes,—five leagues from Cherbourg.

†† St. Clement,—a village near to Bayeux.

Castres, the seneschal of Poitou, the lord de Montgascon and de Retz, admiral of France, and others, to the amount of five or six hundred spears and archers. Although they were so few in numbers, they continued their pursuit until they overtook them. Sir Geoffry de Couvran and Joachim Rohault had, some little time before, separated from them to seek if they could gain any information of the enemy, and luckily fell in with their track. Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, they boldly and courageously made an attack on their rear-guard, and killed and wounded several. They then retreated, and sent notice of what they had done to the count de Clermont, who was not far off. He hastened to come up with the English, which he did near a village called Fourmigny, between Carentan and Bayeux, on the 18th of the same month.

The English, on perceiving the enemy, drew up in battle-array, and sent in haste to a captain, called Matago, who had that morning quitted them for Bayeux, but instantly returned to the aid of his companions. The two armies remained drawn up facing each other for three hours, while a continual skirmish was going forward, during which, the English made, with their swords and daggers, deep holes in their front, that those who should charge them might fall in with their horses: they were also very advantageously posted, for they had, within a bow-shot of their rear, a small river with gardens and orchards thick planted with fruit-trees, so that they could not be attacked on that quarter.

The count de Clermont, observing their situation, and considering that he had not an adequate force to combat them, despatched a messenger in haste to St. Lo, to require that the count de Richemont, constable of France, would come to his succour, otherwise he and his men would have more work on their hands than they could accomplish, for that the English greatly outnumbered his force. The constable, on receiving this intelligence, instantly set out at three o'clock in the morning of the same day, the 18th, to his assistance, although he was but just arrived from Brittany without halting. He rode to Trevieres *, accompanied by the lord James de Luxembourg, the count de Laval, the lord marshal de Lohéac, and from two hundred to twelve score lances and eight hundred archers. They advanced with great rapidity (for the English had already crossed the ford) until they came to the windmill above Fourmigny, where they drew up in order of battle in sight of the English.

The count de Clermont had begun the engagement with his army of a thousand to fifteen hundred men before the arrival of the constable, and had been sharply repulsed by the English, who had taken from them two culverines. The constable first marched his men to gain a stone bridge, but no sooner did Matago and sir Robert Vere perceive this manœuvre of the constable, than they fled with a thousand of their men from Caen and Bayeux. Kiriel and the remainder retreated toward the rivulet, and occupied the village that was hard by. Part of the constable's archers, having dismounted at the end of the bridge, attacked the left wing of the English, and many were killed and put to the rout. The constable now crossed the rivulet and joined the count de Clermont; when the grand seneschal of Normandy asked his permission to march his division toward the enemy's right wing, which being granted, the English were slain and defeated. The main body of the constable's men marched now in handsome order until they were near the village, and crossed the brook by the high road. The English were so much alarmed that they quitted the village, and advanced to the rivulet, where a well-fought engagement took place; but although the French were in all not more, according to the report of the heralds, than three thousand combatants, and the English from six to seven thousand, nevertheless, by the grace of God, the French defeated them. From the accounts of the heralds, priests, and credible persons, three thousand seven hundred and seventy-three were slain, and buried in fourteen deep trenches on the spot.

Among the prisoners were sir Anthony † Kiriel, sir Henry Norbery ‡, sir Thomas Drieut §, Thomas Kirby, Christopher Auberton, Arpel, Helix Alengour, Jannequin Vacquier, Gobert Caleville, and numbers of other captains, and English gentlemen bearing coats of arms. Conformably to the old proverb, of "He who fights and runs away, may live to fight another day," did those act who fled and left their companions to bear the brunt of

* Trevieres,—a market-town near Bayeux.

† Anthony. He is called *Thomas* before.

‡ Norbery. Before Morbery. Probably Norbury.

§ Drieut. Q. Trivet?

the battle, namely, Matago, sir Robert Vere, Henry Lons, master Meillan, and another captain who commanded thirty lances and five hundred archers. The prisoners taken at this battle were estimated at from twelve to fourteen hundred. Matago fled to Bayeux, and sir Robert to Caen, and thus, by the favour of Divine Providence, were the English defeated.

On this day the following were made knights: the count de Castres, son to the count de la Marche, Godfrey de Boulogne*, son to the count de Boulogne and Auvergne, the lord de Vauvert, son to the count de Villars, the lord de St. Severe†, the lord de Chalençon‡, and several more. The French only lost this day, by death, eight persons at the most!

The army now marched to lay siege to the town and castle of Vire. After their departure a dispute arose among the captains, to whom the honour of the day was due; some said to the constable, as being, from his office, lieutenant-general for the king in all parts of the realm; but others claimed it for the count de Clermont, he having been specially ordered on this service, and a special order ought to supersede a general one. It came to such a length that it was referred to the king, who decided in favour of the count de Clermont, although it was through the constable's able support that he had gained the victory. News of this success was soon spread all over the kingdom of France, and coming to the ears of master William Charrier, bishop of Paris, he immediately ordered a procession to be made to the church of Notre Dame of all children, as well male as female, that were at school, from the age of seven to eleven years, to return thanks to God for the signal victory the most Christian king had obtained over his ancient enemies. The procession, consisting of from twelve to fourteen thousand children, attended by their masters and tutors, set out from the church of St. Innocent, where they were assembled, each with a wax taper or other light in his hand. The chaplains of the church were in the centre, bearing the relics of St. Innocent; and the procession extended from this church to that of Our Lady, and was a fine sight to see, and did great honour to the bishop. On its arrival at the church of Notre Dame a solemn mass was sung, and the bishop preached a sermon, taking for his text the second verse of the eighth Psalm,—"Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger." When the service was over they returned two and two as they had come, conveying back the relics to the church of St. Innocent, and thence each child went to its school.

About this period the duke of Suffolk quitted a strong castle into which he had retired for fear of the English, who would have put him to death, and embarked for foreign countries; but he was met at sea by the partisans of the duke of Somerset, who laid hands on him and cut off his head, which they sent, with the body, to their friends in London, who hung up the quarters at the different gates§. The French, without loss of time after their late victory, marched to besiege the town of Vire, in which was a garrison of three or four stout English combatants; their captain was sir Henry Norbury, then a prisoner, in consequence of the defeat at Fourmigny. The siege did not last long before the commandant capitulated to surrender, on being allowed to march away in safety with the garrison and baggage to Caen. The French army was now divided: one part, under the count de Clermont, marched toward Bayeux, and the other, with the constable, returned to the duke of Brittany, to lay siege to Avranches||.

* Lord of Montgascon.

† John de Brosse, lord of St. Severe, afterwards count of Penthievre, &c., son of the marshal de Boussac.

‡ Louis Armand de Chalençon, viscount de Polignac, married Isabel, second daughter of Bertrand III. lord of La Tour, and his wife Mary countess of Auvergne and Boulogne.

§ See the English historians for a more correct account of the end of the duke of Suffolk.

|| Avranches,—a bishopric in Normandy, seventy-five leagues from Paris, fifty from Rouen.

CHAPTER XXX.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY BESIEGES AVRANCHES WITH HIS WHOLE FORCE. —IT SURRENDERS TO HIM.—HE TAKES TOMBELAINE*.—BAYEUX IS WON.—THE CONSTABLE GAINS BRICQUEBEC†, VALOGNES‡, ST. SAUVEUR LE VICOMTE§.—OTHER INCIDENTS

When the duke of Brittany's army was returned to him, and had taken some rest, he mustered his men, and without delay began his march, well attended by artillery, to besiege the town of Avranches, which was garrisoned by four or five hundred English under the command of a captain called Lampet||. The duke displayed great ability and courage in forming the siege, during which many skirmishes took place between the parties. This siege lasted three weeks, when the walls were so battered that the captain and garrison were reduced to surrender; but although they proposed different terms of capitulation, they could only obtain permission to march away in safety, but without arms or baggage; so that when the place was given up, they departed with staves in their hands. On the reduction of Avranches, the duke of Brittany advanced with his army to Tombelaine, which is impregnable so long as provision and stores last, for it is seated on a rock in the sea, near to St. Michael's Mount. There was in it an English garrison of from four-score to one hundred men; but they no sooner perceived the great force that was brought against them, than they capitulated to surrender the place, on being permitted to march to Cherbourg in safety with their baggage and effects.

On the 16th day of May, the king of France ordered the counts de Dunois, de Nevers, d'Eu, and several other knights and esquires, to lay siege to Bayeux. In consequence they encamped near to the town, and pushed forward the siege with such vigour, by mines and battering cannon, that many breaches were made in the wall wide enough to be stormed; but the commanders were averse to this, to avoid the effusion of blood and the numberless other evils that would ensue. However, notwithstanding this laudable resolution, the ardour and avarice of soldiers to become rich induced part of the army, without orders, to storm the town twice in the same day, when many gallant deeds were done on both sides, and several were killed by arrow and culverine shots. The French were forced to retreat without success, for the storm had been only made on one side: had this measure been carried on under the direction of their officers, it must undoubtedly have succeeded.

Matago, the governor of Bayeux, surprised at the valour he had seen displayed by the French at this attack, for they had slain some of the stoutest of the English, opened a treaty with the count de Dunois for its surrender; but after many parleys, he could only obtain permission for his men to march away without arms or baggage and with staves in their hands. Thus marched away, by the castle-gate for Cherbourg, all the English, to the amount of nine hundred, esteemed the most valiant of their party; but in honour of nobility, horses were given to carry their damsels and gentle ladies, and carts were also supplied to convey the most respectable of the women who followed their husbands. It was a pitiful sight thus to see from three to four hundred women, (without including children, who were very numerous,) some carrying their infants in cradles on their heads, others swinging them round their necks or in rolls of cloth round their bodies, and in a variety of other ways.

On the restoration of Bayeux to the obedience of the king of France, the count de Dunois appointed a captain and other officers to govern the city, and then crossed the Orne¶, with the count de Clermont, and there cantoned the army, to live on the country until the arrival of the count de Richemont, constable of France. He had left all his artillery at Bayeux to be ready for laying siege to Caen.

In the meantime, the constable, and those in his company,—namely, the troops of the **

* Tombelaine,—a small island, or rock, on the coast of Normandy, between Avranches and St. Malo.

† Bricquebec. Probably Bricquebosq, a village in Normandy, near Valognes.

‡ Valognes,—a large town between Cherbourg and Carentan.

§ St. Sauveur le Vicomte, near Valognes.

|| Lampet. Q. Lambert?

¶ Orne,—a river in Normandy: it runs into the sea at Estreham.

** Guy XIV. lord, and in 1429 count of Laval, son of John de Montford, lord of Kergolay, who, by his marriage

lord de Laval, the marshal de Lohéac, the troops of the admiral and of the lord de Touteville*,—gained the town of Bricquebosq for the king of France, on permitting those within it to march away with their baggage and effects. The constable then besieged Valognes, that had lately been captured by the English; but it was not long before it surrendered, for the lieutenant-governor for the king of England had turned to the French interest. He, however, obtained from the constable that the English garrison, amounting to six-score men, should march in safety, with arms and baggage, to Cherbourg.

On the departure of the duke of Brittany, the constable came to Bayeux, and thence sent Sir James de Luxembourg his lieutenant, and Odet Dadic, with about thirty lances, to commence the siege of St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte, which is a handsome town, and one of the strongest in Normandy. They remained before it three days, waiting for the marshals of France and of Brittany, the lords de Touteville, de Boussac, and others.

The lord Robersart, a baron of Hainault, was the governor, having with him two hundred English combatants, and on the arrival of the marshals the place was besieged in earnest. During the opening of the trenches, a valiant esquire from Berry, called John de Blanchefort, was killed by a cannon-shot, whose loss was much lamented. The garrison witnessing the approaches of the French, although unhurt by their batteries, offered to surrender, on condition that they should depart in safety with their arms, baggage and effects, and be allowed eight days for clearing the place. Thus was St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte restored to the king of France; and the marshals rode to a village called Ceaux†, within two leagues of Caen, where the constable and his company were quartered, carrying with them the English hostages for the performance of the treaty, and at the end of eight days, when the place was cleared, they were set a liberty.

CHAPTER XXXI.—THE SIEGE OF CAEN.—THE KING OF FRANCE, ATTENDED BY THE KING OF SICILY AND HIS SON, THE DUKE OF CALABRIA, APPEAR BEFORE IT WITH A LARGE ARMY.—THE ENGLISH, AFTER SUSTAINING MUCH DAMAGE FROM THE BATTERIES, SURRENDER THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF CAEN.

On the 5th day of June, the constable and his division dislodged from Ceaux, and fixed his quarters in the abbey of St. Stephen, in the suburbs of Caen, and near to the walls. On the same day, the count de Clermont, the count de Castres, and many other lords, knights and esquires, marched their men to the quarters of the constable: they amounted to twelve hundred spears, four thousand five hundred archers, guisarmes ‡, and armour-bearers, and two hundred franc-archers on foot. The count de Dunois posted himself in the suburbs of Vaucelles, on the side toward Paris, with a large company of nobles, men at arms and archers, to the amount of eight hundred lances, and two thousand archers, guisarmes, and armour-bearers on horseback, and two thousand franc-archers on foot, so that the city was completely blockaded on its two sides. They instantly threw a bridge of communication between the two divisions over the river Orne, by which, the fourth day after, the counts of Nevers and of Eu passed a considerable body of men-at-arms and archers, and quartered them in the suburbs of Caen, toward the sea, at the abbey of La Trinité, a convent of women. They were scarcely arrived before they attacked an outwork of the town, which was valiantly defended, and many gallant deeds were performed on each side, but it was at length won by storm by the French. They soon deserted it, because it was open on the side near the walls, and it was not re-occupied by the English, for they had destroyed its communication with the town by walling up the gate.

The king of France departed from Argentan§, to be present at this siege, attended by the king of Sicily, his son the duke of Calabria, the duke of Alençon, the counts of Maine,

with the sister and heir of Guy XII., became lord of Laval, assumed the name of Guy XIII., and died in his passage from the Holy Land in 1415. Guy XIV. married first Isabel, daughter of John VI. duke of Brittany, and secondly Frances, the widow of the lord Giles.

* Q. Estouteville. Louis, grand-butler of France.

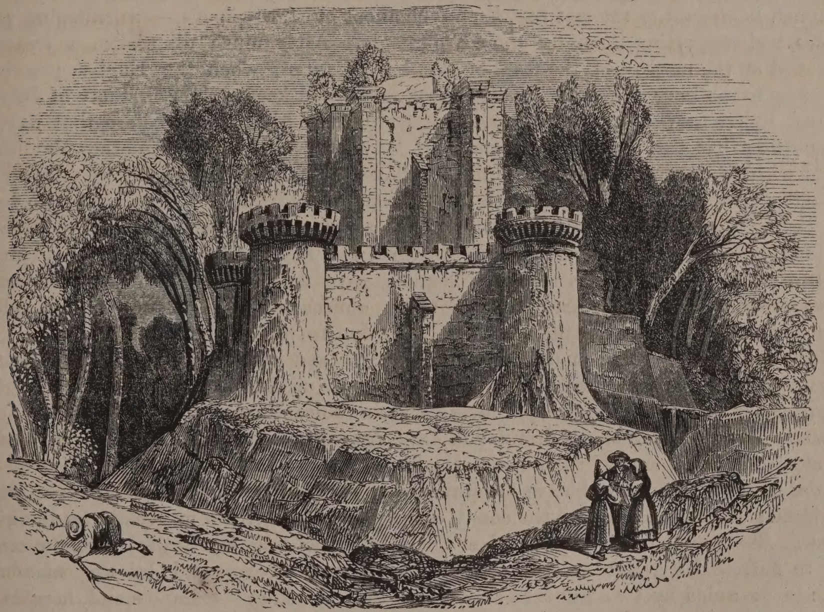
† Ceaux, a small town in Normandy, near Avranches.

‡ Guisarmes,—a kind of (offensive) long-handled and long-headed weapon; or, (as the Spanish visarma), a staff that had within it two long pikes, which, with a shoot or thrust forward, come forth.—*Cotgrave.*

§ Argentan. I should suppose it must be Alençon.

of St. Pol, of Tancarville, and a numerous body of barons, knights, esquires, men-at-arms and archers, to the number of six hundred lances, and archers in proportion. The king lay the first night at St. Pierre-sur-Dive *, on the morrow at Argentan, and on the third day he came to dinner in the suburbs of Vaucelles †; after which, he instantly crossed the river by the new bridge, and was lodged at an abbey called Dardenne, where he remained during the whole siege, except one night that he passed in the abbey of La Trinité, wherein were quartered the king of Sicily, the duke of Calabria, and other lords, to the amount of a thousand lances. The king had with him twelve thousand archers on horseback, one thousand guisarmes, and armour-bearers mounted also, and two hundred franc-archers on foot, of whom the greater part were quartered in the villages round. The siege was pushed forward with the greatest diligence on the arrival of the king, and trenches were made round the town, in which every person individually exerted himself. The count de Dunois made an attack on the outworks of Vaucelles, on the river Dive ‡, which were valorously defended; but after many gallant deeds on both sides, they were gained by the French, and numbers of the English slain, wounded, and taken, to the great dismay of their companions.

From all the quarters of the French, deep mines were made even unto the ditches of the town, more particularly from the constable's quarters, which advanced under St. Stephen's, so that all the wall above fell to the ground, and the French and English could there engage hand to hand. The English, perceiving the near approach of the enemy, were



Castle of Caen.—The Keep. From Jolimont's Description Historique et Critique, et Vues des Monuments Religieux et Civils les plus remarquables du Departement du Calvados.

fearful of being taken by storm, and demanded to capitulate. The king of France, moved by compassion and pity, after the example of our Lord, who desires not the death of sinners, but would rather that they would turn to their God, and considering what a loss the destruction of so fine a town would be, and the miseries that would ensue from pillaging

* St. Pierre-sur-Dive,—a market-town near Trouard in Normandy.

† Vaucelles,—a village in Normandy, near Bayeux.

‡ The Dive separates the bishoprics of Lisieux and Bayeux, and loses itself in the Channel.

the churches, violating women and damsels, and desirous also of sparing a further effusion of human blood, consented to their request, and agreed that the place should be surrendered on capitulation. In truth, the town might have easily been taken by storm, as there were many practicable breaches; but the English might have retired into the castle, and have held out for a considerable time, if they had had the courage so to do, although in the end they must have yielded to the numerous chivalry then before it.

To show that the castle was tenable to those who have never seen it, I must say that it is the strongest in all Normandy, fortified with high and great bulwarks of a very hard stone, situated on a rock, and containing in extent as much as the whole town of Corbeil. It has a very strong keep, consisting of a large and high square tower, surrounded by four massy ones from the foot of the ditch to the level of the ground, the whole strengthened by a high wall all round, with towers at proper distances, and a very deep ditch cut out of the solid rock. In this castle were lodged the duke of Somerset, his lady and children, and in the town were quartered sir Robert Vere, brother to the earl of Oxford, sir Henry Radford, and others, who commanded, under the duke of Somerset,* four thousand English as the garrison of Caen.

In regard to the capitulation, several conferences were held between the English and French. On the part of the king, the count de Dunois, the seneschal of Poitou, the lord John Bureau, treasurer of France, acted as commissioners —for the English, sir Richard Herisson, bailiff of Caen, Robert Parges, and some others;; for the inhabitants, Eustace Gaingnet, lieutenant,to the said bailiff, and the abbot of St. Stephen's,—each alleging various articles, and supporting them by their arguments. After much discussion, a treaty was concluded on the morrow of the feast of St. John Baptist, when the English promised to deliver up to the king of France the said town, castle and keep, on the first day of July next ensuing, unless they should combat and conquer the said king on or before that day, and on condition that the duke of Somerset, his lady and children, and the other English who should wish to depart with them, should be allowed so to do, and to carry away with them all their effects and furniture without molestation or hinderance. They were also to take with them their horses and armour; and for the transport of these articles, they were to be provided with vessels to convey them to England, and to no other part, on their paying the expenses: provided, however, that the English gave up all their prisoners, and acquitted themselves of debt to the inhabitants of Caen, churchmen and others, without carrying away any thing belonging to them. They were also to leave behind their large and small artillery, with the exception of bows, cross-bows, and hand culverines. For the due observance of this treaty, the English delivered twelve of their countrymen, two knights of Normandy and four of the principal inhabitants, as hostages.

As no succours arrived on the first day of July, the town, castle, and keep were surrendered. The aforesaid bailiff carried the keys of the keep to the French camp, and delivered them into the hands of the constable, in the presence of the count de Dunois, lieutenant-general, who immediately gave them to the count, as governor of the town and castle for the king of France. The new governor remained in the field, to see that the English took the straight road to Estreham†; but soon after their departure, accompanied by the marshal de Jalognes, preceded by two hundred archers on foot, the king's trumpets and heralds, and having in his rear three equerries of the stables, bearing the royal banners, and the whole closed by one hundred men at arms on foot, he entered the town by the keep of the castle, and had the banners displayed from the keep and gates.

* Edmund Beaufort, younger brother of John duke of Somerset, (who died in 1444, leaving no male issue), was in 1431 made earl of Mortaigne, (under which title he is named in some preceding parts of this history), earl of Dorset in 1442, marquis of Dorset the year following, and duke of Somerset in 1448. He was the great support of the Lancastrian party, and was beheaded after the fatal battle of Hexham, in 1463.

† Estreham,—at the mouth of the Orne, four leagues from Caen.

CHAPTER XXXII. — THE KING OF FRANCE MAKES HIS ENTRY INTO CAEN, AND IS NOBLY RECEIVED THERE. — THE ENGLISH SURRENDER FALAISE *.— POTON DE SAINTRAILLES IS APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF IT. — DOMFRONT † IS REDUCED TO THE KING'S OBEDIENCE.

On the 6th day of July, the king of France left the abbey of Dardenne to make his entry into Caen, attended by all his nobles who had been at the siege, magnificently dressed, excepting his lieutenant-general and the marshal de Jalognes, who were already in the town. He was preceded by his two hundred archers, heralds, and trumpets; and when he was near the gates the count de Dunois came out to meet him, followed by crowds of the townsmen: after making their obeisances, they most humbly presented the keys of the place to the king, who graciously received them. Then came the clergy in procession, as is usual in such cases. After which the king entered the gates, four of the principal inhabitants holding a canopy over his head; and thus the king rode through streets hung with tapestry, and in some places covered over, canopy-like, amidst the shouts of the people, unto the great church of St. Peter, where he dismounted at the porch, to offer up his thanksgivings. He thence went to his lodgings, at the house of one of the burghers of the town, and remained there some days to settle with his lieutenant-general and ministers the future government and police of the place. The lord de Croy, sir John de Croy his brother, and the lord d'Arsy, came to the king while at Caen, on an embassy from the duke of Burgundy, to treat of a marriage with one of the king's daughters and the lord Charles, son to the duke, and on other weighty matters with which they were charged.

On this same 6th of July the town of Falaise was besieged by Poton de Saintrailles, bailiff of Berry. He was joined on the Monday by Master John Bureau, treasurer of France, with the franc-archers to serve the artillery, of which he was grand-master. When the English heard of his approach, they sallied out and sharply attacked him; but he defended himself and his artillery well, until the lord de Saintrailles came to his assistance. and the English were repulsed to the gates. The king left Caen to attend this siege, and halted at an abbey called St. Andrew's, within a league of Falaise. The king of Sicily, the duke of Calabria, the counts of Maine‡, of St. Pol, of Tancarville, the viscount of Loumaigne, and others, were with him. The town was now surrounded on all sides; but as the king had a greater body of chivalry than necessary for the gaining such a place, the counts of Richemont and of Clermont were ordered to besiege Cherbourg.

The garrison in Falaise consisted of fifteen hundred English, the very best of that nation that now remained in Normandy, under the command of two English gentlemen, named Andrew Troslet and Thomas Cathon§, lieutenants to the governor the lord Talbot. When they saw the multitude of men-at-arms, archers, and cross-bowmen, that were drawn up before them, they demanded a parley with the count de Dunois, who, by the king's orders, sent them passports, that they might explain what they required. They met on the 10th, and asked to capitulate, which the king granted; when they appointed the 22nd day of July to surrender the place, unless they should, before that day, receive reinforcements to enable them to offer battle; and on condition that the lord Talbot, who was their governor for the king of England, and who at that moment was the king of France's prisoner in the castle of Dreux, should be set at liberty, on making certain promises to the king of France. A truce was now proclaimed, to last from the 10th to the 22nd, and twelve hostages were delivered for its observance. The English were to march away with arms and baggage, in safety, for England, in case they should not be relieved on the day appointed. As no succours came to them they departed, according to the tenour of the capitulation, and delivered up the town and castle to the king, who made governor thereof Poton de Saintrailles, his master of the horse, and bailiff of Berry.

* Falaise,—nine leagues from Caen.

† Domfront,—twelve leagues from Mayenne, eight from Alençon.

‡ Charles of Anjou, count of Maine and Provence.

§ Andrew Troslet. Q. Truslow. Thomas Cathon. Q. Cawthorn. According to Stowe, Andrew Trollope and Thomas Cotton, esquires, were captains of Falaise for the earl of Shrewsbury

On the 24th of July, after the reduction of Falaise, the lord Charles de Culant, grand-master of the household, the lord de Blainville, the lord John Bureau, treasurer of France, who always had the command of the artillery, with fifteen hundred franc-archers, marched to lay siege to the town and castle of Domfront. The English garrison amounted to seven or eight hundred; but when they heard of the great body of chivalry and archers that were then in Normandy, they surrendered the place on the second day of August, on condition that they might depart in safety, with arms and baggage, for England, as, I have already recounted, many of their countrymen had before done from different towns and castles.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—THE DECEASE OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, AND OF THE LORD GILES HIS BROTHER, WHOM HE HAD CRUELLY PUT TO DEATH BEFORE HIS DECEASE.—CHERBOURG IS BESIEGED BY SEA AND LAND, AND IS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH.

About the end of July, Francis duke of Brittany, nephew and vassal to the king of France, died of a natural death*. He was a great loss to the kingdom; for he was an active prince, prudent and valiant, and had greatly exerted himself, personally and with money, in the service of the king in the conquest of Normandy, as has been related. This prince was naturally attached to the king of France, as was apparent by his making war on those whom he knew to be enemies to his crown. He carried his affection so far, that he quarrelled with one of his own brothers, the lord Giles, because, in prejudice to the king of France, and without asking his permission, he had accepted the order of the Garter, and also the appointment of constable from the king of England. When the duke first heard of this, he had his brother arrested and confined in one of his castles, where he was a long time closely guarded. He had been often admonished by the duke and his other relations and friends, wellwishers to France, to abandon the quarrel of the English, whom he supported against all reason, justice, and right. When gentle means had been thus used in vain, other measures were resorted to; but he would not, on any account, agree to their proposals. The duke, therefore, conceived a mortal hatred against him, and ordered him to be put to death. The duke was frequently summoned, by heralds from the king of England, to deliver up his constable, whom he detained prisoner under the guard of Arthur of Montaubant†: on his refusal the English monarch sent him his challenge, which made sir Giles's case worse than before; and the duke's hatred so much increased, that it was commonly said he was strangled by two twisted towels. Thus ended the days of sir Giles, miserably and pitifully, which will be a great example to all others ‡. Of this sad transaction, however,

* Francis I. duke of Brittany, left two daughters by his second wife Isabel, daughter of James I. of Scotland. The eldest of these was Margaret, married to Francis II. her cousin; the youngest, Mary, married to the viscount de Rohan. Francis I. was succeeded by his next brother, Peter II.

† Arthur of Montauban, bailiff of the Cotentin, &c., the second son of William lord of Montauban, chancellor to queen Isabel of Bavaria. So far from being put to death, (which must be a mistake of the chronicle from which the following account has been taken), this Montauban having professed at the convent of the Celestins, at Marcoussis, advanced himself in the church, became archbishop of Bordeaux, and died in 1468. (See Moreri, art. Montauban.)

‡ This is, perhaps, a more probable statement, as well as more favourable to the memory of the duke, than that given by some other chroniclers, and hinted at in the ensuing paragraph. The lord Giles of Brittany, the youngest of the children of John VI., was brought up in the court of England; and he was accused, perhaps justly, of having imbibed prejudices contrary to the French interest from his earliest years. On his return to Brittany in 1442, his wife, (the beautiful heiress of Chateaubriant and Beaumanoir), is said to have excited the desire of Arthur de Montauban, the wicked favourite at court; who, finding all attempts to subdue her chastity ineffectual, contrived by intrigues, insinuations, and at last by open charges, to render the lord Giles suspected by his brother. On the other hand, he stimulated that unfortunate prince to demand an extension of revenue and of power, which he took care the duke should deny him. The two brothers being by these arts alienated from each other, an open rupture ensued, which the constable de Richemont, their uncle, in vain endeavoured to heal. The lord Giles, apprehensive for his personal safety, fled to the castle of Guildo, and most imprudently trusted its defence to a company of English men-at-arms. This circumstance was soon conveyed with all possible aggravation to the king of France, who thereupon gave orders to the admiral de Coetivy to arrest him. The admiral for some time neglected this order, but at last was obliged to perform it; and the lord Giles was brought before the parliament, or assembly of the states at Rennes, where his case was fairly investigated, and himself about to be honourably acquitted, when a letter to the king of England (said to be artfully forged by Montauban himself) was found on his person, and he was immediately committed to the castle of Moncontour. While a prisoner in this place, his persecutors resorted to every wicked contrivance to remove him without suspicion

there are different accounts in Brittany. Some say, that from a quarrel between de Montauban and his accomplices, it has been discovered that they got him put to death by giving false information to the duke, expecting to gain by his decease; for sir Giles was very willing to renounce his connexions with the English, and to act as his brother pleased; but that they sent the duke information quite the reverse, as has been confessed by some of his murderers, and declared to be the truth, for which they have been tried and suffered death: some, indeed, escaped, and, for very good reasons, dare not again show themselves in that country.

The siege of Cherbourg having been commenced by the count de Richemont and the other lords before mentioned, was carried on with great vigour; and the garrison was hard pressed by their mines and batteries, when a knight and esquire of Brittany were there killed. The knight was sir Pregent de Coitivy, lord of Rais*, slain by a cannon-ball, to the great loss of the king, for he was one of the most valorous knights of the realm, renowned for prudence and abilities. The esquire was Tuddual le Bourgeois, bailiff of Troyes, killed by a shot from a culverine, a man of good reputation, and well acquainted with the art of war. The walls of the town were battered in such wise, from sea and land, as was never before seen; for there were batteries of bombards erected on the shore that threw immense stones, although they were overflowed by the sea at high water; but as they were covered with greased skins, in which they were wrapped, the water did no damage to the powder they were charged with, and, as soon as the tide turned, the cannoneers took away their coverings and fired into the town, to the great astonishment of the English, who had never seen such an invention. Four bombards and one cannon were burst when firing against the walls; and many gallant deeds were done on sea and land, but more to the loss than profit of the English. This caused the governor, Thomas Gouvel †, esquire, who had under him one thousand combatants, to demand a capitulation from the constable, which he obtained. The terms were, that Gouvel should surrender the town and castle to the king of France, on condition that his son should be set at liberty, who was an hostage, on his part, for the payment of the sums of money due to the king of France and to the inhabitants of Rouen. On his son being restored, he delivered up the place to the king's commissioners on the 12th of August, and marched away with his son and soldiers, with their arms and baggage, in safety to England. The king appointed the lord de Bueil governor of Cherbourg, with four-score lances and archers for its defence.

Thus was conquered the whole duchy of Normandy, and its towns and castles were reduced to the obedience of the king of France in the space of one year and six days, which was a marvellous event; for never was so large an extent of country conquered in so little time, and with less shedding of blood, or damage done to the inhabitants. This was very honourable to the king of France, and to the nobles and others who had accompanied him on this expedition; and they ought to render thanks to God, to whom alone the praise and glory are due. The time of this expedition was also very favourable, and part of the success might be owing to it, for it was the year of a general pardon of sins at Rome, called the Jubilee Year.

The duchy of Normandy ‡ is in length six days' journey, and four wide, containing six

of violence. But his constitution resisted the effects of repeated poisons, and a charitable old woman found means long to preserve him from those of starvation. At length, however, his health gave way to the continual assault of his enemies, and he charged a priest (who attended privately to receive his confessions) to repair to the duke his brother, and summon him within forty days to appear before the tribunal of God and answer for all his injustice towards him. Still his gaolers thought the end of their charge too slow in its approaches. They therefore strangled their unhappy victim, already dying, and gave out to the world that he had died of a cold. He was at that time not thirty years of age. The confessor executed his commission as he met the duke returning from the siege of Avranches; and Francis, struck to the heart by terror and repentance, actually died on the fortieth day from the date of the summons. Montauban and Olivier de Méele, his principal agent in the murder, fled upon the duke's death, to a convent of Celestins; but they were both dragged from their sanctuary by the orders of duke Peter, and of the constable, and hanged at Vannes. Frances, the widow of the murdered prince, and the innocent cause of his death, brought him no children, and was afterwards married again to Guy XIV. lord of Laval. Such is the account of some chronicles, as abridged by Moreri in his Dictionary, art. Bretagne.

* Rais. Q. Retz? Pregent de Coetivy, admiral of France, was lord of Retz in right of his wife, Mary, the daughter of the marshal de Retz.

† Thomas Gouvel. Q. Thomas Gonville, Esq., captain of Cherbourg.—Stowe.

‡ Normandy,—is bounded on the east by Picardy and

bishoprics and one archbishopric, and one hundred towns and castles, not including those which have been destroyed by the fortune of war.

The king ordered six hundred lances, with a proper proportion of archers, to remain in the duchy for its defence, and sent the remainder into Guienne. He then set out for Tours, where he arrived in the month of September, and there resolved in council that a general thanksgiving, with processions, should take place in all the churches throughout the realm on the 14th day of the ensuing October, and every year afterwards on the 12th day of August, for the happy success of his arms, and the expulsion of his ancient enemies the English from his duchy of Normandy.

CHAPTER XXXIV.—THE AUTHOR PARTICULARISES THE VALOUR OF SEVERAL OF THE NOBLES IN THE CONQUEST OF NORMANDY.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS THE COUNT DE PENTHIEVRE, AS HIS LIEUTENANT, INTO GUIENNE.

Were I to attempt particularising every valiant man and his gallant deeds, on the reconquering of the duchy of Normandy, it would tire my reader's patience; but still I must mention some of the most renowned, for the benefit of those who, in future times, may peruse this account of the reduction of that duchy.

In the first place, the king of France had placed his army on a most excellent establishment; and, as it was a novelty, it is worth describing. He had supplied all the men-at-arms and archers with good and secure habiliments, namely, the men-at-arms with cuirasses, greaves, salades*, and swords mounted with silver, as well as the lances which their pages bore; each man-at-arms had three horses, for himself, his page, and his varlet, which last was armed with a light helmet, a brigandine†, jacket or haubergeon‡, battle-axe or guisarme. Every man-at-arms had attached to him two archers on horseback, dressed in brigandines, greaves, and salades, the greater part of which were ornamented with silver; or wanting these, they had strong leathern jackets and haubergeons. The soldiers, when on service, were always paid monthly, and under such strict discipline that none dared to seize anything unpaid for, nor to make prisoners, or ransom man or beast, unless they belonged to the English or to their friends. It was lawful to make plunder of whatever was their property, but not otherwise.

The chief captains on this expedition were the count de Dunois, lieutenant-general for the king, the counts de Nevers, de Castres, d'Eu, de St. Pol, the lord de Culant, grand-master of the household, the lords d'Orval, de Touteville, de Blainville, de Beauveau, de Bueil, de Beaunoir, de Moy in the Beauvoisis, the marshal de Jalognes, the seneschal de Poitou, John of Lorraine, Poton de Saintrailles, the bailiff of Evreux, Robert Conigan§, and very many other great lords, knights, and esquires, who most valiantly conducted themselves, regardless of all the pains and discomforts they were bodily put to on several occasions.

In like manner the king had made ample provision of all sorts of artillery for his defence, and for the attack of towns and castles. He had the greatest number and variety of battering cannon and bombards, veuglaires, serpentines, crapaudines, culverines, and ribaudequins||, that had ever been collected in the memory of man; and never king had such a train so well supplied with ammunition and every implement for battering towns, nor so numerous a body of men and horses to draw them. These received their pay daily, and were under the command of master John Bureau, treasurer of France, and of his brother Jasper Bureau,

the Isle of France; on the south, by Maine and Perche; on the west, by the ocean; on the north, by the Channel, which separates it from England. It contains seven dioceses, or bishoprics,—Rouen, Bayeux, Avranches, Evreux, Sées, Lisieux, and Coutances,—in which are computed 4189 parishes, and 80 abbeys, &c.—*Gazetteer*.

* Salades,—light helmets or head-pieces.

† Brigandine,—armour consisting of many-jointed and scale-like plates, very pliant and easy for the body.

‡ Haubergeon,—a little coat of mail, or only sleeves and gorget of mail.

§ Conigan. Q. Cuningham? commander of the Scots auxiliaries.

|| Ribaudequins,—huge cross-bows, fourteen feet in length. Veuglaires, serpentines and crapaudines—different sorts of fire-arms, greater or less.

both of whom suffered many difficulties during the sieges of the different towns and castles, for they were very active and attentive to their duty. It was wonderful to see their diligence in planning and forming the trenches and mines that were opened at almost every siege during this expedition; for, to say the truth, there was scarcely any place that surrendered on capitulation, but what might have been won by storm, had not the king, out of his benign nature, insisted on the contrary, to prevent the effusion of blood and the total ruin of such places and their inhabitants.

The late duke of Brittany was the leader of the conquest of lower Normandy, having with him his uncle the count de Richemont, constable of France, the late Pregent de Coictivy, lord of Retz and admiral of France, who laboured hard at the business, the count de Laval, the lord de Lohéac, marshal of France, his brother de Montauban, marshal of Brittany, Geoffry de Couvran, James de Tilly, bailiff of the Vermandois. Tuddual le Bourgeois was of this party during his life.

To find supplies for the support of the king's armies, and for the better government of this duchy of Normandy, the lord de Trainel, chancellor of France, the lord de Gaucour, sir Thibaut de Vaulpergue, bailiff of Lyon, sir James Cœur, counsellor, and master of the king's wardrobe, exerted themselves greatly; the last, in particular, employed every means in his power to prevent the soldiers, who were daily increasing, from being disappointed of their regular monthly payment. Sir John du Bar, lord of Baugey, and sir John Harduyn, treasurer of France, gained great credit, and all others who laboured at this time in the service of the king.

When king Charles of France, the seventh of the name, had thus, by the divine grace, and his puissant chivalry, made the conquest of the duchy of Normandy, which had been occupied about thirty years by his ancient enemies the English, and had replaced all the strong castles and principal towns with sufficient garrisons, and regulated the government of each,—confiding always in the grace and mercy of the King of kings, who wills that every one should have his own, as is declared in that chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, where our Lord says to the pharisee, "Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and unto God the things that be God's;" he consequently resolved to march an army into Guienne against Bordeaux, which had been occupied by the English time immemorial, contrary to all reason and justice, and in direct contradiction to the said gospel. The nobles and people of this country have ever been rebellious against the French kings, at least for two hundred years, which is a long lapse of time, although it forms part of the realm of France.

The king, desirous to act with prudence and circumspection, summoned a council of his principal barons and knights on the 5th day of September, in the year 1450, in the city of Tours, where the matter was fully discussed in their presence, and also in the presence of the princes of his blood and the chief prelates of the realm. It was then determined to send a force into Guienne, after proper provision had been made for the defence of Normandy, which was entrusted to the constable, having under him some Norman knights and esquires, together with six hundred spears and a body of archers, paid monthly,—and a great number of franc-archers were likewise ordered thither by the king. The government of the city of Rouen and the country of Caux was given to sir Pierre de Brézé, grand seneschal of Normandy. The king then arranged the army that was to invade Guienne and besiege Bergerac*, situated in the county of Perigord, on the river Dordogne. He appointed the count de Penthievre and de Perigord, viscount de Limoges, his lieutenant-general in those parts, who accepted the command of this siege, and departed thither, accompanied by sir Charles de Culant lord de Jalognes, marshal of France, Poton de Saintrailles, bailiff of Berry and master of the horse to the king, with many other knights, esquires, and others, to the amount of five hundred lances, and archers in proportion.

They commenced the siege with great vigour, insomuch that on the arrival of master John Bureau with his train of artillery, the garrison, alarmed at their numbers and activity, surrendered Bergerac to the king of France. The English marched away with their horses, arms, and baggage, and the inhabitants that chose to remain were, on taking the oaths of allegiance, to remain unmolested in their different occupations as before. The count de

* Bergerac,—seven leagues from Perigueux.

Penthievre then marched his army into the winter quarters that had been allotted him, and sir Philip de Culant remained governor of Bergerac, with a garrison of one hundred lances and a body of archers. On their march they came before a castle called Jansac*, situated on the Dordogne, with the intent of besieging it; but they won it by storm, with the loss of seven or eight of their men killed and wounded: about thirty-five of the English were slain, and the rest made prisoners: the castle remained under the obedience of the king of France. The army advanced thence without delay to the town of St. Foy, on the same river, which surrendered without hesitation. Pursuing their good fortune, they came before the town of Chalais†, and besieged it for some time; but the English garrison, amounting to fifty lances, alarmed at seeing so large an army before it, delivered up the place, on condition that they should march away in safety, with arms and baggage. On their departure, Pierre de Louvain was made governor of it.

On the 26th day of October in this year, master John de Xancoins, receiver-general of the royal finances, was arrested, and confined prisoner in the castle of Tours, for having, as it was currently reported, wickedly employed for his own use the king's finances; so that his majesty was greatly distressed to pay the troops in Guienne; and had he not found extraordinary means of raising money for this purpose, his plans against that country would have failed. During his imprisonment, he was examined by some of the great council and others skilled in matters of finance, and convicted, on his own confession, of high treason. He owned having taken very large sums of money from the king's treasury, and that he had made many erasures in his accounts which convicted him guilty of forgery,—a capital offence! and he would have suffered the penalty, had not the king's mercy converted the matter into a civil suit,—following in this the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who declared that "he wished not for the death of a sinner, but would rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live." The capital part of the offence being thus done away, he was sentenced by the mouth of the chancellor, to be imprisoned for a certain time, and his property confiscated to the king; from which the king gave to the count de Dunois a handsome house that he had built at Tours. Xancoins was also condemned to pay to the king the sum of sixty thousand gold crowns, which seemed but a trifling fine for the immense sums he owned to have pillaged from the treasury for his own pleasures.

James Carrier, his clerk, was confined at the same time with him, but in a separate prison, for having been an accomplice in the crimes of his master, and for having erased numerous articles in the account of receipts, through the instigation of the enemy of mankind, and converted many sums from the king's profit to his own; for all of which, he would have suffered the sentence due to such capital crimes, had not the king's mercy been extended also to him.

CHAPTER XXXV.—THE LORD D'ORVAL DEFEATS THE MEN OF BORDEAUX.—DUKE PETER OF BRITTANY DOES HOMAGE TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ATTEMPTS TO LAY A TAX ON SALT THROUGHOUT FLANDERS.

On the last day of October in this year, the lord d'Orval, third son to the lord d'Albreth, set out from Bazas‡ with his companions, and from four to five hundred combatants, to invade the peninsula of Medoc§; and they halted for the night to refresh themselves in a forest within two leagues of Bordeaux. On the morrow, All-saints-day, they were early mounted, thinking to enter the peninsula, when they received information from Bordeaux, that from eight to nine thousand persons on horseback and on foot, as well soldiers as others, were on their march to combat them. The lord d'Orval did not for this abandon his enterprise, but drew up his men in order of battle, although so greatly inferior in numbers to the English, who were under the command of the mayor of Bordeaux. His light troops showed a good countenance, advancing in battle-array, and made prisoner a gentleman from

* Jansac. Gensac. Several villages in Gascony of that name.

† Chalais,—a town in Perigord, near La Grolle.

‡ Bazas,—a city of Gascony, on a rock, two leagues from the Garonne, capital of the Bazadois, twelve leagues from Bordeaux.

§ Medoc,—a country of Guienne, near the sea, in the Bordelois: it is not fertile. Esparre is the capital.

Bordeaux, near to a coppice. The battle now commenced, and was so well fought by the French, that eighteen hundred English and Bordelois were slain on the spot or in the pursuit. · The first runaway was the mayor, who, being on horseback, abandoned his van who were on foot, and whom he had advanced as a frontier to his main division. The French made twelve hundred prisoners, which was very honourable and profitable to them, considering how few they were in comparison with their enemies. At the conclusion of this business, the lord d'Orval marched his men back, with their prisoners to Bazas, much rejoiced at their good success.

On the morrow of the feast of All-saints, duke Peter of Brittany waited on the king of France, as his sovereign lord, to do him homage for his duchy of Brittany, and took the accustomed oaths before the count de Dunois and de Longueville; when the king's great chamberlain took his baudrick, sword and buckler, for his fee. After he had taken the oaths, the chancellor of France said, that he was liege-man to the king of France on account of this duchy; but the duke's chancellor replied, that, saving his respect to the king, he was not liege-man to his majesty on account of this duchy, which caused a long altercation. At length, the king accepted his homage according to the usages and manner that his predecessors, the dukes of Brittany, had done. Shortly after, he did another homage for his county of Montfort, for which he acknowledged himself the king's liegeman and vassal. He was grandly entertained by the king and his chivalry, at the small town and castle of Montbazon*, where the court then resided, and also by the ladies and damsels, to whom he acquitted himself handsomely. Many sports and pastimes of wrestling and other amusements took place during the fortnight the duke staid with the king, who was in high spirits and health. He had with him the count de Richemont his constable, and many barons, knights and esquires, to the number of from four to five hundred horses.

In the same year, according to the chronicles of Arras, Philip, then aged about fifty-four years, duke of Burgundy, Lotriche†, Brabant, Limbourg and Luxembourg, count of Flanders, Artois, Burgundy, Hainault, Holland, Zealand and Namur, marquis of the Holy Roman Empire, lord of Frizeland, Salins and Mechlin, required from the states of Flanders (whom he had assembled for this purpose,) that they would allow him to lay a tax of twenty-four groats, Flemish money, on each sack of salt that should be used in that country; promising in return, that during his life, he would not lay any additional impositions by taxes on land or otherwise. The deputies from Ghent having heard this proposal, demanded time to consider of it. These deputies took the lead; and having fully weighed he matter, and considering that the principal food of the commonalty was salted meats and fish, absolutely refused their consent; adding, that they would never, while alive, suffer such a tax to be laid upon their country. The deputies from Bruges, Ypres, and the Franc, in conformity to what the Ghent men had said, declared that they would act in unison with Ghent, and refused their assent.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—THE KING APPOINTS THE COUNT DE DUNOIS HIS LIEUTENANT-GENERAL IN GUIENNE, WHO BESIEGES MONT-GUYON.—IT SURRENDERS TO HIM.—HE LAYS SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF BLAYE, WHICH IS TAKEN BY STORM.—THE CASTLE CAPITULATES.

[A. D. 1451.]

In the month of May, of the year 1451, according to the Chronicles of St. Denis, during the king's residence at Tours, he appointed the count de Dunois and de Longueville, who had come thither for that purpose, his lieutenant-general in Guienne, to reduce that duchy to his obedience. Early in May, the king had issued his summons to several kinghts and esquires, that they might prepare themselves for accompanying the count on this expedition. The lieutenant-general left Tours with a noble company, and marched to lay siege to a castle called Mont-Guyon, where he was joined by the count d'Angoulême, legitimate brother to the duke of Orleans, master John Bureau, treasurer of France, Pierre de Louvain, and others, to the amount of four hundred spears, with archers and guisarmes, and four

* Montbazon,—in Touraine five leagues from Tours. † Lotriche, Q. Does this mean Austria? " de l'Autriche.

thousand franc-archers, who instantly commenced the siege, without waiting for the other great barons who were to come thither. This siege lasted eight days; but the governor for the English, Regnault de St. Jean, esquire, and attached to the captal de Buch*, and a few men-at-arms, seeing the inutility of defence against such an army, entered into a capitulation, by which the place was yielded up to the king of France.

On the 16th day of May, after the reduction of Mont-Guyon, the lieutenant-general laid siege to one of the gates of Blaye†. He was there joined by sir Pierre de Beauveau lord of La Bessiere‡, lieutenant to the count du Maine and captain of his men-at-arms, and by sir Geoffry de St. Belin, having in their company about eight-score spears, guisarmes and archers. Thither came also sir James de Chabannes, grand-master of the household, and Joachim Rohault, who posted themselves opposite the castle, and took their quarters at the hospital: they had with them two hundred lances and archers, and two thousand franc-archers. At the same time, a large fleet arrived under the command of sir John le Boucher, general of France, in which were numbers of men-at-arms and archers, with great stores of provision for the supply of the besieging army. This fleet, as it came near to Blaye, found anchored in the port five large vessels well armed, which had arrived from Bordeaux with stores for the relief of those in the town of Blaye. An engagement took place, when the French fought valiantly, and killed so many of the enemy that they were forced to weigh anchor and fly to Bordeaux, whither they were chased into the harbour. The French fleet then returned to Blaye, where they anchored before the port, to prevent any supplies from being thrown into the town.

Thus was Blaye besieged on all sides, by land and water; and as this was completed, the count de Penthievre arrived, with one hundred lances and three hundred cross-bows, and was quartered near to the count de Dunois. Many gallant deeds were done, and deep trenches and mines made; and the walls were so much battered, by heavy cannon and bombards, that there were breaches in several places. The most valiant warriors on the part of the king of England, in Guyenne, were then in the town; but a little before sunset, on the 28th day of May, at the hour of sounding to mount the guard, some franc-archers of the company of John de Meauze, called the lord of Maugouverne, captain of the franc-archers of Touraine, mounted the walls of the town, and a storm regularly followed, when the place was won, and the English lost, in killed and prisoners, full two hundred men. The mayor of Bordeaux, together with the lord de l'Esparre, the lord de Montferrant, and others—in all, about two hundred—hastily retreated into the castle; but, consulting together, they thought further resistance would be vain against such numbers, without hope of being succoured, and surrendered the castle on capitulation.

Instantly on the reduction of the castle of Blaye, the count de Dunois marched his forces to besiege the town and castle of Le Bourg§. The siege did not, however, continue more than five or six days; for the garrison, observing the preparations for such large batteries of cannon and bombards, and the great strength of the besiegers, offered to surrender on being allowed to march away in safety with arms and baggage. There were from four to five hundred combatants in the place, under the command of sir Beraud de Montferrant, who departed with them for Bordeaux; and sir James de Chabannes, grand-master of the household, remained governor of it for the king of France.

In this same month of May, the count d'Albreth||, with his two sons the lords of Tartas and of Orval, three hundred lances and two thousand cross-bows, laid siege to Dax¶, on the side toward Bordeaux, and at the end of the bridge over the Adour. About ten or twelve hours after the siege had commenced, the count de Foix came thither, attended by

* Gaston, count of Longueville and Benanges, second son of Archambaud count of Foix, enjoyed this title and transmitted it to his son John, who married a niece of the great William de la Pole duke of Suffolk, and was created by king Henry VI. earl of Kendal.

† Blaye,—on the Garonne, thirteen leagues and a half from Bordeaux.

‡ Descended from a younger son of Matthew, lord of Beauveau, who died about 1400. He was killed soon afterwards at the siege of Castillon.

§ Le Bourg,—a village near Bordeaux.

|| Charles II. count of Dreux, &c., of the house of Albret, son of the constable; John viscount of Tartas, his eldest son, (who died before his father, leaving Alan, lord Albret, his only son and heir,) and Arnaud Amanjeu, lord of Orval, his third son, afterwards lieutenant-general for the king in Roussillon. The second son of the count was Louis cardinal bishop of Cahors.

¶ Dax,—an ancient city of Gascony, on the Adour.

the viscount de Lautrec his legitimate brother, sir Bernard de Béarn his natural brother, the barons of Nouailles, of Lausun, of Rez, of Couraze, sir Martin Gratian captain of the Spaniards, Robin Petit-Lot captain of the Scots, and many other knights and esquires; in the whole amounting to five hundred lances and archers, and two thousand cross-bows. They besieged the town on the side of Navarre and Béarn, and several gallant actions were performed on both sides. The besieged kept up a stout resistance, until they heard that those in Bordeaux had intentions of treating with the lieutenant-general or his commissioners; and a promise was made them, at the request of the count de Foix, that they should be comprehended in whatever treaty the Bordelois should conclude. Dax was thus delivered up to the king of France,—and the counts de Foix and d'Albreth, with four barons of Béarn, were appointed for the defence of the town and castle.

In the same month, siege was laid to Castillon*, in Perigord, by the count de Penthievre, the lord de Jalognes marshal of France, and master John Bureau treasurer of France. At this time, St. Emilion† surrendered; for the garrison saw resistance would be vain; and it was placed under the guard of the count de Penthievre.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—THE GREATER PART OF THE TOWNS AND CASTLES IN THE DUCHY OF GUIENNE ENTER INTO TREATIES FOR THEIR SURRENDER, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF BAYONNE.—BORDEAUX SURRENDERS.

On the 2d of June, the count de Dunois sent a detachment to lay siege to a town called Fronsac‡, while he remained in Le Bourg to settle the future government of the country for the king's advantage. Having done this, he went in person against Fronsac, and sent a herald to summon Libourne § to surrender to the king. The inhabitants sent a deputation back with the herald to conclude a treaty with the count, which being done, the care of the place was given to the count of Angoulême.

To return to the castle of Fronsac, which was the strongest in all Guienne, and has been always guarded by a garrison of native Englishmen, because it has a chambre royalle ||, and is the key to Guienne and the Bordelois. The English, therefore, necessarily made the greatest possible exertions in its defence, during a severe and well-conducted siege of a fortnight. The English, then, seeing the prodigious force brought against them, which was not a fourth part of the chivalry the king had in those parts, with the numerous train of battering cannon, and other artillery, and that the franc-archers were then besieging four places at once, without a possibility of any one succouring the other, from the inundations of the Gironde and Dordogne, caused by the melting of the snows among the mountains, and also that the French army in Guienne was much superior to any the king of England could then bring against it: having considered all these things, the garrison in Fronsac demanded a parley with the count de Dunois, and concluded a treaty on the terms that if they were not reinforced, so as to be able to offer battle to the French on or before the eve of St. John Baptist's day, they would surrender the place. In like manner were the barons of the country, and even the town, bounden to surrender; for the French depended on being powerful enough to reduce all the places in the duchy of Guienne, held by king Henry, to the obedience of the king of France; and, for greater security, hostages were demanded and given.

The counts de Penthievre, de Nevers, de Castres, de Clermont, de Vendôme, grandly accompanied with many knights and esquires, came toward Fronsac about St. John's day, to be present at the battle; and the whole made a most magnificent appearance. There were made knights the count de Vendôme, the viscount de Turenne ¶, the lord de la

* Castillon—near Perigueux.

† St. Emilion—near the Dordogne, six leagues from Bordeaux.

‡ Fronsac—on the Dordogne, six leagues from Bordeaux.

§ Libourne—a city of Guienne on the Dordogne, ten leagues from Bordeaux.

|| Chambre royalle—Cotgrave says, is a court for the examination and inquiry into the conduct of financiers and exchequer-men.

¶ Agne III. de la Tour, lord of Oliergues, of a younger branch of the family of La Tour counts of Auvergne, &c., became viscount of Turenne and count of Beaufort, in 1444, by marriage with Anne, daughter of Peter count of Beaufort, who possessed those dignities by the donation of his cousin Eleanor, heiress of the famous marshal Boucicaut.

Rochefoucault*, the son to the lord de Commercy, sir John de Rochedrouard†, the lord de Grimaux‡, sir Pierre des Barres, sir Pierre de Montingrin§, sir Ferry de Gransy, sir John de Bordeilles, the lord de Fontenelles, the bastard de Vendôme, sir John de la Haye, sir Tristan l'Hermite, sir John de l'Estrange, sir Pierre de Louvain, and others, to the amount of forty knights.

On the morrow, which was the eve of St. John's day, the English, receiving no succour, delivered Fronsac into the hands of the count de Dunois, who appointed Joachim Rohault to the government of it. The lieutenant-general then sent a herald with letters to the count d'Armagnac, who was besieging Rions||, and a duplicate of the treaty of Bordeaux; in consequence of which Rions surrendered, and was given to the guard of the lord d'Albreth. The herald then continued his road to the count de Foix, with another copy of this treaty, and letters; and the city of Dax submitted to the obedience of the king of France. When the commissioners from the count de Dunois had settled everything for the surrender of Bordeaux, they returned to him, the chancellor, and other members of the king's council, with the articles of the capitulation mutually signed and sealed by each party. These lords and their companions were much rejoiced at this event; and the surrender was delayed for eight days after the time fixed, for troops to arrive from England. Nevertheless those in Bordeaux, contrary to their engagements, in the full hope of succours arriving, demanded that a day should be appointed for the combat, which was granted by the count; and the 22d of June was fixed on for the battle, should succours arrive, otherwise they were to deliver up the town on that day. The French, in expectation of a combat, or a surrender of the town, were drawn up in battle-array before it until sunset; when the men of Bordeaux, seeing no appearance of succour, ordered a herald to cry aloud for assistance from England for Bordeaux. No one making any answer, nor any reinforcements appearing, each party retired to their quarters, without more being then done.

The next morning, the chancellor and treasurer of France, with some others, came before the gates; when it was agreed, that on the following Wednesday, the townsmen were to be prepared to deliver up the keys of all the towers, havens, gates and barriers of the said town, and to take the oaths of allegiance to the king of France, and become henceforward his loyal subjects, according to the promises they had made. The treasurer, John Bureau, in reward for the great diligence he had shown in the recovery of the duchy of Guienne, was made mayor of Bordeaux. For similar causes was Joachim Rohault made constable of the place, and he directly took the oaths at the hand of the chancellor; and the mayor did the same in the hands of the chancellor and constable on the following Wednesday, the day fixed on for the delivery of the town.

The inhabitants of Bordeaux and the neighbouring barons made great preparations for the honourable reception of the count de Dunois and his company. By orders from the lieutenant-general, sir Thibaut de Valpergue bailiff of Lyon, and John Bureau, the new mayor, first entered the city, to take possession of it in the king's name; and all the different keys of the strongholds were presented to them. The franc-archers were not permitted to join in this entry, as it was said, by desire of the inhabitants, but sent to quarter themselves in and about Libourne.

The entry commenced at sunrise, by the gate where were stationed the lords de l'Esparre, de Montferrant, and some nobles of the town and country. All the churchmen, as well monks as others, dressed in their copes and robes, came out to meet the lieutenant-general, and gave him a most honourable welcome. The archers of the van-guard commenced the march, estimated at a thousand or twelve hundred men, under the command of Joachim Rohault, constable of Bordeaux, and the lord de Pavansac, seneschal of Toulouse. Then came the men-at-arms of the van on foot, estimated at three hundred, under their proper

* Foucault III. lord de la Rochefoucault, who married the sister of the lord Rochechouart.

† Q. Rochechouart? Foucault lord of Rochechouart was about this time governor of La Rochelle.

‡ Q. Grimoard? Antoine du Roure lord of Grimoard, and Guige de Grimoard de Roure, lord of Beauvoir in the Gevaudan, were the heads of two distinct branches of this family.

§ Q. Montmorin? Peter lord of Montmorin, bailiff of St. Pierre le Moustier, and a chamberlain of the king, was one of the knights made on this occasion.

|| Rions—a town in Guienne, three leagues from Bordeaux.

commanders, the marshals de Lohéac and de Jalognes, superbly mounted: then the counts de Nevers and d'Armagnac, and the viscount de Lautrec, brother to the count de Foix, with three hundred men on foot also. These were followed by the archers of the lord de la Bessiere, lieutenant to the count du Maine, in number three or four hundred: then a whole battalion of archers, estimated at three thousand, under the command of the lords de la Bessiere and de la Rochefoucault: then three of the lords of the king's great council, namely, the bishop of Aleth*, master Guy Bernard, archdeacon of Tours, and the bishop duke of Langres†; the chancellor de la Marche, and others the king's secretaries, who were followed by sir Tristan de l'Hermite, provost to the marshals, on horseback, with all his sergeants.

Four trumpeters of the king, with heralds and pursuivants dressed in the royal tabards, and in the coats of arms of the lords present, next entered the town, followed by a white hackney, covered with housings of crimson velvet, and on his crupper a cloth of azure velvet, with flowers de luce embroidered thereon: a small coffer, covered with azure velvet, with flowers de luce of solid silver in raised work was placed on the saddle, containing the great seal of the king. This hackney was led by a valet on foot, having two archers on each side in the king's livery. The chancellor followed on horseback, armed in a corslet of steel, over which was a jacket of crimson velvet. The lord de Saintrailles, bailiff of Berry and master of the horse to the king, came next, mounted on a large war-horse covered with silk trappings. He was in full armour, and held one of the royal banners: the other was displayed on his left hand by the lord de Montagu, mounted also on a richly dressed war-horse. They rode immediately before the lieutenant-general, who was mounted on a white courser with trappings of blue velvet, loaded with raised work of solid gold. He was alone, and in full armour, but followed by the counts of Angoulême and Clermont in armour, and their horses and pages most richly dressed. Then came the counts de Vendôme and de Castres, with numbers of other barons and great lords, splendidly equipped. After them came the battalion of the men-at-arms, amounting to fifteen hundred lances, under the orders of sir James de Chabannes, grand-master of the household, in complete armour, and his horse covered with rich housings.

Then entered the men-at-arms of the count du Maine,—in number one hundred and fifty spears,—under the command of Geoffry de St. Belin, bailiff of Claumont in Bassigny. The march was closed by the rear-guard, consisting of the men of Joachim Rohault and the men-at-arms of the lord de Saintrailles. The whole advanced unto the cathedral, where the lieutenant-general, the counts of Angoulême, of Vendôme, of Armagnac, of Castres, the chancellor, and several others, dismounted. The archbishop of Bordeaux met them at the gate of the church, clad in his pontifical robes, and attended by the canons of the cathedral. The archbishop having sanctified the count with incense and presented him with some relics and the cross, took him by the hand, and led him through the choir to the great altar, to perform his prayers. With the lieutenant-general, two of the king's heralds entered the church, dressed in tabards of the royal arms. All the nobles then followed, and they left the king's banners in the church.

When the count and the other lords had ended their devotions, the archbishop took a missal, and made them swear, that the king would faithfully preserve and maintain them in their ancient rights and privileges. Having taken this oath, the count de Dunois made the archbishop swear that the count de l'Esparre, and the other lords having authority within the town, would behave always loyally and submissively to the king of France and to his government. In this oath he made all the commonalty present join, which they did, by extending their hands toward heaven, as is usual in such cases. From this oath the captal of Buch was excepted, as he was then a knight-companion of the Garter, the order of the king of England.

When the lieutenant-general had devoutly heard mass, which was celebrated by the archbishop, and the "Veni Creator," &c. and "Te Deum laudamus," &c. that preceded it, to the ringing of all the bells at the different churches, he retired to his lodgings (as did the

* Aleth—a small city in upper Languedoc.

† Langres—a large city of Champagne, and one of the six ecclesiastical peerages of France.

other lords to theirs) to partake of some refreshments, excepting the chancellor of France, the grand-master of the household, and the chancellor de la Marche, who remained to administer the oath to sir Olivier de Coictivy, seneschal of Guienne. The seneschal made a grand appearance, as he was attended by many of the king's officers, the barons and knights of Guienne, and the burghers of Bordeaux. He presented his commission to the chancellor of France, who, after reading it, made him swear that he would strictly administer justice, without partiality to poor or rich, as well in the said city of Bordeaux as throughout the whole duchy of Guienne. When this was done, the chancellor commanded all persons to obey the seneschal, in all things respecting his office, as they would the king in person.

When the lieutenant-general had regarrisoned Fronsac, he had the king's banner displayed on the castle, and another was placed on the highest towers of the said town. He then issued a proclamation in the king's name, and in his own, to forbid any persons from taking the smallest article from the inhabitants without paying its full value, prior to the quartering of his troops, which was then done by persons appointed for that purpose. Scarcely was the dinner-hour passed, when great murmurings were heard in the city against one of the king's troopers who had transgressed the proclamation. He was soon arrested and brought before a court of law to be examined; and when the lieutenant-general heard of it, and that he had confessed himself guilty, he ordered him instantly to be hanged. This act of justice gave great pleasure to the inhabitants of Bordeaux and the country round. The count de Dunois had also a new gallows erected, to hang thereon five troopers who, instigated by William de Flavy, had wounded sir Pierre de Louvain while on the king's service. They had watched him several days with the intent to murder him, in consequence of a quarrel that had taken place between the said Louvain and Flavy. Thus did the lieutenant-general deal strict justice to all; and the execution of these malefactors was a good example, of great comfort to the burghers; for during the time they were under the English, they were kept so much in awe that they only received blows when they complained against any of them.

The count de Dunois remained in Bordeaux fifteen days, to regulate its future government; and those whom he appointed for the purpose acted with such prudence and moderation, that not the smallest extortion or mischief was done to the city. Thus was the whole duchy of Guienne subdued, with the exception of the city of Bayonne. During this conquest, the count and all his officers, military and civil, showed the utmost activity and courage. The count de Clermont was made governor of Bordeaux, and sir Olivier de Coictivy his lieutenant, who commanded the men-at-arms of his brother, Pregent de Coictivy, then admiral of France.

On the reduction of Bordeaux, the counts de Nevers, de Clermont, and de Castres were ordered to wait on the king at the castle of Taillebourg, and then to march to the cantonments that had been assigned them. The counts d'Armagnac, d'Angoulême, and de Penthievre were to return with their men to their own countries. The franc-archers were also ordered home; so that of the whole of this army, estimated at twenty thousand combatants, which had conquered Guienne, there only remained a small part in the duchy for the king's service.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—THE CITY OF BAYONNE IS BESIEGED BY THE COUNTS DE FOIX AND DE DUNOIS, LIEUTENANTS-GENERAL TO THE KING.—IT SURRENDERS.—THE REGULATIONS MADE IN CONSEQUENCE.—POPE NICHOLAS MARRIES THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY TO THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF PORTUGAL.—THE EVENTS THAT TAKE PLACE IN ENGLAND.

At this period, the king determined in council to lay siege to Bayonne, which was still held by the English, and for this purpose issued his orders from the castle of Taillebourg * to his lieutenants-general, the counts de Foix and de Dunois, to march thither with a large body of lances, archers, and guisarmes. Of these, four hundred lances were supplied by the king, and four hundred were attached to the count de Foix and his vassals; it was a fine sight to see their handsome equipment in horses, armour, and splendid helmets. The count had also with him two thousand cross-bows and targeteers from his own country.

When the count de Foix had commenced the siege, he created several knights; such as the

* Taillebourg—a town of Saintonge, on the Charente, three leagues from Saintes.

son to the master of the king's household, the lord de Tessac, brother to the lord de Noailles*, Bertrand de l'Espagne, seneschal of Foix, Roger de l'Espagne, the lord de Benac, and others, to the number of fifteen. About the middle of this day, the count de Dunois and de Longueville arrived, and posted his men on the side toward Béarn, between the rivers Adour and Nive, which are so wide that the two divisions could not succour each other. The count de Dunois had under him six hundred lances, archers, and guisarmes, who commenced the siege gallantly.

On the morrow, which was the 6th day of the month, the garrison of Bayonne destroyed the suburbs of St. Léon, on the side opposite to the count de Foix, which were very strongly fortified with ditches and mounds of earth; but the continued fire from the batteries of the French made them abandon them,—not, however, before they had set fire to the houses and churches, especially when they saw that the besiegers were advancing to attack them. The French gained this suburb, and pursued them so closely, that had there been one hundred men with scaling-ladders, the town would have been won, as they would have entered the gates with the enemy; but the ditches were deep, and they could not mount the walls from want of ladders. The besiegers took possession of this suburb, having extinguished the fires. The count de Foix fixed his quarters in the convent of the Augustins, for it had been little burnt. Six days afterward, the count d'Albreth and the viscount de Tartas, his son, came from Bordeaux, and quartered themselves at St. Esprit†, at the end of the wooden bridge, which was broken down the following night by the men of the lord d'Albreth, who had in his company two hundred lances, and three thousand archers and cross-bows. The next day the besieged made a sally by a bulwark on the sea-side, intending to fall on the enemy unawares. At this same moment, sir Bernard de Béarn led his men to skirmish almost within the town; but when returning he was struck by a ball from a culverin, which pierced his shield, and entered his leg between the two bones: it was extracted, and, by the care of the surgeons, he was soon out of danger.

The next morning, a church was won that was strongly fortified with ditches and palisadoes, by this same sir Bernard. When those within found they could not hold out, they retreated to the town, with the loss of five or six in killed and wounded: a garrison was posted in this church, and the town was blockaded on all sides. The count de Dunois pushed forward his approaches with vigour, to bring his batteries to bear on the walls, without waiting for the heavy artillery: had he waited for its arrival, the place must have been won by storm, considering the numbers and eagerness of the besieging army. The garrison, understanding that the battering-train was near at hand, proposed a parley which took effect on the 26th day of August. The counts de Foix and de Dunois, with some of the king's counsellors, met the deputation from the city; and after several adjournments, the following articles were agreed to,—namely, that the governor, don John de Beaumont, brother to the constable of Navarre, of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, should be delivered up to the king, and remain his prisoner, together with all the men-at-arms, so long as it might please him, and that the inhabitants should submit themselves to the king's will; and for their disobedience in not complying with his former summons, they should pay forty thousand golden crowns. The same day, they gave up their governor, who, in the presence of all the commissioners and many of the inhabitants, took the oaths of allegiance in the hands of the grand-master of the king's household.

Thus was a treaty concluded with the city of Bayonne. While the siege lasted, the king's army was amply supplied with all sorts of provision from Biscay, for the king had written to the inhabitants for this purpose. Some provisions came from Béarn and Navarre, but it was with difficulty, from the numbers of robbers that infested those parts. The army, however, was never in any want for man or horse. The Biscayners equipped a fleet of twelve vessels, called pinnaces, and a large ship manned with six hundred combatants, which they stationed half a league from Bayonne, to cut off the escape of the garrison by sea.

* Francis lord of Noailles and Noaillac, who died after the year 1472, had but one brother of whom Moreri makes mention, viz., John de Noailles lord of Chambres and Montclar, who became also lord de Noailles after the death of his nephew. the son of Francis, in the year 1479.

† St. Esprit—a town on the Nive, opposite to Bayonne, to which it is considered as a suburb.

On Friday the 20th day of August* (a little before sunrise, the sky bright and clear), a white cross was seen in the heavens by the king's army, and even by the English in Bayonne, for half an hour. Those in the town, who were desirous of returning to the French, took the red crosses from their banners and pennons, saying, that since it pleased God they should become Frenchmen, they would all wear white crosses. This cross in the heavens was seen on a Friday, the day our Lord and Saviour was crucified. On the same day, at ten o'clock, the lord de la Bessiere entered the town, accompanied by the bishop, to take possession of the town and castle. The king's banners were hoisted on the citadel by his heralds, to the great joy of the people; and the fleet of Biscayners at the same time entered the harbour of Bayonne, which was a fine spectacle.

On Saturday, the 21st of August, the lieutenants-general made their public entry into Bayonne accompanied by the grand-master of the household, the count de Lautrec, brother to the count de Foix, the lord de Noailles, the lord de la Bessiere, and others, in the following procession: first, a thousand archers, who had manned the pinnaces from Biscay; then two heralds, followed by others bearing their coats of arms; sir Bertrand de l'Espagne, seneschal of Foix, in full armour, bearing the king's banner, mounted on a horse covered with crimson-velvet housings. The count de Foix came next, completely armed, and mounted on a horse very richly caparisoned: he had near him his seneschal of Béarn, as splendidly dressed and mounted: the head-piece of his horse was steel, ornamented with gold and precious stones, estimated at fifteen thousand crowns. A number of attendants followed, and then six hundred lances on foot closed the march.

The count de Dunois entered from another quarter, preceded by twelve hundred archers, then two of the king's heralds, and others, bearing different banners of arms. After them came sir Jeannet de Saveuses, mounted on a courser bearing one of the king's banners. At this entry, the count de Dunois created the said Jeannet a knight, together with the lord de Mont-Guyon, Jean de Montmorin, and the lord de Boussey. After the royal banner came the count de Dunois in complete armour, and his horse covered with crimson velvet; then the lord de Lohéac marshal of France, the lord d'Orval, and many more great lords: the whole procession closed by six hundred lances. Both parties met at the great portal of the church, where the bishop and his clergy, dressed in their pontificals and copes, were waiting to receive them. The lords dismounted; and having kissed the holy relics which the clergy had brought for that purpose, they offered up their prayers at the great altar, and thence returned to their lodgings. The count de Foix sent the trappings of his horse, which were of golden tissue, and valued at four hundred golden crowns, to the church of Our Lady in Bayonne, to make copes of for the priests.

On the morrow, which was Sunday, these lords, accompanied by the lord d'Albreth, who had entered the town on Saturday evening, heard mass in the same church, and afterwards received the oaths of the inhabitants. Sir John le Boursier, general of France, was appointed the mayor, and sir Martin Gracien captain, who remained in Bayonne for its government and defence. On the ensuing day, the troops were dismissed to the countries assigned them for cantonments; and the barons, knights, and principal burghers of the three estates, as well from Bordeaux, the Bordelois, Bayonne, Bazadois, and the countries round, went to the king at Taillebourg, to receive the ratification of the articles of the treaties that had been agreed on by his commissioners, and to do homage to the king for their lordships. The king, at the request of those from Bayonne, remitted one-half of their fine of forty thousand crowns, on which they returned very well pleased with the king and his ministers. The king was attended at Taillebourg by the counts of Maine, of Nevers, of Clermont, of Vendôme, of Castres, of Tancarville, and very many other lords. Thither came also the counts of Foix and of Dunois, the lord d'Albreth, the lord of Lohéac, and other barons, who shortly after returned to their winter-quarters, and the king went to pass his winter in Touraine.

Thus, by the grace of God, was the whole of Guienne and Normandy reduced to the obedience of the king of France, and all the possessions the English had in that realm, excepting the town of Calais, which still remains in their hands; but God grant that it

* "Twentieth day of August." There seems a confusion of dates here.

may soon share a similar fate, and then will the saying be accomplished, "Melior est obedientia quam sacrificium."

In this same year, the emperor Frederick*, duke of Austria, was crowned, and married at Rome, by pope Nicholas, to the daughter of the king of Portugal,—and the feasts and entertainments were suitable to the rank of the parties. Shortly after, the emperor returned to Germany with his empress, where they were most honourably received, acccording to the customs of that country.

In this year, also, there were great discords in England between the dukes of York and Somerset, for the government of the kingdom. The king supported the latter, who raised a large army, and took the field in handsome array. The duke of York did the same, and a general engagement was expected; but the prelates and great lords, dreading the consequences, interfered and brought about an accommodation,—when the duke of York promised never to arm again or collect forces in opposition to his king†,—and each army separated to the places they had come from.

In this same year, the cardinal de Touteville was sent by pope Nicholas to the king of France, as his legate, and to require that he would make peace with England,—for the continuation of the war was of great prejudice to the Catholic faith. The legate pressed as speedy a conclusion as possible between the two kingdoms, for the infidels were daily making conquests from the Christians. When the cardinal had explained the object of his mission, the king replied, that he was as desirous as ever to prevent further effusion of blood, and to promote the general welfare of Christendom: that he was ready to listen to any reasonable proposals, and had frequently made offers to that effect in vain: that he was willing to agree to any proper terms, and to employ his arms and finances, as much as should be in his power, to repulse the Saracens.

While the legate was employed on this business in France, the pope, having the matter much at heart, sent the archbishop of Ravenna, of the Ursini family at Rome, to England, to make similar remonstrances with king Henry, and to press him earnestly to conclude a peace with France, for the reasons stated by the legate,—and that a further prolongation of the war would probably entail contempt on Christendom, as the infidels had already made great conquests in Hungary and Germany. The king's ministers made answer to the archbishop, that when they should have reconquered from the king of France what he had won from them, it would be time enough to talk of these matters. This answer was a bad precedent; and the cardinal and archbishop returned to pope Nicholas without having done anything, in regard to the mission he had sent them on.

According to the Chronicles of Arras, the inhabitants of Ghent, at this season, finding their lord was indignant against them for the opposition which their deputies had made to his laying a tax on salt, began to murmur,—and, puffed up with pride, they rose in rebellion against his authority, and seized many of the duke's officers, whom they beheaded without mercy. They chose from among themselves three leaders, called in their language Hoguemens, whom they appointed to the government. The principal was called Lieuvin Seve, a poor mason, and the other two were of low degree.

When news of this was brought to the duke, he instantly issued his summons, throughout Picardy and Hainault, for the assembling a body of men-at-arms; and sent a valiant knight, a gentleman born in Hainault, called sir Simon de Lalain, as governor of Oudenarde, and with him another knight, named the lord des Cornets. In the holy week of this same year, three of the states of Flanders, namely, Brussels, Ypres, and the Franc, sent a deputation to the duke of Burgundy at Brussels, accompanied by a Carthusian of the convent at Ghent. They were admitted to an audience on Good Friday, and, by the mouth of the Carthusian, entreated him, on their knees, and with the utmost humility, to pardon the people of Ghent for their ill conduct,—and to have pity on his country of Flanders for the love of God, and in respect to the sacred day on which they made their petition. They offered, on the part of the men of Ghent. that if he would pardon them, they would make whatever reparation

* The emperor Frederick III., married to Eleanor. eldest daughter of Edward king of Portugal. Their only issue were Maximilian, afterwards emperor, and Cunegunda, married to Albert duke of Bavaria.

† Monstrelet, or his continuator, seems to have been miserably informed respecting these quarrels in England.

his ministers should think expedient. The good prince replied, that from his reverence to God and respect to the day, he would grant their request, provided the men of Ghent would abide by the decision of his ministers as to the reparation they were to make for their bad conduct.

It happened, in the mean time, that some of the peasantry and farmers had placed their effects in the town of Oudenarde, as a security against the war which they thought was about to commence; and they assembled, in number about twelve hundred, and came to the gates of Oudenarde, to demand back their effects; but when sir Simon de Lalain was informed of their numbers, he refused them admittance, or to restore their goods, until he should have informed their prince. The peasants, dissatisfied with this answer, went to make their complaints at Ghent, and to supplicate their assistance in the recovery of their goods from Oudenarde,—when, without considering the consequences, the Hoguemens instantly displayed their banners, and marched fifteen thousand men of all sorts out of the town.

CHAPTER XXXIX. — JACQUES CŒUR IS ARRESTED AND CONFINED.—THE REASONS OF IT.—THE KING OF FRANCE DECLARES WAR AGAINST THE DUKE OF SAVOY,—BUT PEACE IS MADE BY THE MEDIATION OF THE CARDINAL DE TOUTEVILLE.—LORD SHREWSBURY REGAINS BORDEAUX FROM THE FRENCH.

[A. D. 1452.]

In the year 1452, Jacques Cœur was arrested by the king's orders, and confined close prisoner. He was charged with various acts contrary to the Catholic faith, with high treason, and with having sent armour and all sorts of military stores to the Saracens, enemies to the Christian faith,—and likewise with providing them with workmen to teach them the art of fabricating arms, to the prejudice of all Christendom. He was confined for having, by the instigations of the enemy of mankind, through avarice or other irregular passions, sent back by force a Christian prisoner who had escaped from the hands of the Saracens (with whom he had long suffered martyrdom for the love of Jesus Christ), in contempt of the faith of our Redeemer. He was likewise charged with very many extortions in different parts of the realm, and of having pillaged immense sums from the king's finances, of which he had the management. The said extortions had caused several of the inhabitants of those parts to quit the country, to the great loss of the king and the realm *.

The damsel de Mortaigne was at the same time imprisoned for certain offences against the king, and for having charged Jacques Cœur and others, through malice, with crimes of which they were innocent. She was, therefore, confined for thus lying, to receive the punishment that those whom she had accused would have suffered, had they been found guilty, unless pardoned by the king's mercy.

In the month of May of this year, the king of France left Tours, and went to the castle of Tuché †, to celebrate the feast of Whitsuntide, where he staid until July following, and thence went to Mehun-sur-Yevre ‡. He there declared war against the duke of Savoy, for

* Jacques Cœur was the son of a merchant at Bourges, whose enterprising commercial genius raised for him within a short time a prodigious fortune. The ignorance of the age attributed his success to the discovery of the philosopher's stone. He was made *argentier*, that is to say, *superintendant of the finances*, to Charles VII. and master of the mint at Bourges. Through his influence his son obtained the archbishopric of his native city, and his brother the bishopric of Luçon. The conquest of Normandy was achieved, in great measure, by the sums which he supplied out of his private purse. All these services did not guard him against the consequences of malevolence and envy. Besides the accusations here mentioned, he was charged with having procured the death of Agnes Sorel by poison. But although his principal accuser on this point, Jane de Vendôme, lady of Mortagne, was condemned to perpetual banishment for her calumny, which was fully proved, Jacques Cœur did not escape from the charges of peculation, &c., which were probably equally unjust with the former. He was condemned, chiefly, as was supposed, through the influence of Anthony de Chabannes count of Dammartin, the court favourite of the time, who certainly enriched himself considerably by his fall. By a decree of the 19th of May, 1453, he was amerced in a sum of 400,000 crowns, equal, says Du Clos, to 4,228,360 livres tournois of his time. "On pretend, peut-être sans fondement, que Jacques Cœur, après sa condemnation, passa dans l'isle de Chypre, où son crédit, son habilité, et sa réputation, que ses malheurs n'avoient point ternic, lui firent faire une fortune aussi considerable que celle qu'il venoit de perdre."—Du Clos.

† Tuché. MS. Du Cange, Chiré.

‡ Mehun-sur-Yevre—two leagues from Beaugencé, four from Orleans.

certain acts done by him to the prejudice of his crown and kingdom. In the month of August, the king departed from Mehun with a large army, and a noble company of knights and men-at-arms, until he came to the country of Forez*, intending to invade Savoy; but the cardinal de Touteville, hearing of this on his road to Rome, moved by charity, returned to the duke of Savoy,—and, having learned the cause of offence, he thence went to the king, and managed the matter so well that the duke waited on the king and promised to make every amends for what had given offence, according to the king's good pleasure. Peace being restored, the French army retreated to Feurs† in Forez, and the cardinal continued his road to Rome‡.

In the beginning of September, the lord de l'Esparre and others of the inhabitants of Bordeaux, by the advice of the lord de Montferrant, the lord de Rosem, the lord de Lane, and the lord d'Anglades, found means to embark secretly for England. On their arrival they had several conferences with king Henry's ministers, and offered to return to their obedience if they would send a sufficient force to support them. The king assembled his parliament, and summoned to it his peers and captains, when it was determined to send the earl of Shrewsbury to the country of Bordelois in the ensuing month of October. On this being settled, the lord de l'Esparre and his companions, who might be compared to Judas, returned to Bordeaux; for they had sworn, on the holy evangelists, to be true and loyal subjects to the king and crown of France, and had conspired this wicked treason in direct violation of their oaths.

In consequence of the arrangements made between them and the English, the earl of Shrewsbury set sail from England with four or five thousand men, whom he landed in Medoc, and conquered some small places to serve them as quarters. He thence made inroads over that part of the country, and subdued it,—which was not difficult, for the king's army was withdrawn, and few remained in the garrisons. When their arrival was known in Bordeaux, the townsmen held several meetings to consider of the manner of their surrender to the English; and the majority were desirous that the French within the town should be allowed to depart in safety with their effects. At this time, the lord de Coictivy, seneschal of Guienne, was the governor for the king of France, the lord du Pin, mayor, and Jean du Foue, knight, his deputy.

While they were debating on this matter, some of the inhabitants opened one of the gates to the English, who entered the town on the 23d of October, and made the greater part of the French, soldiers or not, prisoners. This news grieved much the king of France; and he hastily despatched the marshals of France, the lord d'Orval, Joachim Rohault, and other experienced captains, with six hundred lances and archers, to guard the places round Bordeaux, as the lord de Clermont, his lieutenant-general in those parts, should see expedient, until he could, at a proper season, send a greater force. However, before this army could arrive, the earl of Shrewsbury and the barons of the Bordelois had subjected most of the places near Bordeaux to the government of the English. The town and castle of Châtillon, in Perigord, then occupied by the French, were surrendered by the garrison, on having their lives and fortunes spared, notwithstanding the count de Clermont did all in his power to resist the English before his reinforcement arrived.

The lord Camus, the bastard of Somerset, the lord Lisle, son to the earl of Shrewsbury, the lord Molins, now arrived from England to reinforce the earl of Shrewsbury with four thousand combatants, and eighty transports, great and small, laden with flour and bacon to victual the city of Bordeaux.

* Forez—a small fertile province, bounded on the east by the Lyonnois, on the south by Languedoc.

† Feurs—a town in Forez, four leagues from Boen, sixteen from Lyon.

‡ Charles VII. was discontented with the duke of Savoy for having married his daughter Charlotte to the dauphin without his consent, but on his submission was appeased.

CHAPTER XL. — THE MEN OF GHENT BESIEGE OUDENARDE.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS AN ARMY AGAINST THEM.—THE PICARDS CONQUER THE PONT D'ESPIERES FROM THE GHENT MEN, AND KILL MANY OF THEM.

On the 14th day of April, after Easter, the Ghent men took the field in great numbers, followed by a large train of artillery and provision-carts, to lay siege to Oudenarde, which was but five leagues from Ghent. On their appearance, sir Simon de Lalain issued out, and a skirmish took place; but he was forced to return to the town by reason of the very great numbers of Ghent men, who attacked him on all sides,—and in his retreat he burned the suburbs on that quarter. The Ghent army blockaded the place so closely that nothing could enter it by land, or by the river Scheldt that ran through it.

The noble duke of Burgundy, when told of this siege, was greatly vexed, considering that the Ghent men had so lately sent to solicit pardon for their offences. He consequently issued a special summons throughout Picardy and Hainault; and in obedience thereto John count d'Estampes, his cousin-german, and at that time governor of Picardy, assembled the gentlemen of that country, and with a numerous body marched toward Oudenarde by the road of the Pont d'Espieres. Near to this bridge was a small castle called Helchin, occupied by the Ghent men, under a captain, a peasant called Beuterman, which means one who sells butter. They having fortified the bridge, the Picards declined attempting to pass it, on account of the numbers of the enemy; but a company of Picards found means to cross the river at a place named Waterbos, and fell on the rear of those who guarded the bridge, at the same time that the other body of Picards made an attack on the bridge. The Ghent men, finding themselves attacked in front and rear, retreated into a church hard by. The Picards crossed the bridge, and pursued them to the church, when the Ghent men, in their defence, killed three archers and wounded several more. This so enraged the count d'Estampes that he set fire to the church, and forced the Ghent men to sally forth,—but they were all put to death; none escaped save their captain, Beuterman, who had fled by another road to Ghent. Ninety remained dead on the spot for three days before they were buried!

While this was passing, the duke of Burgundy advanced toward Ghent, and fixed his quarters at Grammont, a small town five leagues distant. He was there joined by the count de St. Pol, his two brothers Thibaut and James*, Adolphus of Cleves, nephew to the duke Corneille†, bastard of Burgundy, and sir John de Croy, all grandly attended, and with a very numerous body of men-at-arms and archers.

CHAPTER XLI.—THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES, WITH THE AID OF THE PICARDS ALONE, RAISES THE SIEGE OF OUDENARDE, AND DEFEATS THE GHENT MEN, WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

The count d'Estampes, accompanied by the lords of Picardy and their vassals, halted at Waterbos and Launoy after their conquest of the Pont d'Espieres, and there resolved to attempt to raise the siege of Oudenarde before the duke of Burgundy should know anything of the matter. To accomplish their plan, it was necessary that the governor, sir Simon de Lalain, should be informed of it; and on the 25th day of April, three of their men offered to carry thither letters, on paying them fifty crowns each. These letters were to inform him of the hour on which they intended to make the attempt, that he might co-operate with them. The messengers, on approaching Oudenarde, found it so closely blockaded that they had no chance of gaining admittance on the land side; they therefore stripped themselves

* Thibaud, second son of Peter, and brother of Louis count of St. Pol, was lord of Fiennes, and married Philippa of the house of Melun. James, the third brother, was lord of Richebourg, and married Isabel de Roubaix.

† Cornelius, the eldest of the numerous illegitimate progeny of duke Philip, died unmarried, but left a bastard son, John lord of Delverding. See the genealogical tables affixed to Pontus Heuterus.

naked and plunged into the Scheldt, which is there wide and deep, swam into the town, and delivered their letters. Sir Simon was much pleased with the intelligence. In the mean time, the count advanced with his Picards in three battalions: the van under the command of Anthony bastard of Burgundy, the lord de Saveuses, and others: the centre under the count himself, grandly accompanied; and in the rear division were very many valiant men at arms and archers. When they were nearly approached to the enemy, the lord de Saveuses knighted, with his own hand, the lord d'Estampes, who had not before received that honour; and then the count instantly made fifty-two more knights, the first of whom was Anthony bastard of Burgundy.

When arrived within a quarter of a league from Oudenarde, they fell in with a body of four or five hundred Ghent men, posted there to defend a narrow pass. The Picards advanced to attack them, but came to a hollow way, of difficult descent, which forced them to make a circuit. Their leaders were sir James de Lalain, the lords de Bauf-segnies, de Crevecœur, de Bosqueaux, and du Bos,—and one called le Bourgognon was with them. Having passed the hollow way, they pushed through the Ghent men, who were drawn up; and wheeling round, sir James de Lalain charged them sword in hand. He was instantly surrounded by the enemy, and had it not been for the timely succour of the Bourgognon, who extricated him from this danger, he must have been killed.

When the Ghent men perceived that the main body of the Picards had passed the hollow-way, they fled for a church near Oudenarde, where they were almost all put to death. This done, the count d'Estampes ordered the archers to dismount,—but the blockade was so complete that no sally was attempted from the town. However, the Ghent men on the other side of the Scheldt were cut off, for want of a bridge, from succouring the division on this side, which, as it afterward turned out, proved their destruction. The Ghent men, on seeing the Picards, advanced from their intrenchments in handsome array, well furnished with pikes and cannons, to give them battle; but they no sooner felt the arrows of the Picards, which, by reason of their being badly armed, pierced their bellies and backs, than they instantly gave way and fled. The Picards pursued them, and slaughtered so many that few escaped. It was commonly reported that upwards of three thousand were killed, while the count d'Estampes lost only one man, called Jean d'Athies, a man-at-arms and a native of Arras, who was slain through his own breach of duty.

During this time, the noble duke of Burgundy had left Grammont grandly accompanied, as I have said, to raise the siege of Oudenarde. He had learnt that the Ghent men had, on the opposite side of the river, been forced to raise the siege, and that the division on this, through fear, were on their march back to Ghent. In consequence of this intelligence, he pushed forward, and soon overtook them, and the pursuit lasted to the gates of Ghent, killing and wounding all that came in his way, until the night forced him to give it over. The duke lay on the field this night, and on the morrow, early, entered Oudenarde, where great rejoicings and feasts took place between the duke, the count, and their companions. The artillery the men of Ghent had left behind them was secured in the town of Oudenarde, and their baggage plundered. Among those who escaped to Ghent were their three Hoguemans*,—but they had scarcely entered the town when the populace seized them, beheaded them without mercy, and elected five new ones.

CHAPTER XLII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ESTABLISHES GARRISONS ROUND GHENT.—HE MAKES SEVERAL INROADS INTO THE COUNTRY OF WAES †.

The siege of Oudenarde being raised, the duke of Burgundy, nobly attended, went to Dendermonde,—the count d'Estampes remained in Oudenarde,—the count de St. Pol was sent to Alost, and the Marshal of Burgundy, with some Picardy gentlemen, to Courtray. Shortly after, the count d'Estampes sallied out of Oudenarde, with the intent of advancing to Ghent; and passing by the castle of Gave, he attacked it, but was forced to retire, as it

* Hogueman—should be, according to Du Cange's Glossary, Hocquemant, Hoga, captain, governor.

† Waes—a district in Flanders, on the Scheldt, between Ghent and Ysendic.

was too strong, and the garrison outnumbered his force. He then continued his march toward Ghent, where a sharp skirmish took effect, but without much loss on either side; the Ghent men re-entered the town, except, indeed, that sir John de Miraumont was struck so severely with a cross-bow bolt that he died of it soon after: the Picards marched back to Oudenarde.

The count de St. Pol, on another day, advanced from Alost to before the walls of Ghent, and gallantly repulsed those who sallied out against him; and this he did repeatedly. The count d'Estampes returned thither also, and not only repulsed them back into Ghent but slew upwards of forty: he lost, however, seven of his archers. Between Ghent and Antwerp lies a fertile country, called the country of Waes: it is very strong from its bogs and ditches, and has several rich towns and villages dependent on Ghent, and would not own any other superior lord than the municipality of Ghent. During the different wars that had taken place, this country had never been overrun or pillaged, and therefore was plentifully supplied with all things. The Ghent men had likewise strongly fortified it with ditches and bulwarks, so that it was of difficult entrance, more especially as those of Ghent were very assiduous in guarding it.

The duke, being anxious to possess this country, had a strong bridge thrown over the Scheldt, before Dendermonde; and when it was finished, a valiant knight called sir James de Lalain*, with leave of the duke, was the first who passed over, accompanied by the archers of the duke's body-guard and a few men-at-arms. This was on the 18th of May; and he had not advanced far when he was met by a large body of Ghent men, who instantly attacked and surrounded him on all sides. He behaved himself most valorously: no knight could have done better: but sir John bastard of Renty, captain of these archers, did not do the same, for he let fall the duke's banner which he bore, and saved himself as fast as his horse could carry him. In this encounter, seven or eight archers were slain, three of whom were of the duke's guard. The horse of a gallant young knight, sir Philip de Lalain †, was killed under him in a bog, while he defended himself like a wild boar at bay: had it not been for the exertions of his brother sir James, who dashed into the midst of those that held him in such peril, he could not have escaped alive; but sir James, by his valour, remounted his brother in spite of them, and having collected around him the few men he had, he marched off, himself closing their rear, to withstand all attempts of the enemy to hurt them. The archers who had remained with him, throwing off their jackets, made such excellent use of their bows that they forced the Ghent men to retreat to a respectful distance, and sir James carried his men and archers safely back to Dendermonde.

In another quarter, the count de St. Pol, accompanied by his two brothers, Adolphus of Cleves ‡, Corneille, the bastard, and many men-at-arms and archers, with those from Dendermonde, under the command of John de Croy, set off to enter the country of Waes. They gained two bulwarks which the Ghent men occupied at Overmeer, a large village in that country, after a sharp attack, when the Ghent men fled, as many as could save themselves, to Ghent. The duke's army then advanced to Lokeren, another large village, in which were three thousand men, who had promised assistance to those at Overmeer, and were preparing to march thither when it was too late.

The Ghent men, seeing their enemies coming, advanced boldly to meet them; but before they were approached near enough for battle, the count de St. Pol, who led the van, made some new knights, namely, Adolphus of Cleves, Thibault lord de Fiennes, brother to the count, Corneille bastard of Burgundy, at that time governor of Luxembourg, a prudent and valiant youth, universally beloved by all who knew him, and a few more. The count marched the van on the flank of the Ghent men, while they continued to advance in front against the body under the command of sir John de Croy, who pushed forward to meet them: they were so roughly attacked on two sides that they were almost all slain or made prisoners. In this engagement, four or five of the duke's body-archers did wonders in arms, more especially Hoste le Sur and Le Martre. This army now returned to their quarters.

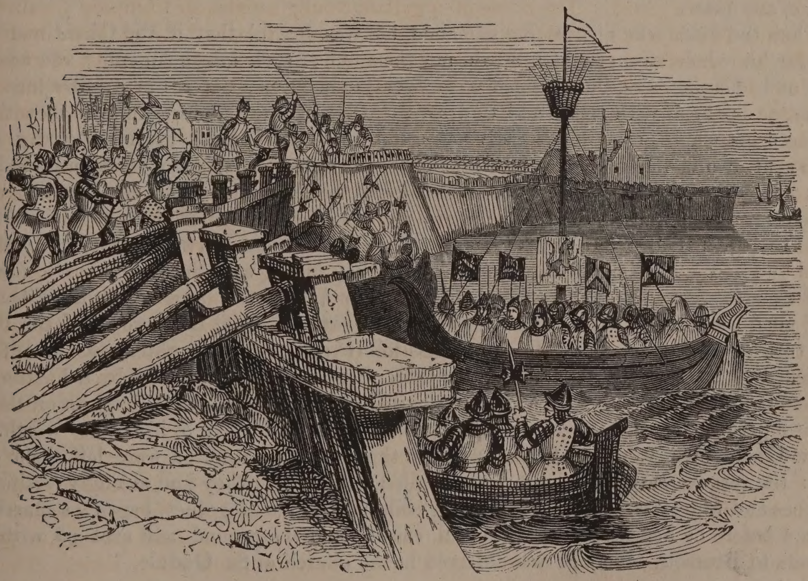
* Killed soon after at the siege of the castle of Poulcres.

† Afterwards killed at Montl'hery.

‡ Son of the duke of Cleves. He was lord of Ravestein, and not only nephew but son-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, having married Anne, one of his bastard daughters.

CHAPTER XLIII.—THE GHENT MEN FORTIFY NIENEVE. — THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES DEFEATS THEM THERE.—THE MEN OF GHENT ATTEMPT TO DESTROY A DYKE, TO DROWN THE COUNTRY OF WAES, BUT ARE AGAIN DEFEATED BY THE COUNT DE ST. POL.

BETWEEN Ghent and Oudenarde is a large village called Nieneve, which the Ghent men had strongly fortified with intrenchments and bulwarks, and had posted there a numerous garrison to harass the Picards in Oudenarde. The count d'Estampes having summoned the garrison of Courtray to join him, advanced to gain this village; and on the 25th of May he won by storm the outworks and the village, putting the Ghent men to the rout without much difficulty. The count then took the field, and, while a party of his men were pursuing the runaways, others had dismounted in the village to refresh themselves. They had not been there long before a large body of Ghent men, who had assembled unobserved, suddenly entered the village, and immediately put to death all they could find, for they were far from suspecting such an attempt. Among the slain were the lord de Herin, knight, Ciboy Boucly, Jennequin le Prevost, Jean Dinde, and some others, to the amount of thirteen, all valiant men-at-arms of the count's household, and full fifty archers. The whole would have perished, had not the lord de Saveuses hastened to their succour, and behaved with great valour. The count instantly returned with the army, and a dreadful slaughter ensued: the men of Ghent were a second time defeated, and twelve hundred killed on the spot: the rest saved themselves in the woods and hedges. After this defeat the count caused those of his men who had been slain to be carried to a house hard by, and then set fire to the village; after which he returned to Oudenarde.



DEFEAT OF THE GHENT MEN IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO DESTROY A SEA-DYKE. Designed from contemporary authorities

The duke of Burgundy, during his residence at Dendermonde, was very desirous of marching a great force to conquer the country of Waes, and had sent to Picardy for reinforcements of archers and cross-bows, which the towns had readily complied with. He ordered the garrisons of Courtray, Oudenarde, and Alost, to join him, and sent thither the reinforcements from Picardy to supply the place of these garrisons during the time he should be in the country of Waes. When the Ghent men heard of this great force being assembled,

they ordered a strong detachment to break down a sea-dyke, which being done, would drown the whole of that country; but the duke having timely notice of this, sent thither the count de St. Pol with a large body, who made such diligence that he came up with the enemy before they could effect their purpose, and discomfited them, with the loss of more than five hundred men: the rest saved themselves by flight; and what damage had been done to the dyke was repaired.

The count marched back to the duke, and found that the duke's nephew, John duke of Cleves, had arrived during his absence with a handsome body of German men-at-arms and cross-bows, at which the duke was exceedingly well pleased. Charles count de Charolois, legitimate son to the duke, had also arrived when he was absent on the last expedition.

CHAPTER XLIV.—THE BATTLE OF RUPELMONDE, WHERE THE GHENT MEN ARE DEFEATED BY THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

On the 6th day of June, in this same year 1452, the duke of Burgundy marched from Dendermonde with his whole army, to invade the country of Waes. He formed his army into three divisions: the van he gave to the count de St. Pol, who was accompanied by his two brothers, sir Corneille the bastard, the lord de Saveuses, sir James de Lalain, and others. The duke commanded the centre, having with him his son, the knights and esquires of his household, and a part of the Picards: the count d'Estampes and the duke of Cleves, his son-in-law, had the command of the rear division. This arrangement being made, he marched toward Rupelmonde, which the Ghent men had strongly fortified, and were there waiting his coming with plenty of artillery and warlike stores, to defend a bulwark they had cast up in front of the place.

When the duke was near to Rupelmonde, he was fearful that if the Ghent men should discover his whole strength they would not issue out of their intrenchments; and to deceive them as to his numbers, he detached a considerable body to observe the countenance of the enemy, to skirmish with them, and to draw them out into the plain. In the meantime he advanced his whole army in three divisions, but in close order, for greater security, so that the Ghent men could not see more than the first division, or at least what appeared to be such. The Ghent men observing the detachment, and the van of the army, which was not far behind, not imagining there were any more, insolently issued forth from their intrenchments to attack them; but in pursuance of the duke's orders, his men immediately wheeled round and fled. The Ghent men pursued until they fell in with the duke's army, drawn up in battle-array, and the archers dismounted. The battle now raged, and the Ghent men made good use of their culverins; but they could not withstand the arrows of the Picards, and, turning about, fled. The men-at-arms followed, and the slaughter was dreadful. It happened in the pursuit, that sir Corneille, the bastard, was attacked by a Fleming, who thrust his pike into his throat, which unluckily was unguarded, and killed him on the spot: it was a great loss, from the promising expectations he had given of his future worth.

The Ghent men were defeated, and two thousand five hundred were left dead on the field: the rest retreated to a large village called Acre, which they had strongly fortified with trenches and ramparts. The duke, having collected his men together, began his march back, but not before he had his son, the bastard, raised from the ground, and sent off with many honours to Brussels, where he was interred in the church of St. Gudule.

CHAPTER XLV.—THE GHENT MEN WHO HAD FLED TO ACRE ABANDON THE PLACE: IT IS BURNT BY THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE DUKE IN FLANDERS, TO RESTORE PEACE TO THAT COUNTRY.

On the morrow of the battle of Rupelmonde, the lord de la Vere, a Hollander, and knight-companion of the Golden Fleece, and the lord de Launoy, then governor of Holland, came to offer their services to the duke of Burgundy, bringing with them three thousand combatants, mostly cross-bowmen. The duke was well pleased with them; but remembering the death of his son the bastard, whom he greatly lamented, he commanded all the villages in the country of Waes to be set on fire, and, in consequence, very many villages were burned; but as several of them contained only poor people, the inhabitants came in great numbers to beseech their lord's mercy, barefooted, and in all humility. The good duke had pity on them, and ordered the fires to cease. The duke then marched to Acre, where the Ghent men were in great force; but they were afraid to wait his coming, and abandoned the place, on which the duke had it burned to the ground.

While these things were going forward, the king of France sent an embassy to the duke, and appointed the count de St. Pol, then with the duke, as the head of it, who went to meet the other members at Tournay, where they were grandly feasted. The count returned to the duke, to know when and where it would be agreeable for him to see them: he appointed Dendermonde, whither he went for the purpose, leaving his army in the country of Waes. The ambassadors remonstrated with the duke on his present conduct; and added, that the king was astonished that he could thus destroy Flanders, which was a dependence on his crown; for that the Ghent men, out of revenge, and through pride, might ally themselves with the English, and admit them into Ghent, to the great prejudice of his kingdom. They exhorted him to make peace with Ghent, if possible; and ordered him, in the king's name, to put an end to the war.

The duke made answer, in person, that he was no way afraid of the English being admitted into Ghent; and that for no man living would he make peace with his rebellious subjects until they had submitted themselves to his will; for by the aid of God and of his good friends, he would force them to submission, if they would not submit by fair means. The ambassadors, on hearing this answer, did not make any reply for the present; but they obtained from the duke, at their entreaties, and out of respect to the king, that he would consent to a truce for three days, and give passports to such of the Ghent men as might choose to come to him and treat of a peace.

This being done, the ambassadors, with the exception of the count de St. Pol, went to Ghent, where they were received most honourably. They informed the townsmen, assembled in numbers at the town-hall, of the commission they had been entrusted with by the king of France, and the remonstrances they had in consequence made to the duke of Burgundy, and his answer. The Ghent men, on hearing this, said, that indeed their lord was too hard and merciless to them; that he wanted to deprive them of their privileges, which they would never suffer to be done; and told the ambassadors, that if they had nothing more to say, they might leave the town instantly. They therefore immediately departed, and returned to the duke of Burgundy.

CHAPTER XLVI.—THE CUTLER OF GHENT IS MADE PRISONER IN BATTLE.—THE GHENT MEN ARE DEFEATED.—THEY ARE AGAIN DEFEATED AT HULST AND MOERBEKE.

The French ambassadors had scarcely left Ghent, when upward of five thousand men in arms issued forth to combat the duke's army wherever they could meet it. They had chosen for their leader a cutler of Ghent, a large heavy man, who had boasted that he would overcome the duke; and his townsmen promised, that if he should succeed they would make him lord of Waes, and indeed of all Flanders. They marched for Hulst, a large village, in

which was Anthony, bastard of Burgundy*, with a strong force of well-tried men-at-arms, thinking to surprise him; but he had received intelligence of their coming, and advanced out to meet them. A sharp engagement took place, when they were defeated, with the loss of full three thousand men, and the cutler and several of the Ghent men were taken. The bastard sent them to his father the duke, who had them all hanged or strangled, because they would not ask his pardon; and such was their obstinate hatred to him, that although they were promised mercy if they would ask it, they refused. This was surely a wonderful sign of obstinacy!

Those who had escaped from this battle, to the amount of two thousand, fled to Moerbeke, wherein was a large company of their townsmen, then besieged by the Hollanders, ignorant of this defeat at Hulst. On seeing such numbers approach, the Hollanders drew up in battle-array, and attacked them with such effect with their cross-bows that many were slain. In the mean time the bastard, who had pursued them, now came up; and they were so severely handled that of the two thousand, few, if any, escaped death or being made prisoners. The garrison of Moerbeke, witnessing the discomfiture of their countrymen, abandoned the town and fled to Ghent; so that when sir Anthony de Bourgogne and the Hollanders were preparing to attack the intrenchments, they found them empty and entered the place without resistance, which they plundered of everything worth taking away, and then set the town on fire.

The duke of Burgundy was at this time at a large village called Hoiguemustre†, in the country of Waes. The French ambassadors found him there on their return from Ghent, and told him all they had seen and heard in that town; on which the duke swore that he would never make peace with them until they should submit unconditionally; and that if they would not do so by fair means he would force them to it, or die in the attempt. Without longer delay he departed for Axel, which he conquered, and the whole of the country of Waes,—and thence he approached Ghent, and fixed his quarters at a place called Longpont, not far from the town. When those in Ghent saw this, they sent to the French ambassadors to request them to obtain passports from the duke, for a deputation to wait on him to propose articles for a peace.

The good duke, at the request of the ambassadors, and in compliment to the king of France, granted passports, but told the messengers from Ghent that he would never conclude any treaty with them until they had submitted themselves and their town to his will. While this was passing, the duke's army made daily excursions to the gates of Ghent, burning and destroying houses, mills, and farms around, without mercy. In addition to these miseries there raged in Ghent an epidemical disorder, which carried off such numbers that it was terrible to hear of it: insomuch that those who remained, fearful of worse happening to them, sent to solicit the ambassadors to return to their town, which they did,—and, having assembled in the market-place, displayed the passports from their lord, and desired that all who wished for peace would stand apart, and the others on the contrary side. This was done, and the party for peace amounted to only seven thousand, while those on the opposite side were upwards of twelve thousand. The ambassadors, observing so great a difference, desired them to assemble again on the morrow, when they would endeavour to bring about an agreement between them; but on the morrow only those who wished for peace appeared. They desired that the ambassadors would return to the duke with a deputation from them, to endeavour to mediate a peace by any possible means. The ambassadors so far prevailed that the duke consented to a truce of six weeks, on condition that the men of Ghent would deliver to him good and sufficient hostages (if during this term peace could not be effected), to indemnify him for the loss he should incur by disbanding his army and the expense of raising another, and for the due payment of the garrisons he should leave round Ghent, and in Courtray, Oudenarde, Alost, and Dendermonde, during these six weeks. It was also stipulated, that no provision should enter Ghent in the mean time, but that what

* Anthony, second of the illegitimate sons of duke Philip, by Jolante de Presle, was lord of Beveren, and married Mary de Viefville, by whom he had two sons, the lords of Vere and of Chapelie, and from these followed a long line of descendants. See the genealogical tables of Pontus Heuterus.

† Hoiguemustre. Q. Waesmustre?

was already therein must supply their wants; nor was anything to enter the principal towns of Flanders without leave first had at the gates.

It was agreed that the conferences for peace should be holden at Lille, and that the deputies from Ghent should not amount to more than fifty. These preliminaries being settled, the truce was proclaimed throughout the duke's army; and he then gave permission for his men-at-arms to return to the places they had come from, excepting such as he had left in garrison in the towns aforesaid. The duke went to Brussels, and his ministers to Lille. The ambassadors from France sent a herald to proclaim the truce in Ghent; but as his attendant was dressed in a surcoat of the arms of the duke, namely, the cross of St. Andrew, he was seized by the populace, as he was leading his horses to water, and instantly hanged, out of pique to the duke, and by way of revenge for the death of the cutler. The herald returned in safety, but very much frightened.

CHAPTER XLVII.—THE ARTICLES PROPOSED BY THE AMBASSADORS FROM FRANCE AS THE GROUNDWORK FOR A TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE MEN OF GHENT AND THEIR LORD, BUT WHICH ARE NOT AGREED TO BY THOSE IN GHENT.

On the 22d day of July, in the year 1452, the men of Ghent sent a deputation of fifty commissioners to Lille to treat of a peace with the ministers of the duke of Burgundy and the ambassadors from France: they were also accompanied by master John de Poupincourt, advocate in the parliament. The duke refused at first to attend the conferences, and each party delivered in writing to the ambassadors their separate proposals; but at the entreaty of the ambassadors and his ministers the duke set out from Brussels, and arrived at Lille on the 27th of August. When the deputies saw that the time for the expiration of the truce was near at hand, they were afraid to remain longer, and returned to Ghent, leaving behind cnly two heralds and an interpreter. Notwithstanding the departure of the deputies, the French ambassadors soon after gave judgment respecting their dissensions with the duke, and sentenced the men of Ghent to perform the following articles before they obtained peace.

They were ordered, in the first place, to close up the gate by which they had marched out to besiege Oudenarde once every week, on the same day they passed it.—Item, the gate by which they had marched to the battle of Rupelmonde was to be shut up for ever.—Item, they were to lay aside their white hoods, as having been their badge of rebellion.—Item, foreign merchants should no longer be amenable to the bye-laws of Ghent, but only to those of the town and banlieue.—Item, no one should be in future banished the town without the cause being specified, which had not been done before.—Item, as to the new regulation of the laws, four noble persons, officers of the duke, and four of the municipality, shall be selected for this purpose; and whereas formerly four-and-twenty persons formed the municipality, twelve of whom were always chosen from the company of weavers,—this shall now be abolished.

Item, whereas, when any troubles existed in the town, the banners of the trades were displayed, and the populace assembled in the market-place: it is ordained that such proceedings be abolished, and that the banners be placed in a coffer fastened with five locks,—one key shall be delivered to the bailiff of Ghent,—the first sheriff shall have another,—the high deacon of trades the third,—and the other two shall be given in charge to two discreet persons elected by the townsmen,—and there shall be no more assembling in the market-place.—Item, neither the sheriffs nor any gentleman in Ghent shall issue public mandates in their names.—Item, the whole of the municipality, the deacons, governors, and two thousand of the commonalty, shall advance half a league out of the town, clad only in their shirts, and humbly on their knees beg pardon of their lord, saying, that they had wickedly and wrongfully made war against him their lord, for which they crave his mercy.—Item, should any of the duke's officers henceforth misbehave, his offence was not to be cognizable by the municipality, but it must be réferred to their lord and his council.

Item, whereas formerly the municipality of Ghent had usually extended their government over the country of Waes, Alost, Dendermonde, and Oudenarde,—it was ordered that the

said ambassadors should, within the year, make a reformation, either by new ordinances or by resigning their jurisdiction altogether.—Item, to satisfy their lord for his expenses in this war, they were to pay him two hundred and fifty thousand riddes*.

Such was the sentence of the ambassadors on those of Ghent,—who, however, notwithstanding their promises, refused absolutely to abide by it.

CHAPTER XLVIII. THE GHENT MEN RECOMMENCE THE WAR AGAINST THEIR LORD, AND BURN HULST.—A FRENCH HERALD ESCAPES FROM GHENT.

The two heralds and their interpreter returned from Lille to Ghent, and the proposed articles for a peace with the duke of Burgundy were publicly read to the people. Great murmurings arose; and they said that their lord was too hard upon them, and that the conditions were not to be borne. They separated, however, without declaring positively against them, nor yet assenting to them,—and in this state they remained for about a fortnight.

During this time, some of the most turbulent assembled in numbers, and chose for their captain a wicked fellow called the bastard of Blanc-Estain,—and they styled themselves Companions of the Verde Tente. Having well armed themselves, they sallied forth out of Ghent one night, and advanced to Hulst, a large village that had surrendered to the duke. On their arrival, they lighted torches and brands to deceive the inhabitants, and make them believe they intended to storm the place on that side, who indeed hastened thither in a body to defend themselves; but in the mean time these cunning rogues gained an entrance, without opposition, on the opposite side, and put to death all they met. They plundered the town completely, set it on fire, and returned with their booty to Ghent.

The ambassadors from the king of France were impatiently waiting at Lille, to know whether the Ghent men would abide by the articles of peace. Wondering they received no intelligence from Ghent, they sent thither a herald, with letters to the principal inhabitants, to learn their will. The herald, on coming to his lodgings, entreated his host to assist him in the delivering of his letters; but the host had compassion on him, and told him, if he valued his life, not to mention to any one the cause of his coming, for, were it known, he would infallibly be put to death. He would not suffer him to quit his chamber the whole day, and, on the morrow, gave him his servant to escort him to the gates, bidding him say to the porters, if any questions were asked him, that he was a French merchant returning to Antwerp; and, for better security, made him put on his coat the wrong side outward. The herald, very much alarmed, believed all his host had said, and set out very early, before the gates were opened. On coming to them, he was asked who he was, and replied, a French merchant returning to Antwerp. They asked for something to drink; and, as he was untying his purse, the gates were opened; on seeing this, he put spurs to his horse, and galloped through without paying anything, but he did not think himself safe until he was arrived at Lille. He related to the ambassadors all that had passed, who, finding that the Ghent men would not adhere to their promises, took leave of the duke and returned to king Charles, carrying with them six thousand golden riddes, which the noble duke Philip had presented to them for their trouble.

The duke was ignorant of the capture of Hulst, until the Ghent men had taken and burned Axel. They would have gained Alost, had not sir Anthony de Wissoc, the governor for the duke, made so gallant a defence that they were repulsed. On their return to Ghent, they burned all the villages that acknowledged the duke's government, and put men, women, and children to death without mercy.

* Riddes—worth 5s. in Flanders, 3s. in Gueldres.

CHAPTER XLIX. — THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY RAISES A LARGE ARMY TO COMBAT THE GHENT MEN. WHO BURN HARLEBECK*, A LARGE VILLAGE NEAR COURTRAY.—OTHER EVENTS OF THIS WAR.

While the duke of Burgundy, earl of Flanders, was waiting at Lille the answer from Ghent, he was informed of the loss of Hulst and Axel, and instantly assembled his army, with the addition of a large reinforcement from Burgundy; for he had ordered the lord de Beaumont, marshal of Burgundy, to join him. Before this army could be ready to take the field, a large body sallied out of Ghent, on the 23rd of September, for Harlebeck, a considerable village near to Courtray, which they set on fire, killing the inhabitants indiscriminately, without regard to age or sex.

The duke, on hearing this, instantly despatched his nephew, Adolphus of Cleves, with a handsome force of men-at-arms and archers, to Courtray. On his arrival, he found every one in the utmost alarm, although the Ghent men were returned home. When the duke's army was ready, he sent to Courtray the marshal of Burgundy as commander-in-chief. Sir Anthony, the bastard, was ordered to Dendermonde,—sir Simon and sir James de Lalain were sent to Oudenarde,—sir Anthony de Wissoc to Alost,—and sir Adolphus of Cleves returned to the duke at Lille. The marshal, on his arrival at Courtray, caused it to be proclaimed throughout the flat countries, that all who were inclined to the duke's party should carry their effects to strong places for their security, and more especially those who were within five leagues of Ghent. The consequence was, that the greater part withdrew with their effects to Ghent. The marshal then ordered all the prisoners from Ghent to be hanged. On the other hand, the Ghent men showed mercy to none, nor would they accept of any ransom, however great the sum offered, so deadly was this warfare now become,—but more on the side of Ghent than on that of the duke.

The marshal, learning that all the provision and wealth of the low countries had been carried into Ghent, gave orders for all the villages within five leagues of Ghent, and even as far as that town, to be burned, more particularly such as were on the roads leading to or from it; and if the Picards and Burgundians left any undestroyed, the Ghent men burned them, so that the greatest desolation afflicted all Flanders. Among other acts, sir James de Lalain made an inroad to the walls of Ghent, burned two of their mills, and carried off to Oudenarde fifteen waggons laden with corn, that were going to Ghent, for this time no sally was made against him. At another time, the marshal of Burgundy marched to Ghent, with the intent of combating the Ghent men, if they would come out, but they refused. He then returned to Poulcres, a strong castle, took the lower court by storm, and then set it on fire, because the garrison had retreated into the castle, which was too strong to be then attempted, and returned to Courtray.

On the 25th of October, sir Anthony bastard of Burgundy marched from Dendermonde, together with the garrison of Alost, which he had summoned to join him, toward Ghent, having despatched thirty of his best-mounted horsemen to show themselves before the gates and endeavour to entice the garrison to come out. The Ghent men, having had intelligence of sir Anthony's coming, were ready to sally forth, and attacked these thirty men so hardly that they were astonished. With the Ghent men were some English adventurers, who had come thither to seek fame and wealth, and were on horseback: the men of Ghent, in great numbers, were on foot, and pushed forward with such speed that the bastard was surprised at seeing them so near him. In this difficulty, he earnestly entreated his men to dismount; but, in spite of his orders and entreaties, only two men-at-arms dismounted, and three archers. I know not how it happened, but they were panic-struck, and all fled, so that with great difficulty the two men-at-arms were remounted, but the three archers were killed.

The bastard, vexed to the soul, collected twenty of his men, and remained in the rear of his runaways, and saved them from further loss. It is, however, possible that this flight saved all their lives for the Ghent men, informed, as I have said, of their intent, had

* Harlebeck,—on the Lys, four leagues N.E. from Courtray.

assembled another body of men, who were to sally from a different gate, and destroy all the bridges the Picards would have to repass, and thus inclose them between the two divisions so that none could escape. Thus did this misfortune preserve from death sir Anthony and all his men, excepting the three archers.

CHAPTER L.—THE MARSHAL OF BURGUNDY BURNS THE SMALL TOWN OF ECKELOO.—THE GHENT MEN ARE DEFEATED BEFORE ALOST, WHICH THEY INTENDED TO BESIEGE.

THE garrisons in Courtray and Oudenarde, knowing that there was a strong company of Ghent men in Eckeloo, which is a considerable village, three leagues from Ghent, assembled under the command of the marshal and sir James de Lalain, and marched thither in handsome array. The Ghent men no sooner saw them approach than they fled into the wood that was hard by. All could not escape, so that upwards of forty were left dead in the village. The place was then burned, because the inhabitants would not desist from carrying provisions to Ghent, nor from ringing the alarum-bell whenever they perceived any Burgundians appear. It was for this that all the villages five leagues round were set on fire, and such as the Picards left, the Ghent men burned themselves.

On the 13th of November, the Ghent men, having heard that sir Anthony de Wissoc, governor of Alost, was gone into Artois, assembled to the amount of twenty thousand on foot, under the conduct of a few English on horseback, and marched to lay siege to Alost. Sir Anthony the bastard and sir Francis the Arragonian had early intelligence of this at Dendermonde; and by orders of the bastard, sir Francis threw himself into Alost with three hundred hardy combatants. Soon afterward, the Ghent men appeared to commence their siege; but sir Francis, like a valiant knight, sallied forth with all he could collect, leaving a sufficient garrison in the town, and fell on the Ghent men so vigorously that he soon threw them into disorder, and they wheeled about and fled toward Ghent. All were not so fortunate, for there remained dead on the field eighteen English and seventeen Ghent men; and had it not been for night coming on so soon, many more would have been slain.

On the ensuing Saturday, the marshal of Burgundy advanced to the gates of Ghent, but none issued forth to combat him. On his return, twelve Picardy archers remained in his rear, with the intent of plundering whatever they could find. Having crossed a small bridge, they saw no one; but they had not advanced far before they perceived, right before them, a large body of the enemy, and some English with them. They turned about, intending to retreat, but they saw the bridge covered with a number of peasants waiting for them. On this they took heart, thinking it better to die honourably than be taken and hanged: dismounting, they fastened their horses together, and then made such good use of their bows that no Ghent man was bold enough to approach them. One of the English couched his lance, and advanced to the charge, thinking to put them into disorder; but they instantly opened their ranks for him to pass through, and then shot so briskly that his horse was wounded in several places, and he was very glad to get out of their reach. The Picards now blew their horns, as if their friends were within hearing, which frightened the Ghent men so much that they instantly ran off for their town; and the twelve archers, looking toward the bridge, saw no one, for the peasants had fled to the woods. They then remounted their horses, and returned to their companions in safety, having gained much honour by their defence against such numbers.

Another company of Picards made an excursion to Ghent, and took some of the Companions of the Verde Tente, and one of their captains, whose body was quartered, and the rest hanged.

CHAPTER LI.—MENTION MADE OF DIFFERENT ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN THE PICARDS AND GHENT MEN.—THE LATTER ATTEMPT TO SET FIRE TO SOME PARTS OF HAINAULT.—THEY ARE MET BY THE PICARDS SOON AFTERWARD.

On the 2d day of December, sir Philip de Lalain, a young, bold and enterprising knight, made an excursion to the walls of Ghent with the garrison of Oudenarde. Two hundred men on horseback sallied forth out of Ghent, and a combat commenced; when one of the principal townsmen was killed at the onset, who had, a little before, taken a youth of the duke's party prisoner, and made him his page. The page, seeing his master dead, hastened to surrender himself to sir Philip, and assured him that upwards of four thousand men had sallied out at different gates to surround and make him and his party prisoners: it therefore behoved him to secure a retreat. At this moment, full three hundred men on horseback issued out of the gates, on which sir Philip began to retreat, often wheeling round to skirmish and check the enemy. Sir Philip de Lalain, his brother, having heard of his danger, hastened out of Oudenarde, with all he could collect at the moment, to his succour: he was then within a league of Oudenarde, skirmishing all the time with the Ghent men, who pursued him with great caution, that their other divisions might arrive to their support; but the Picards, noticing this, made their retreat good into Oudenarde; and the Ghent men took up their quarters for the night at an abbey half a league from that town, and on the morrow returned to Ghent.

Not long afterward, the Companions of the Verde Tente, to the amount of ten thousand, advanced into Hainault, killed many of the peasantry, and burnt from sixteen to seventeen villages without any molestation. A few days prior to this excursion, about fifty English marched out of Ghent on pretence of attacking the Picards, but they went to Dendermonde and surrendered themselves to sir Anthony, the bastard, who received them very graciously, and enrolled them among his own men.

One of the duke's commanders, hearing that the Ghent men were marching back from Hainault, hastened toward Ghent to meet them on their return; and, being in great force, attacked them, and slew more than two hundred: the rest saved themselves in Ghent, except some prisoners the Picards had made and carried to Dendermonde.

CHAPTER LII.—THE GHENT MEN SEND A DEPUTATION TO THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES, TO MEDIATE A PEACE.—IMMEDIATELY AFTER THEY BESIEGE COURTRAY, BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS.—THEY ARE NEAR TAKING PRISONER THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, ON HER ROAD TO BRUGES.

While the Companions of the Verde Tente were thus employed in the field, the municipality of Ghent sent to entreat the count d'Estampes to procure passports from the duke their lord, that a deputation might wait on him respecting a peace. The count succeeded in obtaining them passports; and the place of conference was fixed at Bruges, whither the duke sent some of his ministers, and the count d'Estampes as his representative. The Ghent men sent thither a deputation, with a Carthusian friar, and an ancient knight called sir Baudouin de Bos, whom they had long kept prisoner on account of their suspicions of his fidelity to them, he having declared an opinion contrary to their proceedings; and they even had him carried, with his eyes banded, to the scaffold to behead him: he would have suffered death, had not some steady friends, by their exertions, prevented it. These Ghent commissioners behaved with the greatest insolence and pride on their arrival at Bruges, as if they had no way acted wrong toward their prince; and on their departure they received no answer. They all returned except the knight and the Carthusian, who refused to accompany them back and remained in Bruges. The other commissioners staid so long on their road to Ghent that the term of their passports expired, and, falling in with a body of Picards, they were made prisoners and carried back to Bruges. among them were two of the greatest enemies the duke had in Ghent.

When the men of Ghent learned that their deputies were prisoners, they sallied forth, on

the 17th of February, in great numbers, and in three divisions. In this array they came before Courtray, the marshal of Burgundy being then absent with the duke at Lille. There was at this time in the town a very valiant and adventurous knight from Picardy, called Gauvain Quieret, who, fearless of their numbers, issued out with the few people he had, and began a sharp skirmish; but he was soon forced to retreat into the town, as the Ghent men were too many: he could not, however, retire without the loss of two of his men-at-arms and one archer. The Ghent men then attacked the suburbs; but they were so well defended that they gained nothing, except killing one man-at-arms: they now returned to Ghent.

On the 2d of March following, sir Anthony, the bastard, on his advance toward Ghent, fell in with a considerable body of the enemy, and charged them so rapidly that he slew more than fifty, and took many prisoners, whom he carried to Dendermonde. On the 5th day of this same month, the duchess of Burgundy left Lille, by orders from the duke, to go to Bruges. The Ghent men soon had intelligence of this; and, supposing that she would travel the straight road, they posted a strong ambuscade near that road, intending to overpower her escort, and put those who composed it to death. The duchess was informed of their plan, and consequently took a different road, and arrived safely at Bruges.

Sir Simon de Lalain, governor of Sluys, hearing that the duchess was to travel from Lille to Bruges, set out with two hundred combatants to escort her thither, and followed the main road, ignorant of the Ghent men being there. In his company was the lord de Maldeghen, a Flemish knight, well acquainted with all the roads and passes. Happening to ride at some little distance from the great road, he espied the ambush of Ghent men, who were watching the coming of the duchess, and also of sir Simon, whom they had perceived. The lord de Maldeghen instantly sounded his trumpets, as loudly as he could, that sir Simon, on hearing them, might retire; but he was too far advanced for this, being already in the midst of his enemies without perceiving it. He was sharply attacked on all sides, his banner beaten down; and he and his men were forced to show all their courage, to save their lives. They exerted themselves so manfully that, with the aid of the lord de Maldeghen, who hastened to their succour, the Ghent men were repulsed, and they continued their march in safety to Bruges, having only lost three or four men-at-arms, and from twelve to sixteen archers, which was not much, considering how severe the attack had been.

Three or four days before this skirmish took place, the Ghent men in Poulcres burned Englemonstier, a considerable village belonging to the count d'Estampes, in right of his countess. They could do no harm to the castle, for it was strong and well garrisoned. A few days after this, the Ghent men again demanded passports from the duke for twenty commissioners to meet his ministers anywhere he should appoint, to consider if they could find means to put an end to this disastrous war. The good duke complied with their request, and fixed on Seclin* as the place of conference, whither he sent the count d'Estampes as his representative, and some of his ministers; but nothing was done, by reason of the insolent pride of the Ghent deputies.

Not long after the return of the deputies from Seclin, a French man-at-arms, who had offered his services to Ghent for gain, called Pierre Moreau, who also was one of their captains, collected a large company, and marched to attack Dendermonde, wherein was sir Anthony of Burgundy. The knight, having had notice of their coming, issued out to meet them, and, after killing several, forced them to retreat to Ghent.

CHAPTER LIII.—PIERRE MOREAU MAKES ANOTHER ATTACK ON DENDERMONDE.—THE GHENT MEN INVADE HAINAULT, AND COMMIT GREAT RAVAGES THERE.

[A. D. 1453.]

On the 3d day of April, in the year 1453, immediately after Easter, Pierre Moreau collected a greater force than before, and made another attempt on Dendermonde, but with no better success than formerly, and, having lost from nine to ten of his men, returned to Ghent. On the 14th of the same month, the Ghent men made another irruption into

* Seclin,—an ancient town in Flanders, four miles south of Lille.

Hainault, with a very numerous army, as far as Tournay and Enghien, setting fire to all villages, and slaying every one they met without opposition. To this they were incited, as it was said, by the duke's not having paid his soldiers, on which account very many had refused to serve him.

When this came to the knowledge of the duke, he issued his summons for greater levies of men than he had raised during the war; every vassal was summoned, and all who had been used to arms; for he was determined to put an end to the war; and all were to be ready by the 15th day of May. The artillery which the duke meant to carry with him to Flanders was kept in the great hall of the town-house at Lille. It happened, but it was never known how, that fire was thrown through a crack in a tower, the cellar of which served as the magazine of powder for this artillery; but mischief was prevented by a person going accidentally into the cellar, and putting it out, as it was burning the hoops of a barrel of powder. Had not this person fortunately gone thither, the town-house, artillery, and probably the whole town, would have been destroyed.

CHAPTER LIV.—THE GHENT MEN WOULD HAVE TAKEN ALOST BY STORM, HAD IT NOT BEEN WELL DEFENDED.—THE THREE ESTATES OF FLANDERS ARE URGENT FOR PEACE.

On the 8th day of May, upwards of fourteen thousand infantry, and two hundred cavalry, marched out of Ghent to besiege Alost, wherein were no more than three hundred fighting men, commanded by sir Louis de la Viefville, as lieutenant to the governor, sir Anthony de Wissoc, who had that day gone to Dendermonde. Sir Louis sallied forth to meet the cavalry of Ghent, which had advanced before the infantry: a combat ensued, when some were killed, and the cavalry forced to fall back on their main body; after which the Picards retreated into the town, and the Ghent men encamped before it. When day broke, they attacked the town at four different places, and made so severe an attempt on one of the bulwarks that six men-at-arms were killed; but sir Louis hastening to its relief, he fought so valiantly that the enemy were obliged to retire, with the loss of twenty of their men. These attacks lasted full three hours, and many were killed on each side; but the Ghent men found it prudent to return to their encampment of the preceding night.

When sir Anthony de Wissoc heard of this attack at Dendermonde, he collected about six hundred Picards, and marched to offer battle to the Ghent men; but on perceiving their superior numbers and order of battle, he dissembled his intentions, and lodged his army near them for the night, intending to combat them on the morrow if he should see it advantageous for him. This same night, however, the Ghent men decamped and returned with all their baggage in safety to their town.

While these things were passing, a deputation of the three estates of Flanders, in conjunction with those of Bruges, waited on the duke at Lille, to request passports for certain of the Ghent men to come to him, and treat of putting an end to the war. The noble duke, from his affection to them, granted their request; and soon after, twenty commissioners arrived at Lille from Ghent, who laboured so earnestly in the business that it was imagined peace must now be concluded. In this expectation the ambassadors returned to Ghent: but when they had reported the preliminary terms, the commonalty refused to abide by them, and thus was the treaty broken off.

While this negotiation was going forward, the men-at-arms whom the duke had raised were doing all possible mischiefs to his country; and no person could venture abroad without being robbed, even to the very gates of the principal towns; and this plague lasted for upwards of six weeks.

CHAPTER LV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS AN ARMY INTO LUXEMBOURG AGAINST SOME GERMANS, WHO, FROM THIONVILLE*, WERE WASTING THAT COUNTRY.—THE DUKE ENTERS FLANDERS WITH A LARGE FORCE, TO MAKE WAR ON GHENT.

About Easter, in this year, some Germans, who had possessed themselves of the strong town of Thionville, overran, at different times, the duchy of Luxembourg, which was under obedience to the duke, and all its towns, excepting this town of Thionville. These Germans continuing their incessant inroads, the duke was constrained to send thither the lord de Rubempré †, a Picard, with one hundred men-at-arms and four hundred archers: but he found the enemy in such strength that he was unable to oppose them. The duke, although hard pressed to find men to carry on his war against Ghent, was forced to send reinforcements into Luxembourg. He therefore ordered thither the lord de Croy, his first chamberlain, and governor of Luxembourg, with one hundred lances and eight hundred archers, whose principal captains were the lord of Hames, the lord of Mareuil, the lord of Dommarcq ‡, and others.

The Ghent men, on the other hand, did not cease from carrying fire and sword into Hainault and the defenceless parts of Flanders. On the 15th day of June, they advanced toward Ath §, to burn that part of the country; but sir John de Croy lord of Chimay, having had early notice of their intentions, defeated them completely, killing three hundred, and taking numbers of prisoners, whom he carried off without molestation.

The duke of Burgundy marched from Lille on the 20th day of June, with a most numerous army to Courtray: he had a large train of artillery, and plenty of pioneers to open the woods and clear the roads, and numbers of carpenters to construct warlike engines. These pioneers and carpenters had been sent thither at the expense of the countries under the duke's obedience. The principal nobles in this army were the count d'Estampes, sir James de St. Pol, brother to the count de St. Pol, who was then employed by the king of France in the Bordelois against the English. The marshal of Burgundy was also with the duke, having with him three hundred men-at-arms, whom he had brought from Burgundy, and many other great lords and esquires from the territories of the duke.

The duke marched his whole army from Oudenarde the 25th day of June, to besiege the castle of Helsebecque, and a strong monastery hard by. The monastery was instantly won by storm, and thirty-two Ghent men taken within it, whom the duke caused to be hanged. The castle surrendered unconditionally the second day afterward, when about one hundred and fifty men, that were made prisoners, suffered a similar fate, by command of the duke.

CHAPTER LVI.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TAKES THE CASTLE OF POULCRES,—BUT THAT FLOWER OF CHIVALRY SIR JAMES DE LALAIN IS SLAIN BEFORE IT.—HE BESIEGES THE CASTLE OF GAVERE ||, TAKES IT, AND HANGS ALL WITHIN, BEFORE THE GHENT MEN ADVANCE TO OFFER HIM BATTLE,—THEY ARE DEFEATED.

After the capture of the castle of Helsebecque, the duke advanced to besiege the castle of Poulcres, which the Ghent men obstinately defended. It happened, that during the time the artillery-men were pointing a bombard against the wall, in the presence of sir James de Lalain ¶ and other lords, sir James was hit on the head by a stone from a veuglaire in the

* Thionville,—a strong town of Luxembourg on the Moselle, twelve leagues from Treves.

† Anthony lord of Rubempré, a great favourite of Philip duke of Burgundy, married Jacqueline de Croy, lady of Bievres, daughter of John lord de Croy, grand-butler of France, by whom he had issue John de Rubempré lord of Bievres, who was strongly attached to duke Charles, and perished by his side at the battle of Nancy.

‡ Dommarcq.—Du Cange, Dormnast. Q. Dommart? Anthony de Craon, lord of Dommart, son of James lord of Dommart and Jane des Fosseux, was laid under confiscation by Louis XI., for his adherence to the duke of Burgundy.

§ Ath—a town in Hainault, nine miles north-west of Mons.

|| Gavere,—Gaveren, a town on the Scheldt, seven miles from Ghent.

¶ James lord of Lalain, killed at this siege, was the eldest son of William lord of Lalain before mentioned. He was succeeded in his title and estates by his next brother John, who sold Lalain to Josse, the son of Simon lord of Montigny, younger brother of the lord William.

castle, which carried away part of his skull, and he fell down dead. It was a great loss, for he was renowned as not having his equal in all France,—witness his many deeds of chivalry in Scotland, Spain, and in other parts, where he had displayed his gallantry. He was also the most modest, the most prudent, most courteous, and most liberal of mankind, fearing and serving God above all things. He was but thirty-two years of age when death so unfortunately seized him; and this same shot from the veuglaire killed also a man-at-arms and four archers. The duke of Burgundy was very much affected by the death of sir James, for he loved him more than any other of his household for his numberless virtues, and had the place attacked with such violence that the garrison were forced to submit to his will. He had the whole hanged, excepting five or six, one of whom was a leper, and the rest boys. He then had the place raised to the ground, and the body of sir James de Lalain most honourably interred at his church of Lalain*.

After the surrender of Poulcres, the duke returned to Courtray, and left his army to live on the country, where the men-at-arms did innumerable mischiefs; for he had not money sufficient to pay them until his revenues were paid, and he had borrowed as much as he could from the rich merchants and burghers of his territories, the war having totally exhausted his treasury. He resided at Courtray twelve days, and during that time his finances were recruited, and he paid his army one month in advance; so that, on the 16th day of July, he departed from Courtray to besiege the castle of Gaveren, which was strongly fortified and held by the Ghent men. It is situated between Ghent and Oudenarde.

In marching thither, he formed his army into three battalions. The marshal of Burgundy, as commander-in-chief, sir Anthony the bastard, the lord de Chimay bailiff of Hainault, with a numerous company of men-at-arms and archers, led the van. In the centre was the duke, the most fearless, courageous, and gallant of men: with him were his son the count de Charolois, the count d'Estampes, sir Adolphus of Cleves, and almost all the knights and esquires of Picardy. In the rear division were sir James de St. Pol, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, and the whole chivalry of the Boulonois. This army was in truth very strong; and there was need that it should be so, for the men of Ghent had boasted, that this time, they would fairly meet the duke in battle. When they learnt that the duke intended to besiege Gaveren, they sent thither an Englishman, called John de Voz, a very able man-at-arms, with sixteen others, and swore to him, on his departure, that the duke should not remain four-and-twenty hours unfought with. Nevertheless, the duke's army posted themselves around the place, and the batteries were erected without any molestation.

There was at this time in the place a trumpeter, who had formerly served one of the lords in the duke's army, but had turned to the Ghent men: he mounted the highest rampart, and, having sounded his trumpet as loudly as he could, he abused the duke in the grossest manner, calling him a tyrant, and threatening him that the men of Ghent would soon lower his pride. The duke, when told of this, like a good prince, laughed at it, and turned the trumpeter's folly into ridicule.

Although the place was unfavourably situated for the batteries to have their full effect, they alarmed the garrison so much that they offered to surrender on having their lives spared, seeing also that the Ghent men did not fulfil their promises when they left that town; but the duke refused their offer. When the Englishmen heard this, and found that the men of Ghent had deceived him, it is said that he had a communication with some of the English in the duke's army, and promised to deliver up to them one of the towers of the castle; but this he could not accomplish, for the Ghent men had no confidence in him, nor in any of the English. A vessel happened to be lying in the river, near to the castle, and during the night John de Voz, and fourteen others, embarked on board and went to Ghent. When those in Gaveren saw the next morning that their captain had deserted them, they abandoned all hope of succour, and surrendered themselves to the duke's will before twelve of the clock. His will was that they should be all hanged or strangled, together with two cordelier friars that were in the place, and the trumpeter who had abused the duke.

Philip, the third son of William, was killed at the battle of Montl'hery; and Anthony, the fourth son, lost his life in Switzerland, both under the command of duke Charles the Bold, so that there is no want of foundation for the honourable testimony given by Comines to the merits of the family.

* Lalain—a village in Flanders, near Bouchain.

John de Voz and his companions, on their arrival in Ghent, remonstrated sharply with the leaders in the town, how greatly they had deceived those in Gaveren, and how weakly they had acted; for they never would again have so favourable an opportunity of combating the duke, since he had not now with him more than four thousand fighting men, the rest having disbanded from want of pay; and he concluded by exhorting them strongly to sally forth and offer the duke battle.

In the meantime, sir John de Hout*, an Englishman, who had surrendered himself to sir Anthony the bastard, as I have mentioned, had a secret communication with the duke on the means of enticing the Ghent men out of their town, for he was extremely anxious to meet their whole force in the field. Soon afterward, John de Hout returned to Ghent, under pretence of repenting of his having left them, and told them that the duke's army was daily wasting away from default of payment. The men of Ghent, however, doubting his fidelity, ordered him to prison, lest he should betray them: he was there confined until John de Voz had pressed them so earnestly to attack the duke, with their whole force, when they released him and made him one of their captains. They commanded all the gates to be kept closed, that no one might carry to the duke information of their intentions, and gave orders that every person capable of bearing arms should provide himself, and appear properly armed and accoutred, under pain of death. It was necessary for all to obey this order, or suffer the consequences; but many did obey very much against their will. They mustered upward of four-and-twenty thousand men under arms, and appointed as leaders the said English and their companions, who amounted to full two hundred on horseback. When they saw their numbers, and that all was ready, they issued out of Ghent to combat their lord. Three days before this event, the good duke expecting daily an attack from Ghent, and desirous that his son the count de Charolois might not be present at the battle, on account of the dangers that are incident to such affairs, gave him to understand that the duchess was dangerously ill at Lille, and that he would do well to go thither and see how she was. The count, like a good son, hastened to Lille, but found the duchess recovered, and in good health. He then knew that the reason why the duke had sent him on this errand was to prevent him from being present at the battle. He told his attendants that it was absolutely necessary he should be present to aid his father, for that he was fighting to preserve his inheritance; and, said he, "I vow to God that I will be there, if possible." When the duchess heard of this vow, she tried all she could to detain him, but in vain, for he instantly set off and joined the duke before Gaveren.

CHAPTER LVII.—THE BATTLE OF GAVEREN, WHERE THE GHENT MEN ARE COMPLETELY DEFEATED, WITH THE LOSS OF UPWARD OF TWENTY THOUSAND MEN SLAIN AND DROWNED.

On the same day the castle of Gaveren was yielded up, and when all the garrison were not yet hanged, news was brought to the duke, while sitting at dinner, that the Ghent men were in full march to offer him battle. The duke ordered the trumpets to sound to horse, and the army was drawn up in three battalions as before. When it was done, the duke rode from one battalion to another to show himself, and to encourage his men, telling them, that if it pleased God, they should all that day be made rich. The army now moved, the three battalions near to each other, when sir James de St. Pol, and many others from Burgundy, Picardy, and other territories of the duke, were knighted, and several that day displayed their banners for the first time. This mortal battle took place on the 22nd day of July, in the year 1453.

The duke had scarcely advanced before the van perceived the Ghent men drawn up in battle-array, with their culverins and other artillery placed in their front. This manœuvre alarmed the marshal of Burgundy, who commanded the van, lest too many of his men should suffer at the onset; and he ordered his division to retire a little, which the Ghent men mistaking for an intention to fly, hastened forward, leaving their artillery in the rear. John de Voz and John de Hout, with their English companions, led them on, but soon, sticking

* Q. Sir John Holt?

spurs into their horses, galloped to surrender themselves to the duke, saying, "My lord, here are the Ghent men, whom we have brought to you, and we leave them to your mercy." The archers now shot fiercely on the Ghent men, who defended themselves for a time very valiantly; but no sooner did the three battalions of the duke make a uniform charge than their ranks were broken, and they instantly fled for Ghent.

The duke's army pursued them closely, and it was marvellous the numbers they slew. It chanced that a division of the Ghent men, to the number of fourteen or fifteen hundred, had retreated into a meadow under cover of a coppice, where they regained courage and put themselves on their defence. This meadow was surrounded with ditches, so that neither the duke nor his men-at-arms could enter it by reason of their depth. Among those with the duke was a man-at-arms from Bruges, who thrice leaped the ditch to skirmish with those in the field; but at the third leap, his horse fell dead under him, from the severe blows received from the enemy's pikes. The duke had not any archers with him, for they had all dismounted, and could not easily overtake the runaways on horseback, to put them to death; for the duke hated them mortally, and was more vexed than can be imagined to see those who had leaped the ditches forced back again by the resistance they met with. Then this valiant prince, seizing his lance from the page who bore it by his side, raging like a lion, made his horse leap the ditch, and charged the thickest of the Ghent men. He was followed by many men-at-arms, and in the number was Bertrandon de la Brocquiere, who bore his pennon. The duke's horse was so badly wounded in several places that he was obliged to leap back again over the ditch, and wait the return of the archers. On their arrival, he again crossed the ditch, followed by his son the count of Charolois, and numbers of others, who charged the Ghent men so courageously that they were defeated, and all found in the meadow were slain. It was difficult for them to escape, as it was surrounded by ditches on three sides, and by the Scheldt on the other: many leaped into the river, and were drowned, but a few of the most active and lighter armed made such good use of their legs that they saved themselves in Ghent. It is certain that, had the duke marched thither instantly, he must have entered without opposition, so much were those in the town frightened and cast down, but his guides were unacquainted with the roads.

When the battle was over, some few escaped into Ghent; and the duke, having recalled his men, lay that night on the field of battle in his tent,—where, casting himself on his knees, he offered his thanksgivings to God for the great and decisive victory he had that day given him over his bitterest enemies.

Upward of twenty thousand of the Ghent men lost their lives this day, by the sword or by drowning. The bastard de Blanc-Estain, however, saved himself by swimming across the Scheldt. On the side of the duke, not more than sixteen men were killed from the commencement of the battle!

CHAPTER LVIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, MOVED BY PITY, SENDS HIS HERALD TO GHENT TO KNOW IF THE TOWNSMEN WOULD SUBMIT TO HIS WILL, AND HE WOULD HAVE COMPASSION ON THEM.—THE MEN OF GHENT SEND HIM A DEPUTATION TO BEG HIS MERCY.

On the morrow after the defeat of the Ghent men, the noble duke, moved by compassion, and his own virtuous nature, for his poor subjects, who through pride and insolence had rebelled against him, sent his herald, clad in his coat of arms, with letters to Ghent, signifying, that notwithstanding the victory which God had given him the preceding day, he would show them mercy if they would submit to his will, and had transmitted them passports for a deputation to come to him, should they be so inclined, to arrange articles for a general peace. The Ghent men were very sensible of the duke's kindness in thus graciously recalling them to his affection, and of the mildness of the expressions in his letter. They handsomely feasted the herald; and, on the letter being publicly read, the whole town were unanimous for begging pardon of their lord, and, without further delay, sent a deputation back with the herald.

On their appearing before the duke, they, with the utmost humility, requested pardon for their offences, and besought him that he would have the goodness to restore them to his favour; offering, at the same time, to submit themselves and their town to his will. They also requested that he would retire to Gaveren, and dismiss his men-at-arms, and they would there wait on him to hear and do his will. The good duke granted their requests; but, on returning to Gaveren, over the field of the late battle, he was so shocked at the multitudes of dead bodies that he wept bitterly, as it was said. As he saw several women searching for the bodies of their friends, to bury them, he caused proclamation to be made, that no one should molest them, whatever might be his rank, under pain of death.

On the 25th day of July, the abbot of St. Bavon, in Ghent, the prior of the Carthusians, and many persons of note, waited on the duke at Gaveren, and, falling on their knees, begged mercy for the inhabitants of Ghent, who offered to surrender everything up to him, saving their lives. The duke replied, that, from love to God, he pardoned all their misdeeds, provided they would agree to the preliminaries proposed at Seclin, and concluded at Lille by the three estates of Flanders and the burghers of Bruges. They promised, in the name of their townsmen, to abide wholly by this treaty, and most humbly thanked the duke for his great benignity and kindness.

CHAPTER LIX.—HERE FOLLOW THE ARTICLES OF THE TREATY BETWEEN PHILIP THE GOOD, AND THE TOWN OF GHENT.

THE treaty of Ghent consisted of the following articles. In the first place, the inhabitants of Ghent, to the number of two thousand men, shall come out, to the distance of one league from that town, to wherever their prince may appoint, barefooted and bareheaded, to beg his mercy. They were to be headed by all the counsellors, sheriffs and hoguemans of the town, naked, excepting their shirts and small clothes. They were to fall on their knees before the duke, his son, or any other person whom the duke should please to send thither as his representative, saying,—that they had wickedly and traitorously rebelled against him in arms,—that they had insolently contemned him, and begged his pardon for all their evil deeds.

Item, on every Thursday throughout the year, the gate leading to Oudenarde shall be closed, because it was through that gate they marched to besiege Oudenarde, and that it may remind them thereof.—Item, the gate leading towards Rupelmonde shall be closed for ever, in remembrance of their having issued out of it to offer battle to their lord at Rupelmonde.—Item, they shall pay to the duke, for the losses he may have sustained by this war, two hundred thousand riddes of gold, seventy to the marc.—Item, they shall pay for the restoration of the countries which have been burned, whatever sums the three estates of Flanders shall determine on; but if the three estates shall decline this arbitration the sum shall be fixed at one hundred thousand riddes.—Item, for the reparation of churches destroyed, they shall pay fifty thousand riddes.—Item, in recompense for the revenue of the prince's domain in Flanders, which has been unpaid by reason of the war, such an imposition shall be laid as the three estates of Flanders shall determine.

Item, there shall be a complete reformation of the laws of Ghent, in the form and manner that has been lately proposed by the ambassadors from king Charles of France, namely, that the commonalty shall elect four magistrates, and the duke, or his officers, four others,—and these shall elect twenty-six sheriffs before they quit the chamber in which they have been assembled for this purpose.—Item, in regard to the burghers, they will act toward them according to their privileges, without paying attention to the customs or usages of former times.—Item, no one in future shall be banished Ghent without an appeal first had to the bailiff, nor without the cause of his banishment being declared.—Item, they shall no longer issue ordinances or edicts without the knowledge and consent of their lord,—and such as may have been thus issued shall be declared null and void.—Item, the officers of the prince shall no longer acknowledge any obedience to the magistrates in respect to their official capacities.—Item, they shall no longer, in their writings or proclamations, sign themselves lords of Ghent, but give them such title as the magistrates of other towns use.—Item, they

shall not in future take any cognizance of the crimes of foreign merchants,—but they shall be decided on by the judges of the places wherein such merchants shall reside.

Item, they shall deliver up all their banners to their lord, for him to do with them as he may please,—and they shall not hereafter make any others in their stead.—Item, white hoods shall no more be worn, and whoever wears them shall be punished according to the will of their lord.—Item, they shall have no cognizance of any law-causes that may arise in the country of Waes, or in the respective towns of Biervliet *, Dendermonde, Oudenarde, Courtray or Alost,—but these shall be tried in those places where they have had their origin.—Item, they shall be bounden to keep all the articles of a former treaty concluded by them in the presence of the bishop of Tournay, and others of the great council of the duke.

All these articles, having been declared in the presence of the duke, his son, and great numbers of the nobility, were sworn to, and promised to be observed by the magistrates and commonalty of Ghent, and some notaries called in to witness the act. The deputation then returned to Ghent with the treaty, which, when read to the public, was so joyfully accepted that it astonished every one: they lighted bonfires in all the streets, and gave permission for such of the duke's men as pleased to enter the town, and entertained those who accepted of it most handsomely.

CHAPTER LX.—THE MANNER IN WHICH THE GHENT MEN HUMBLE THEMSELVES TO THEIR LORD, THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

On the last day of July, the noble duke of Burgundy departed from Gaveren, with his whole army, in handsome array, as if marching to battle, and thus advanced until within a league of Ghent. He then drew up his archers in ranks, as two wings, with bended bows, and they extended full half a league: the men-at-arms were on the rear of the archers, in close order, so that it was a handsome sight to view. In the centre was the duke, mounted on the same horse he had rode on the day of battle, which was apparent from the many wounds plaistered over, that he had received in the meadow, when he himself, his son, and other knights, attacked the body of Ghent men.

At this time, the men of Ghent issued out of their town, in numbers and dress conformable to the terms of the treaty, led by the abbot of St. Bavon and the prior of the Carthusians, and followed by the twenty-five sheriffs, counsellors, and hoguemans, naked to their shirts and under garments, and bareheaded. Then came two thousand of the burghers dressed, but barefooted, without girdles, and without hoods, and thus passed through the line of archers. When they came within sight of the duke, they all fell on their knees, and cried with a loud voice, "Have mercy on the town of Ghent!" The chancellor of Burgundy now advanced toward them, and remonstrated sharply on their rebellious and wicked conduct, in opposing their legal lord, and taking up arms against him; adding, that their wickedness had been so enormous that he was doubtful whether their prince would pardon them. On hearing this, they again fell on their knees, and repeated their cries of "Mercy on the town of Ghent!" They then rose, and proceeded until they came in front of the duke, who was on his war-horse, magnificently dressed, when, falling on their knees, most humbly, and with many tears, they besought him to have compassion on them, and forgive them their evil deeds.

The town-council now approached the duke, and, in the name of the whole town, supplicated his pity and benign grace that he would pardon his subjects of Ghent, now prostrate before him, although they had wickedly rebelled against him, elected hoguemans, and done numberless wicked acts, of which they now repented, and promised that if he would, in his mercy, receive them into favour, the like should never again happen, and that henceforward they would remain the most loyal and faithful of his subjects.

At the conclusion of this speech, the duke, and his son the count de Charolois, there present, pardoned them their evil deeds. The men of Ghent returned to their town more happy and rejoiced than can be expressed; and the duke departed for Lille, having disbanded his army, that every one might return to their several homes.

* Biervliet—a town on the west side of the Scheldt, 20 miles from Ghent.

CHAPTER LXI.—WHILE THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY IS CARRYING ON HIS WARFARE AGAINST THE GHENT MEN, THE LORD DE CROY IS VERY ACTIVE IN OPPOSING THE GERMANS IN THE DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG, WHERE THEY HAD DONE MUCH MISCHIEF.

I have before mentioned, that while the duke of Burgundy was engaged in his war on Ghent, he had sent the lord de Croy to the duchy of Luxembourg to oppose the Germans, who were making frequent inroads on that duchy, and had gained possession of places that appertained to the duke.

The Germans, whenever they intended any inroad, amounted from eight to nine hundred men; and their main garrison was in Thionville, a small but very strong town. The lord de Croy, with the aid of those under the obedience of the duke, conducted himself with such prudence and courage that he regained all the places the Germans had conquered. He had frequent encounters with them, in which several were killed on both sides. In short, he pressed them so hard that they demanded a truce for ten months, offering to leave the country unmolested during that term, and also to surrender Thionville to the duke, unless in the interim they should conquer him or his troops in open battle. This was agreed to by the duke, and the truce signed to continue until Ascension-day, in the year 1454. War therefore ceased in that country, and the army under the lord de Croy was disbanded.

CHAPTER LXII.—KING CHARLES OF FRANCE CONQUERS BORDEAUX AND THE BORDELOIS A SECOND TIME.

During the time of the war in Flanders, the king of France was with a large army in the Bordelois, which the English had lately reconquered. The commander of the English was a most valiant knight and long renowned in arms, called sir John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who had made war on France upwards of twenty-four years. He had been the king's prisoner when he regained Rouen; and out of his generosity, and respect for such valour, the king had remitted his ransom. The king also made him very rich presents in gold, silver, and horses, when he learnt that Talbot intended visiting Rome in the jubilee year, namely, 1450.

Nevertheless, on his return from Rome to England, he again engaged in war, and found means to recover from the king of France, the city of Bordeaux, which had shown him such honour, and the country round. It was indeed commonly reported at the time, that the inhabitants of the Bordelois most willingly surrendered to the English from their disgust at king Charles, who, since his conquest, had imposed upon them heavier taxes, and that his officers had treated them with more harshness than they had been accustomed to when under the government of the English.

CHAPTER LXIII.—POPE NICHOLAS NOTIFIES TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY A CRUSADE AGAINST THE TURKS.—THE DUKE VOWS TO UNDERTAKE AN EXPEDITION TO TURKEY, ON CERTAIN CONDITIONS.

On the eve of Martinmas-day in this year, a knight sent by pope Nicholas arrived at Lille, with letters addressed to the duke, containing intelligence that the Grand Turk, with a numerous army of Saracens, had invaded Christendom; that he had already conquered the noble city of Constantinople, and almost all Greece; that he had captured the emperor of Greece, had caused him to be inhumanly beheaded, had violated the empress, and had dragged through the streets of Constantinople the precious body of our Lord, had burnt the magnificent church of St. Sophia, and murdered men, women, and children of the Christians without number, and was daily adding to his conquests in Christendom. For these causes the holy father required of the duke, whom he knew to be a pious and catholic prince, as well as the most puissant in Christendom, that he would make dispositions to afford succour to his

distressed brethren, and to oppose the enemy of the faith. When the duke had read this letter from the pope, the knight presented him with others that the Turk had written and sent to our holy father. After the perusal of all these letters, the duke grandly feasted the knight who had brought them, at the same time giving him many rich presents, and saying that, should it please God, he would speedily afford good assistance to the Christians against the Turk. In fact, he soon afterwards despatched four galleys well filled with men-at-arms, artillery and stores, as a beginning of what he intended; writing, at the same time, to the pope, an answer to his letter, explanatory of his future intentions.

Shortly after the departure of the knight, the duke of Cleves came to Lille, on a visit to his uncle duke Philip of Burgundy, and staid until the beginning of Lent. Many great feasts and banquets were given alternately by the different great lords, which were begun by the count d'Estampes with a very handsome one, that was marvellously well supplied with every delicacy. At the end of the banquet, a most beautiful young girl, well accompanied, entered the hall, bearing a chaplet of flowers, when, mounting the table, she gracefully placed it on the head of duke Philip, who received it with joy. The ceremony of the chaplet signified that he was to give the next entertainment, which he did most magnificently about twelve days after, in the manner I shall now describe.

About one hour after mid-day, a knight, sprung from the race of the celebrated knights of the Swan, issued out of the duke's palace brilliantly armed. This was sir Adolphus of Cleves, nephew to the duke, who held a justing in the market-place of Lille, that day, against all comers, with one course of a lance. He was preceded by the figure of a swan as large as a horse, having on his neck a chain of fine gold, with which he led the knight: on each side of the swan was a savage, and the knight was surrounded by little angels. The knight was immediately followed by the duke, so sumptuously dressed it was delightful to see him. When they had escorted the knight to the market-place, he tilted with all that chose to encounter with him, namely, Charles count de Charolois, Louis count de Saint Pol, his brother the lord de Fiennes, sir Anthony bastard of Burgundy, and many more.

After the justing, the company returned to the duke's palace, and he escorted thither himself those ladies and damsels who had been present at the tilt: the principal of whom were the lady Isabella of Portugal, the duchess, and the lady Isabella of Bourbon, niece to the duke, the lady of Ravestein, and numbers of others most richly dressed.

The banquet was quite ready on their return; and when the company were seated, three large carriages, splendidly ornamented, descended from the ceiling, full of every delicacy in meats and liquors: each carriage contained a service. In front of the upper table was a fountain playing water, and in the middle of the hall was a live lion, before whom a man was beating a little dog, and near the lion, in an arbour, was a savage. In another part of the hall was the figure of a damsel, from whose breasts spouted hippocras in great abundance: beside the damsel was an infant that pissed rose-water. There were so many other pageants it would be tiresome to mention them all. Opposite to the duke's table was a representation of a church, whence issued a friar seated on a dromedary, led by a living giant. The friar addressed his speech to the duke, remonstrating, in eloquent language, how the church was daily losing its inheritances, and Christendom trampled under foot by the enemies of the faith. He called to his remembrance the valour of deceased princes: how in their time they had, by their courage, supported and defended the church. As he was thus uttering his complaints, in the name of the holy church, Golden Fleece, the duke's herald of the order, entered with a pheasant finely roasted and adorned, and presented it to the duke as an *entremets*, saying such a dish was appropriate to making vows. The duke replied, that he was right; and in the presence of the whole company vowed to God the Father, God the Son, and God the blessed Holy Ghost, three persons in one God, to the glorious Virgin Mary, mother of God, and the whole Court of Paradise, that if the king of France would engage, during his absence, to maintain his estates in tranquillity, he would himself march his whole army into Turkey, and combat army with army, or personally, with the Grand Turk until death, at the choice of the Turk. The company before they heard this vow had been all joy, but they now began to weep and groan.

The pheasant was presented to each of the great lords present, who all made vows to the same effect, but under different conditions. To relate the whole would take up too much time, so I shall pass them over, and say, that the banquet was succeeded by dancings and mummeries, after which every one retired to his home.*

CHAPTER LXIV.—CHARLES COUNT DE CHAROLOIS, SON TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, IS BETROTHED TO HIS COUSIN-GERMAN THE LADY ISABELLA OF BOURBON.—THE DUKE GOES INTO GERMANY, AND SOON AFTER HIS RETURN, THE COUNT MARRIES HIS COUSIN-GERMAN.

About eight days after this banquet, and in the first week of March, in the same year, the count de Charolois was betrothed, by order of his father the duke of Burgundy, to his cousin-german the lady Isabella of Bourbon, daughter to the duke of Bourbon; and the duke sent to Rome for the dispensations necessary for their marriage. After this, he dismissed his household for twelve-months, as he intended to remain so long in Germany.

On the 15th of March, the duke left Lille privately attended, and passed through Burgundy on his road to Germany, where he was to meet the Emperor Frederic and other princes of Germany, to learn whether they would join him in a war against the Turk, or suffer his army to pass through their territories without molestation or hindrance. He was grandly feasted by many of the German princes; but the emperor, who loved ease more than exertion, and preferred peace to war, pretended to be ill, and sent word to the duke that it would not be worth his while to proceed farther in the country, giving him hopes that at the end of six months he would meet him to conclude the business he was so urgent upon. The duke was now forced to abandon his expedition, and he returned to his country of Burgundy, where he staid some time.

CHAPTER LXV.—THE KING OF FRANCE GOES TO HIS CASTLE OF LUSIGNAN.—THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TAKES FRONSAC.—THE FRENCH BESIEGE CHASTILLON.—LORD SHREWSBURY ASSEMBLES A LARGE FORCE TO RAISE THIS SIEGE.—HE IS THERE SLAIN.

In this same year of 1454, the king of France left Tours, and fixed his residence at the castle of Lusignan; and in the mean time, Lord Shrewsbury laid siege to the castle of Fronsac. The governor for king Charles was Joachim Rohault, who was forced to surrender to the English because the king's army was not ready; but the garrison marched away with arms and baggage.

On the 2d of June, the king departed from Lusignan for St. Jean d'Angely †; and on the 7th, Challais ‡ was besieged by sir John de Chabannes grand-master of the king's household, the count de Penthievre, the lords de St. Severe and de Boussac. On the 18th, it was won by storm by the above lords and their men, amounting to four or five hundred lances, archers, and some franc-archers, although eight-score § combatants were there in garrison. From sixty to eighty were killed, and the rest retreated to a tower, wherein they held out for a time expecting to be relieved; but as no succours came, they surrendered to the king's pleasure: in consequence, they were all beheaded for having broken their oaths of allegiance. The lord d'Anglades had indeed left Bordeaux for their relief, but when he heard what had passed, he returned back as speedily as he could.

The French laid siege to Châtillon in Perigord, the 13th day of July: it is situated on the river Dordogne, and was occupied by the English. The lords de Lohéac and de Jalognes, marshals of France, were ordered to conduct the siege, having with them many great barons, knights and esquires, and from sixteen to eighteen hundred men-at-arms and archers. In

* For further particulars, I refer the reader to a note in the Travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquiere.

† St. Jean d'Angely—an ancient town in Saintonge, 38 leagues from Bordeaux.

‡ Challais—in Saintonge, near Saintes.

§ Eight-score,—probably eight hundred.

the above number are included the men-at-arms of the count du Maine, under the command of sir Pierre de Beauveau, lord de la Bessiere: those of the count de Nevers, commanded by sir Ferry de Grancey: those of the count de Castres, son to the lord de la Marche *, under sir Louis du Puy, seneschal of la Marche, Guillaume de Lusac and Jean de Messignac: those of the duke of Brittany, having for chief his nephew the count d'Estampes, but commanded by the lord de la Hunodaie and the lord de Montauban, because the count d'Estampes had remained with the king. The royal artillery, both small and great, was also sent thither, under the direction of master John Bureau and his brother Jasper Bureau, master of the artillery. They had with them seven hundred labourers, to work the guns and bombards. The two brothers first ordered the park of artillery to be strongly surrounded with ditches, and made secure against the enemy, before they attended to the siege.

The earl of Shrewsbury, hearing of this, hastily set off from Bordeaux, with eight hundred or a thousand horse, attended by his son lord Lisle, the lord Molyns, and many others, the most valiant of the English captains, as well lords as knights and esquires, from the Bordelois and from England. He was followed by four or six thousand English on foot. The earl and his companions arrived at the siege on the 17th of July, about day-break; and when the French saw him advancing, they retreated into the field wherein the artillery had been placed, and which had been fortified with ditches, but he fell in with some of the franc-archers, who had been unable to effect their retreat, and killed from one hundred to six-score of them. The French made great exertions to retire within the inclosure, for the English were advancing fast on them, thinking that they were flying, having abandoned their siege. The earl, in the meantime, as he was waiting for the infantry, had a pipe of wine set on its end, and drawn off to refresh his men. The French had now nearly all gained the park, and were forming in handsome order: the cannoneers had also brought their guns to the ditches, and pointed them against the English.

Those in Châtillon had found means to send information to lord Shrewsbury at Bordeaux, that if he would hastily march to their relief, the French would fly: he was therefore exceedingly surprised, on his arrival, to see the manner in which the French had intrenched themselves, and how well they had posted their artillery. The commanders to oppose the English were the lords marshals, the grand-master of the household, the count de Penthievre, the seneschal of Poitou, the lord de la Bessiere, sir John Bureau, and others having the conduct of the siege, besides several great lords who had taken the field against the king's enemies. Lord Shrewsbury and his companions advanced boldly to the barriers, thinking to force an entrance into the park; but he found there such valiant opposers, who seemed eager to display their courage, as astonished him, after the intelligence he had received from those in Châtillon. The earl was mounted on a small hackney, and did not dismount on account of his age †; but he ordered all others so to do. The English had eight banners displayed, namely, that of the king of England, of St. George, of the Trinity, of the earl of Shrewsbury, and others, with the standards of the nobility skilfully arranged.

The attack commenced with great valour, and each party fought manfully, so that the business lasted a full hour; at the end of which, the men-at-arms of the duke of Brittany, under the command of the lords de Montauban and de la Hunodaie, were sent for to relieve the French who had been thus long engaged at the barriers. On their arrival, by the aid of God and their own prowess, the English were forced to turn their backs, and were beaten down, with all their banners, by these Bretons. The artillery played so well that the English were constrained to fly, but not without numbers being left dead on the spot. The hackney of lord Shrewsbury was struck down by a culverin-ball, and he was put to death by the French, as he lay under him ‡.

* Louis de Puy, lord of Coudraimorlin, baron of Bellefay, &c., son of Geoffry de Puy, who was killed at Azincourt. He married a daughter of Antoine de Prie, lord of Buzancais, before mentioned.

† He was then 86 or 87 years old.

‡ "He fell gloriously, together with his gallant son the lord l'Isle, who, though entreated to escape by the dying hero, chose to share his father's fate rather than quit the field."—*Andrews' Hist. of Great Britain, A.D. 1453, 4 5.*

"The herald of this glorious veteran sought out the body amongst the heaps of slain, wept over it, and embraced it with these pathetic words: 'Alas! my lord, and is it you? I pray God pardon all your misdoings! I have been your officer of arms forty years and more: it is time that I should surrender to you the ensigns of my office.'

Among the slain were the lord l'Isle *, sir Hedoual Haul †, Thomas Aurigan, the lord de Pingulan, a Gascon knight, and thirty of the most valiant knights, as it was said, from England. Lord Molyns ‡ was made prisoner. As the French were much fatigued, and on foot, they could not pursue the enemy, so that numbers of English and Gascons escaped; and about eight hundred or a thousand retreated into Châtillon, among whom were the count de Candale §, son to the captal de Buch, the lords de Montferrant, de Rosem, and d'Anglades; the lord de l'Esparre escaped also, who had been the principal author of this rebellion. Those who could not enter the town fled by land or water, but in regard to the last, they were mostly all drowned.

The count de Penthievre, the bailiff of Touraine, and several French, having at length mounted their horses, pursued the runaways as far as the walls of St. Emilion ||, killing all they could overtake. When the French were recovered from their fatigues, they buried the dead, consisting of four or five hundred on the side of the English. On the morrow, the French marshals ordered all their artillery to be brought to bear on the walls of Châtillon, to rejoice those within it; but when the townsmen saw these vast preparations, they began to humble themselves, and to lower the pride with which they were filled, by surrendering themselves to the king's will: they were estimated at fifteen hundred combatants; and the chief lords were constituted prisoners to the king.

CHAPTER LXVI. — AFTER THE REDUCTION OF CHATILLON THE FRENCH TAKE ST. EMILION AND LIBOURNE. — THE KING JOINS HIS ARMY BEFORE BORDEAUX, IN WHICH WERE GREAT NUMBERS OF ENGLISH.—THAT TOWN SURRENDERS ON CAPITULATION.

After the surrender of Châtillon, the French commanders marched the army and artillery to St. Emilion, the garrison of which instantly submitted, as it was impossible to make any resistance, and were mercifully received. Thence the army advanced toward Libourne, which had not willingly turned to the English when lord Shrewsbury first arrived at Bordeaux; but the French garrison, hearing of his coming, had fled: the townsmen were, therefore, forced to submit; and, on this account, they were admitted into favour with the king.

At this time, the count de Clermont, as lieutenant-general for the king of France in Guienne and the Bordelois, kept his army on the other side of the Gironde. He had with him the count de Foix, the count d'Albreth, the lord d'Orval his son; sir Theaulde de Valpergue, bailiff of Lyon; the lord de Saintrailles, master of the horse to the king; sir Bernard de Béarn, the viscount de Turenne, the lord de Lavedan ¶, and many other captains, to the number of eight hundred lances and archers, who acted so prudently, that the English forces in that country and in Bordeaux, to the amount of eight thousand combatants, never offered them battle, nor prevented them making prisoners, or destroying convoys of provision and wine. On the 14th day of July, the counts de Clermont, de Foix, and d'Albreth, laid

Thus saying, with the tears gushing from his eyes, he threw his coat of arms over the corpse, thus performing one of the ancient rites of sepulture."—*Registre de Wyrkson*, apud *Anstis*.

* The children of the great lord Talbot were, by his first marriage with Maud Neville, three sons, viz., Thomas, who died in his lifetime; John, who succeeded him as earl of Shrewsbury, &c.; and sir Christopher Talbot, knight. By his second marriage with Margaret, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, he had John (viscount l'Isle, so created in reference to the titles of his mother's family), who, being already signalised by his valour on many great occasions, fell gloriously, together with his father on this day. He served with two bannerets, four knights, 73 men-at-arms, and 800 archers. He left issue, Thomas viscount l'Isle, who, in 1470, was slain in a private feud with the lord Berkeley, at Wotton-under-edge in Staffordshire.

† Sir Edward Hull.—Stowe.

‡ William, lord Molyns, who was killed before Orleans in 1429, left only a daughter, who was married to Robert Hungerford, Esq., grandson of Walter lord treasurer Hungerford, in 1441. This Robert Hungerford, lord Molyns, in right of his wife, was eldest son to Robert, lord Hungerford, son of Walter, and served in this year (1453) with one banneret, 2 knights, 56 men-at-arms, and 600 archers. He remained a prisoner for seven years, after which, siding with the Lancastrians, he was attainted 1 Edw. 4. and beheaded after the battle of Hexham, two years afterwards.

§ John captal de Buch was created earl of Kendal by king Henry VI., and his descendants retained the title, metamorphosed into that of Candale, for several generations after they had submitted to the crown of France.

|| St. Emilion,—on the Dordogne, near Libourne, six leagues from Bordeaux.

¶ Probably Raymon-Garcias, lord of Lavedan, who married Bellegarde daughter of Arsien V. lord of Montesquieu.

siege to the new castle in Medoc, and remained before it fourteen days. The governor for the king of England was a knight of Gascony, called the lord de l'Isle, who, seeing the impracticability of defending it with success, surrendered it to these lords.

The French army was then marched to besiege Blanquefort*; and the count de Foix, with his brother the viscount de Lautrec, separated from it to lay siege to Cadillac†, while the lord de Saintrailles went before St. Macaire‡, and reduced it to the king's obedience. The lord d'Albreth likewise left the siege of Blanquefort, and reduced the towns of Langon§ and Villendras to obedience; so that two or three sieges were going on at the same time. To regarrison their conquests, these lords had with them about a thousand lances, and a sufficiency of archers, comprehending the men of the count d'Armagnac, under the command of an esquire called L'ainé de Lange, seneschal of Rouergue. During the siege of Cadillac, the count de Clermont never quitted that of Blanquefort until it had surrendered to him.

On the 16th day of July the king left the city of Angoulême, to join his army in the Bordelois: he was accompanied by the counts of Angoulême, of Maine, of Nevers, of Estampes, of Castres, of Vendôme, and many other barons, knights, and esquires, to the town of Libourne. His army was then before Fronsac, which was held by the English, who afterward surrendered it on capitulation of being allowed to go to England; and they marched out with only staves in their hands. The army then crossed the Dordogne, to subdue the country within the two rivers, and captured many towns from the English. The king advanced to Montferrant, and ordered a blockhouse to be erected against Lormond, near Bordeaux, by a part of his army, while another division was employed on the siege of the town and castle of Cadillac. On the other hand, the counts de Clermont, de Foix, d'Albreth, d'Orval, and the bailiff of Lyon, with others to the amount of one thousand lances and archers, had posted themselves near to Bordeaux, on the side of the moors, to destroy all the corn and provision, that those within Bordeaux might not reap any advantage or profit by them.

On the 18th day of July the king in person led his army against Cadillac, when it was taken by storm. The first who entered was an esquire named Gonfroy de St. Hellin, bailiff of Chaumont in Bassigny; but the English retired into the castle, which was very strong. Notwithstanding the strength of the place, the English, alarmed at the great power and good order of the king's army, which consisted of a thousand spears, and a proportionate number of archers, were forced to submit. They surrendered themselves, in the month of October following, prisoners to the king, when their captain, called Gaillard, was beheaded. In the blockhouse before Lormond were posted the lord de Lohéac, marshal of France, with many other lords, knights, and captains, to the amount of fifteen or sixteen hundred spears, archers, and artillery; and near to it were anchored the king's fleet of victuallers from Brittany, Poitou, Spain, Holland, Zealand, and Flanders, which remained in the river Gironde, until Bordeaux surrendered to the king.

In like manner had victuallers been sent from England; and on their arrival the lord Cameise ‖ had ordered their sails and stores to be landed and secured in the town, that they might not depart *hospite insalutato*; that is to say, without taking leave of their hosts. The English also constructed another blockhouse opposite to and higher than that of the French, although it profited them little, notwithstanding so many in the town were attached to the king of England, namely, the lord Cameise, the lord Clinton ¶, the bastard of Somerset, the

* Blanquefort,—a town in Guienne, near Bordeaux.

† Cadillac-en-Fransadois,—seven leagues from Bordeaux.

‡ St. Macaire,—on the Garonne, nine leagues from Bordeaux.

§ Langon,—one league from *Cadillac*.

‖ Camus,—or Cameise. See Dugdale. Probably Camois. The male line of this *barony* was extinct in the time of Henry V.; but Dugdale adds, "of this family (without doubt) was also Sir Roger de Camoise, knight, who in 22 Hen. VI. (1444) was taken prisoner in the wars of France, and there detained in great misery. Whereupon, Isabel his wife had an assignation of £40 per annum for her life, to be paid by the mayor and commonalty of London." Q. Is this the same Sir Roger de Camois released from captivity?

¶ William lord Clinton (cousin and heir of John lord Clinton, who distinguished himself in the expedition of Thomas Woodstock, 1380, and is noticed by Froissart) was in all the wars of Henry IV. V. and VI.; in Hen. VI. he served in France with 25 men-at-arms and 78 archers; in 9 Hen. VI. with one knight, 38 men-at-arms and 300 archers. He died 10 Hen. VI. (1432) leaving his son and heir, John lord Clinton, the nobleman here mentioned; who was made prisoner in the year 1441, and, after remaining in prison for six years, was ransomed at the sum of 6000 marks. He afterwards took part with the house of York during the civil wars, and served king Edward in many of his expeditions.—Dugdale.

lord de l'Esparre, the lord de Rosem, and from three to four thousand English, and as many or more Gascons, one half of whom were quartered in the town, and the other half in the blockhouse, to guard their fleet.

Thus were these powers employed on the same duty in their separate blockhouses from the first day of August until the 17th of October, annoying each other by every possible means. Provision began at length to fail in Bordeaux, to the great alarm of the English, as was natural; and as they daily heard of towns in all directions submitting, by force of arms, to the king, they made offers of a surrender on a fair capitulation. The king consented for two reasons: first, because he was ready to render good for evil; secondly, considering the mortality that was to be dreaded, if matters were pushed to extremities, he was glad to compound for the departure of the English on the following terms:—The city of Bordeaux was to be yielded up to him, and the inhabitants were to remain his true and loyal subjects; they taking an oath never to rebel again, but to acknowledge the king of France as their true and legal lord. The English were to be allowed to transport themselves in their own vessels to England, or to Calais, as they should please. But because some of the lords of that country and city had maliciously and traitorously sought the alliance of England, and had gone thither for that purpose, contrary to their oaths and declarations made to the king in the preceding year, who, at a very great expense and loss of men, had conquered them, the king would reserve to himself the power of banishing from the country of Bordelois twenty persons, according to his pleasure, such as had gone to England to seek the aid of the English, and particularly the lord de Duras, the lord de l'Esparre, and others. This capitulation was signed on the 17th day of October, in the year 1453.

In truth, the king laboured greatly in these matters, both in body and mind; for after the aid of God, he was indebted for the peaceable recovery of this country to his own prudent conduct, and to the gracious manner with which he received those who returned to their obedience. He was also supported by his vassals and subjects with the same earnestness as if the recovery of his kingdom had personally concerned themselves.

Sir Pierre de Beauveau, lord de la Bessiere, died of his wounds three days after the taking of Châtillon, which was a great loss. Sir James de Chabannes, grand-master of the household, was likewise slain there: he was much lamented, as he was a most valorous knight.

The country being thus recovered, the king determined on going to Tours, after leaving for its defence the count de Clermont, his lieutenant-general, sir Theaulde de Valpergue, and sir John de Bureau, treasurer of France and mayor of the city of Bordeaux, with a sufficient force of men-at-arms, archers, and cross-bows. This was become absolutely necessary by reason of their late treacherous conduct; for, according to a maxim of law,—"Semel malus, semper præsumitur malus." It was therefore expedient to keep a heavy hand on them, that they might be under greater subjection, and prevented from rebelling again.

CHAPTER LXVII. — THE GRAND TURK BESIEGES CONSTANTINOPLE, AND BATTERS THE CITY WITH HEAVY ARTILLERY.—IT IS TAKEN BY STORM. — THE CRUELTIES COMMITTED THERE.—A REMEDY PROPOSED TO RESIST THE TURK *.

On the 4th of April, after Easter, in this same year 1453, Morbesan †, son of Orestes, great lords in Achaia, advanced near to Constantinople, and, on the 5th day of this month, besieged that city all round with two hundred thousand men; sixty thousand of whom were archers, and from thirty to forty thousand cavalry. About a fourth part of them were armed with haubergeons and coats of mail, others after the French manner; some in the

* M. du Cange says that this chapter must be compared with Phrantzes. This chapter, containing the hearsay account of transactions which took place at a considerable distance from the kingdom of France, abounds, as it might be expected, with errors, the correction of which, as they occur, would be a task equally laborious and unprofitable. Whoever wishes to make himself acquainted with the details of the siege and capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II. may peruse the 68th chapter of Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

† Morbesan. Mahomet II. son to Amurath or Morad II.

Bulgarian manner, and in different fashions. Many had helmets of iron, and others were armed with bows and cross-bows. The greater part, however, of the sixty thousand were without any other armour than targets and Turkish blades. The remaining hundred were composed of merchants, artisans, followers of the army, pillagers, and destroyers of the country. There were very many bombards and culverins made use of at this siege; and one particularly large bombard, that shot stones twelve spans and four fingers in circumference, weighing eighteen hundred pounds. These bombards shot daily from one hundred to six-score times; and this thundering lasted for fifty-five days, expending a thousand weight of powder each day, which was necessary for the numerous culverins that were employed.

The Turk had likewise a fleet of sixteen or eighteen galleys, and from sixty to eighty galiots, having each eighteen or twenty oars, and from sixteen to twenty small barks, called palendrins*, to transport horses in, and plenty of gun-carriages. When the siege had been regularly formed, Sangombassa†, principal minister to the Turk, and who had the greatest credit and authority with him, had transported over land, the distance of two or three miles, from sixty to eighty galleys, and other armed vessels, into the Melse Mondagarin‡, near to Pera, and between the two cities. The Turks could not by any other means enter the harbour of Constantinople, as the Bosphorus and the straits of the Dardanelles were strongly guarded by the Christians, who were so posted that they could relieve each other when attacked.

The commander of this expedition was a Turk called Albitangoth§, who broke through four of the Genoese ships. The Turk appointed another commander to surround the city by sea and land. Constantinople is a very strong city, of a triangular form, twenty miles in circuit on the land side, and five miles wide from the land boundary to the harbour and gulf. The walls on the land side are very strong and high, having barbicans and loop-holes on the top, well fortified without by the ditches and ramparts. The principal walls are from fifteen to twenty-two fathoms high: in some places six, and in others eight fathoms wide: the outworks are twenty fathoms high and three in thickness, and the ditches ten deep. The city contained from twenty-five to thirty thousand persons, and six thousand combatants. In the harbour were thirty ships and nine galleys, to defend the chain that had been thrown across it: of this number were two armed vessels, and three merchant ships, from the Venetians; three belonging to the emperor,—and one to sir John Justinian, a Genoese in the pay of the emperor.

Constantinople, although besieged by sea and land, and strongly battered by bombards and cannon, held out for fifty days, during which a captain of one of the galleys, in conjunction with others ordered on this service, attempted to set fire to the Turkish fleet; but the galley was sunk by a heavy stone from a bombard, and the others ran on the sharp stakes with which the Turks had fortified the van division of their fleet. On the land side, Sangombassa, king of the Albanians, had in his army many who had been accustomed to work in gold and silver mines,—and he ordered them to open fourteen mines under the walls of the city, to throw them down. As these mines were opened at a distance from the walls, the Christians countermined them, and at times stifled the Turks in their mine with smoke, or suffocated them with stinks: at other times they drowned them, by introducing water suddenly on them, or destroyed them by fighting hand to hand. Sangombassa constructed a high and strong tower of wood that overtopped the walls, and threw across an arm of the sea a bridge of boats one thousand fathoms in length and seven wide, for the army to cross, besides erecting other smaller towers that were both light and strong, and could be moved from one place to another when wanted. There were daily skirmishes, in which many were slain on each side,—but for one that was killed in the town one hundred were destroyed of the besiegers.

At this siege were many Greek Christians, and others from different parts, who, although subjects to the Turk, are not constrained to renounce their religion: they therefore pray to and adore God at their pleasure. There were besides several captains and powerful Turks, who, out of spite to Sangombassa, as he oppressed them much, gave information to those in

* Palendrins,—palendric,—a flat boat.—*Du Cange's Glossary.*

† Sangombassa. Q.

‡ Melse Mondagarin. Q. the sea of Marmora?

§ Albitangoth. Q.

the town, by letters fastened to arrows and by all other possible means, of what was going forward in the camp. Among other things, the Christians were informed of the Grand Turk having held a council of his ministers and principal persons for four whole days; and that in this council a captain, called Colombassa *, had advised the raising of the siege, saying to the Turk, "Thou hast done thy duty: thou hast already given many great battles to the Christians, and at each time numbers of thy people have fallen. Thou seest from the fortifications and defence of the city that it is impregnable,—insomuch that the more thou sendest to attack it, so many more are left dead before it. Those who have mounted the walls have been repulsed or slain,—and thy ancestors never had the power nor the inclination to advance so far as thou hast done, which ought to satisfy thy ambition, without wishing the total destruction of thy people."

So much was said by others, in consequence of this harangue, that the Turk doubted within his own breast whether he should return and erect two columns on the spot where he then was, to proclaim to the world that he had done more than any of his predecessors had ever undertaken, and to inform posterity that no Turk had ever before dared to approach so near to Constantinople. Sangombassa was of a contrary opinion, and thus addressed the Turk: "Thou hast shown thyself the strongest. Thou hast overthrown part of the walls; we will completely destroy the remainder. Only let us give one more determined attack,—and, if we then fail of conquest, we will submit to act according to thy pleasure." He expressed himself with so much warmth and earnestness, that the Turk consented to his proposal; and intelligence thereof was conveyed into the town, with exhortations to hold out with courage for a few days longer, and the siege would assuredly be raised.

The Turk, being resolved to storm the city, ordered a solemn fast to take place three days before the time fixed on, in honour of the God of Heaven, whom alone he adores. It was kept very strictly for the three days, none of the army eating anything during the day-time; but at night they feasted, and their camp and fleet were then illuminated with a multitude of torches, so that land and sea seemed on fire: they added loud music with drums and other instruments, for with trumpets they were ill provided.

When the time arrived for the storming, both parties seemed determined on victory or death. The attack began very slowly in the evening, and the Turk had made the following arrangement of his forces:—Siglardy†, captain-general of Turkey, was posted, with twenty thousand men, at the gate of Pucchi, where was the heat of the battle: Sangombassa, with about a third of the army, was posted at the gate of St. Romain, about a mile distant from Pucchi. Ebbigabeth, governor-general of Greece, was placed on the side of Galigaria‡, near to the emperor's palace. The greater part of the mines were two miles distant from St. Romain. The renegade Albanian, Sangombassa, was posted on the other side of the canal near to Pera, with other renegade Christians; for, in these countries, many daily recant from their religion.

At the commencement of the attack, the Christians defended themselves well, particularly at St. Romain, which was the weakest part of the walls; for lately good part had been damaged, and even thrown down. The heavy cannon and the culverins kept up so brisk a fire that breaches were made of many fathoms wide in several places; and the firing was so incessant that the sky could scarcely be seen for the thickness of the smoke. The besieged instantly repaired the breaches with old casks and bags of earth, and defended themselves as well as they could. At this spot was sir John Justinian, who behaved with great courage: indeed, the whole city placed their dependence on his abilities.

As a last effort, the Grand Turk now advanced thither in person, with two banners and ten thousand chosen men for his guard, besides an infinity of Turks, with scaling-ladders, moveable wooden castles, and other engines. The attack was become very bloody: the ditches were filled, and the walls scaled. At this critical moment was sir John Justinian wounded by a ball from a culverin, and carried off to be dressed, after he had resigned his command to two Genoese gentlemen. The Turks pursued their success,—and the Christians, seeing themselves overpowered, and that sir John Justinian had quitted his command, which they mistook for his having fled, abandoned the walls, and ran away. Thus did the Turks

* Colombassa. Q. † Siglardy. Q. ‡ Galigaria. Q. Galata?

enter Constantinople, the 28th day of May, in the year aforesaid, putting all to the sword who made any resistance *.

No attack was made on Pera, for the greater part of the inhabitants were in Constantinople assisting in its defence. Those who had remained did not attempt to carry away any of their effects, but deliberated to send the keys of their town to the Turk, and offer him the city, in which were six thousand men, and throw themselves on the mercy of God. A good many of both sexes, however, embarked on board a Genoese vessel to escape, and one ship laden with women was seized by the Turks. The emperor of Constantinople died there. Some say that he was beheaded,—others, that he was squeezed to death by the crowd as he was attempting to escape by one of the gates: both may perchance be true,—as he may have been pressed to death, and the Turks may have cut off his head afterwards.

This was a melancholy event for the Christians; for after the Turks had gained peaceable possession of the city, they entered the churches, more especially the cathedral of St. Sophia, which is a very large and magnificent building; and finding it full of ladies, damsels, and others of high rank, they ravished them all without any distinction, and in contempt of God our Creator and of the Catholic faith. The Turk even violated the empress in this church, made her his concubine, and carried her with him when he departed from the city. His troops indulged themselves with impunity in every luxury and detestable vice.

The large galleys of the Venetians, and from Trebisonde, waited until the middle of the

* "Constantinople had long been aimed at by the Turkish power; but the diversions formed by Hunniades and George Castriot had retarded an event, which the effeminacy and profligacy of both rulers and people had rendered inevitable. Constantine Drakoses, the last emperor, merited a better fate, if there could be a better than dying for his country. When he found Mohammed determined to besiege his city, he raised what force he could, which amounted to no more than three or four thousand men; nor could the imperial treasury afford to continue in its pay a celebrated German engineer, who, on his stipend being lessened, went in disgust to the Turks, and cast those immense pieces of cannon which are still the wonder of the Dardanelles.

"To Giustiniani, a Genoese, who, with five hundred men, came to defend the city, Constantine gave the chief command, promising to make him prince of Lemnos if he drove off the Turks. Meanwhile the citizens sat like idiots, determined to suffer the extremities of war, and expose their wives and children to violation and slaughter, rather than support an emperor who they knew wished to unite the Greek with the Latin church.

"Mohammed had four hundred thousand men-in-arms around the city; but though his fleet was large, he could not approach the walls by the harbour, and had even been witness to the success of five ships from Genoa, who had forced their way through his numerous navy. To remedy this, he contrived by engines, and an immense strength of hands, to draw a vast detachment of galleys over a peninsula into the harbour, and then the blockade was complete. The cannoneers, too, of the Turks were instructed by a Hungarian ambassador (moved by a foolish prophecy that Christendom would never thrive until Constantinople was taken), how to do the most damage to the old and ruinous fortifications of the devoted city.

"When all was ready for an assault, Mohammed sent to offer lives, liberty and goods, to the emperor and people, with settlements in Greece, if they would give up the place,—but in vain. The Turks were at first gallantly repulsed, Constantine defending the breach, and Giustiniani bravely seconding his efforts: unhappily the latter being seized with a panic, on receiving a slight wound, and quitting his post, the Italians, who were the strength of the besieged, followed, and the enemy burst in with hardly any opposition. The wretched emperor saw that all was lost, and was only heard to say, 'Alas! is no Christian here to strike off my head?' A Turk performed that office; and Mohammed with his army rushing in, every bar to slaughter, rapine, and violence, gave way.

"Meanwhile numbers of the Greeks stood calmly around the church of Santa Sophia, while others coolly employed themselves in a solemn procession, deluded by a fanatic, who had foretold, that as soon as the infidels should force their way to a certain part of the city, an angel should interfere and utterly destroy their forces; but the Turks, penetrating to the church, tied these dreamers two and two, and drove them away as slaves. After three days, Mohammed checked the course of plunder, and accepted the remaining inhabitants as subjects. To the royal family he behaved with humanity at first; but offering a cruel insult, when intoxicated, to Demetrius Leontares, (a man of high rank, great duke or admiral of the empire, and nearly allied to the throne) by sending a domestic to bring one of his children, who was remarkably beautiful, into his seraglio, the generous Greek (although he had been used to wish to see a Mussulman's turban rather than a cardinal's hat at Constantinople) resented it with such spirit that the tyrant ordered him and his whole family to be beheaded. He suffered with great resignation, professing himself happy, that by seeing his children die before him, he was certain they were not reserved for infamy.

"Thus write Calchondylas and Ducas, who were probably both eye-witnesses to these horrors; but Cantemir affirms that the Turkish historians own an agreement, by which a part of the citizens, who had been allowed an honourable capitulation, preserved some of their churches, some privileges as to religion, &c. The men of letters, unable to endure the government of barbarians, dispersed themselves around Europe, and enriched every province, but particularly Italy, with their science.

"The whimsically superstitious are fond of a silly remark, that as the western empire began and ended with an Augustus, so did that of the east begin and end with a Constantine; but a much more useful speculation from the dreadful fate of this metropolis, and still more from that of Rome in 1527, presents itself to the rich and indolent citizen, viz. that opulence, far from securing its owners, only holds out a bait to the destroyer; and that no wealthy city should think itself secure without union, good government, and military exertions, among its inhabitants."—*Andrews' Hist. of Great Britain.*

ensuing day to save some of the Christians, and about four hundred embarked on board. In the number was Jacques Totaldi*, who had been on guard at a part of the wall distant from where the Turks had entered; perceiving that all was lost, he made for the shore, and by swimming saved himself on board one of these galleys. Had the Venetian fleet, under the command of John la Rendour†, arrived the preceding day with his troops, most assuredly the city would have been relieved; for it consisted of nine galleys and twenty other vessels. It arrived the day after the conquest at Negropont.

It has been estimated, that the plunder the Turks made in Constantinople amounted to four thousand millions of ducats: the loss of the Venetians alone was said to be fifty thousand ducats. The Genoese saved on board their galleys twenty thousand: the Florentines lost twenty thousand; the merchants of Ancona fifteen thousand. From conversations with different Turks, we have heard that the Grand Turk, when only twenty-three or twenty-four years old, was more cruel than Nero, and delighted in shedding blood: he was bold and ambitious, and more ardent to conquer the world than Alexander or Cæsar. It is alleged that he possesses larger territories, and greater power, than any other monarch whatever. He has different histories read out to him; and demands the reason why such and such things have been done. He holds it an easy matter to throw a bridge from Megara‡ to Venice, for a passage to march his army thither. He inquires where Rome is situated; and after the duke of Milan, of his valiant deeds, and other affairs. He can talk of nothing but war; and declares that he will make Constantinople his seat of empire, for that he is able and desirous to establish a large navy. He imagines that there is not a prince on earth but will bring him the keys of his towns before he calls for them, considering that he has taken by storm Constantinople, the strongest city in Europe, and so powerful that it was thought no army, however great, could accomplish it, and that he and his troops are bold in arms, holding their lives of no value to gain an object. It is supposed that the Turk will not this summer attempt any other warlike enterprise, but attend to his new settlement in Constantinople, unless some places he may wish for should surrender quietly. His soldiers want to return to their homes to enjoy and repose themselves, but he keeps them strictly to good discipline, that he may be prepared to resist any attacks that shall be made upon him. However, if the Christians would firmly unite, and act promptly, they would drive him out of Europe, never to return again.

This would be the plan I would offer for so desirable an object: First, a universal peace must be established in Christendom; then the Venetians, the duke of Milan, the Florentines, and the other princes of Italy, should raise an army of twenty thousand horse, well appointed, and under able captains, who should lead them to Pera, through Albania, as far as the possessions of the Christians, where they should halt in a country well supplied with all kinds of provision. They will be there secure, and instantly joined by the Albanians, Sclavonians, and other Christian nations, who will unite in the defence of the Catholic faith. In addition to this army, another should be formed at sea by the king of Arragon, the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and other maritime nations, whose fleets will be fully sufficient to conquer that of the Turk if it be not greatly increased to what it is at present. This fleet should sail for the port of Negropont, and take Sagripoch§, and other places, from the Turk: it should likewise blockade the passage of the Dardanelles, and prevent any intercourse between Turkey and Greece.

The emperor of Hungary, the Bohemians, the Poles, the Walachians, and other nations in that quarter, should raise an army under the command of John Waiwoda‖, who is much feared by the Turks, and enter Turkey by Adrianople; and all these armies should so manage that their invasions take place at the same time, and that good intelligence reign among them, that the success may not be doubtful. The Turk, with all his efforts, cannot raise a greater army than two hundred thousand men, including bad and good; and it must be added, that

* Totaldi. Q.

† John La Rendour. Q. Giacopo Loredan? He sailed from Venice with only five galleys, and was to take up five more in the ports of Dalmatia and Candia.

Storia della Repubblica di Venezia.—Laugier.—Tom. vii. p. 63.

‡ Megara. This must be a mistake: indeed, the whole chapter is exceedingly confused. § Sagripoch. Q. Salonichi.

‖ John Waiwoda. Q. John Corvinus Hunniades, waivode of Transylvania; who is also, most probably, the person meant by "Le Blanc, knight-marshal of Hungary," in the following chapter.

among the number are many Christians, and others of his subjects, that follow him unwillingly, who on the approach of a sufficient army of Christians will desert and join them. The Turks, by nature and custom, will not wait to be besieged, but continually keep the field, which will the more easily encourage desertions. The Christians from Russia must join this division of the united forces.

The Caramanian, who is a great prince, and a bitter enemy to the Turks, should he be informed of this intended warfare against the Turk, he will harass him much, and, with some inducements, may probably become a Christian. In Greece, there will not be a common peasant but will exert himself to bring provisions to the Christian army. On the other hand, the Turks will be straitened for provision, as their resources from Greece will be cut off by sea; and it may be supposed that the Greeks will be anxious to recover their lands by the sword; and the moment that the two armies shall approach Turkey, the whole of the unbelievers' army must be nearly famished and defeated. Should the Christians, however, delay their exertions, and allow the Turk time to strengthen himself by sea and land, there can be no doubt but that he will cause great damage to the Christians, which God forbid!

In the Venetian galley, eight citizens of Venice returned, who had been settled at Constantinople; but thirty-eight gentlemen and forty others remained behind. May God speedily assist them in their deliverance.

CHAPTER LXVIII.—THE TURK SENDS LETTERS TO THE POPE, WHO, IN CONSEQUENCE, WISHES TO FORM A CRUSADE AGAINST HIM.—LE BLANC, KNIGHT-MARSHAL OF HUNGARY, DEFEATS THE TURKS NEAR THE PORT OF SAMBRINE *.

The Grand Turk, moved by presumption at his unexpected success and prosperity, and through his great pride, sent two letters to pope Nicholas, of similar contents; the one in Latin, the other in French. The tenor of the last was as follows:—" Morbesan, lord of Achaia, son to Orestes, with his brothers; to the high priest of Rome, health, according to his deserts. Whereas it has lately come to our ears that, at the request and prayers of the people of Venice, you have publicly preached in your churches, that whoever shall take up arms against us shall receive in this life a remission of his sins, with a promise of life eternal hereafter. This we did not hear of until the arrival of some pilgrims, who have crossed the sea in Venetian vessels; and it has caused in us the utmost astonishment. Although you may perhaps have received powers from the God of thunders to absolve and release souls, so much the more prudently and discreetly should you exercise this power, nor by such means induce the Christians to act hostilely against us, and more especially the Italians; for we have lately had information that our fathers have declared the Turkish nation was innocent of the death of your CHRIST crucified; and that they neither possess nor have any knowledge of those places which are by you held sacred, and that we have always had the Jewish nation in hatred, who, from what we have read in histories and chronicles, did most treacherously betray and deliver up the CHRIST to the Roman judge in Jerusalem, to suffer death on the cross.

" We marvel, therefore, and grieve, that the Italians should be our enemies; for we are naturally inclined to be attached to them, as being, like to ourselves, of the issue of the Trojan race, and of ancient birth. We are sprung from the same blood, and regularly descended from king Priam and his line; and it is our intention to advance with our armies to those parts of Europe that have been promised to us by the gods of our forefathers. We

* If in a narrative so full of confusion and so crowded with errors, it is allowable to form a conjecture that may tend to reconcile it in any degree with fact, I should suppose this knight-marshal to be the great Hunniades, and the action to refer to the famous siege of Belgrade, which was raised by the exertions of that heroic general. John Corvinus Hunniades was of ignoble birth, the son of a Wallachian father by a Greek mother; so far the account of Monstrelet tallies with the reality. He was appointed by king Ladislaus to the government of upper Hungary, and the command in chief of his armies. The operations for the relief of Belgrade were carried on by a fleet on the Danube, as well as by land; so that the mistake is natural enough of calling the place a port; unless, from the greater similitude of name, the reader should prefer Zarna, (to which Mohammed afterwards retreated,) as the representative of Sambrine. See Bonfinius, Rer. Ungar.

have also the intention of restoring Troy the great, and to avenge the blood of Hector and the queen Ixion*, by subjecting to our government the empire of Greece and punishing the descendants of the transgressors. We also intend subjugating the island of Crete, and the others in that sea, of which the Venetians have robbed us by violence. We require, therefore, that you act with more discretion, and that you impose silence on your preachers in Italy, that they may no longer comply with the requests before-mentioned of these Venetians, and provoke the Christians to wage war against us, as we have no cause of warfare against them from any difference in our creeds. It is of no importance that we do not put our whole faith in your Christ, since we allow him to have been a very great prophet; and as we do not follow his law, we are not to be compelled to believe in him. If any dispute has arisen between us and the Venetians, it is without colour of justice, or of authority from Cæsar or from any other prince. Through their pride and ambition, they have possessed themselves of many islands and other places that formed part of our government, which usurpations we cannot and will not longer suffer, for the time of repossession is near at hand.

"For these and other reasons you ought, therefore, to be silent, and desist from your enterprises, especially as we know the Venetians to be a distinct people, in their manners and laws, from the Romans, although they think themselves superior to all the world; but, by the aid of our great god Jupiter, we will bring their pride and insolence to an end. Should you not prudently desist from your intentions, we shall march our whole force against you, aided by the numberless kings of the east, who seem now to be slumbering; and we will bring an irresistible force by sea and land, not only against you and your walking pilgrims bearing the cross, but also against Germany and France, should you excite them to war upon us. With the aid of Neptune, god of the sea, we intend to cross the Hellespont, into Dalmatia, with numberless armies, and to visit the northern regions as far as Thrace.

"Given at our triumphal palace in June, in the 840th year of Mohammed, sealed and enregistered."

About this time, the chevalier Le Blanc, who was not of a noble family, but originally a smith in Hungary, before he commenced captain in the wars under the king of Hungary, took the field to combat the Turks, having with him from twenty to twenty-four thousand combatants, and had gained the port of Sambrine, where were full eighty thousand Turks. They had waited at this port fifteen days, to see if any reinforcements would arrive, which coming to the knowledge of the knight, he departed from Mortune†, and came up with the Turks two hours before day-break, and attacked them with such courage that twenty-four thousand were slain: the rest fled to their shipping and escaped; for the Hungarians had no vessels to pursue them. The Turks, however, fought valiantly; and the knight with many of his companions were wounded. He returned back with fifty Turks his prisoners: six of whom he sent to pope Nicholas: six to the king of France, and six to the duke of Burgundy. In the number was the first-cousin of the Grand Turk.

CHAPTER LXIX. — JUDGMENT GIVEN AGAINST JACQUES CŒUR AND THE DAMSEL OF MORTAIGNE. — MASTER WILLIAM EDELIN, DOCTOR OF DIVINITY, IS PUBLICLY REPRIMANDED AT EVREUX.

On the 29th of May, in the year 1453, judgment was pronounced by the chancellor of France, in the presence of the king, against Jacques Cœur, for the crimes he had been charged with, and for which he had been imprisoned. In consequence of the charges made out against him, he was condemned to death and confiscation of effects; but as the king inclined to mercy, and would rather sinners should repent than die, out of his especial grace he remitted the first part of the sentence, on condition that he redeemed, at any price, the Christian whom he had restored to the Saracens,—or, if that could not be done, then he was to redeem some other Christian slave from their power.

In regard to the money which he had unjustly wrung from the king's subjects, to the

* Hesione.

† Mortune. Q.

amount of incalculable sums, he was adjudged to repay one hundred thousand crowns; and for the many and various offences that he had committed against the king, he was sentenced to pay a fine of four hundred thousand crowns, and the overplus of his effects, wheresoever they might be placed, was confiscated to the crown. He was also deprived of his offices, both public and private, and declared incapable of ever again holding them, and was likewise banished France. He was also adjudged to make *amende honorable** to the king, in the person of his attorney, bareheaded and ungirdled, having a lighted link of ten pounds weight in his hands; and he was to declare, that he had falsely and disloyally restored the Christian to the Saracens, and supplied them with arms and ammunition, requesting pardon from God, from the king, and from justice. It was also declared, that the bonds of the lords de la Fayette and de Cadillac were void, and of none effect; and that neither Jacques Cœur nor any of his heirs should receive any advantage from them, as they were now annulled.

When the chancellor had passed this sentence, he added, by command of the king, that his majesty reserved to himself the ultimate decision of the banishment, and other graces.

In regard to the damsel of Mortaigne, although her body and effects had been condemned, yet in consideration of the great services which her ancestors and husband had rendered the king, his majesty remits the capital part of the sentence, and restores to her the effects that had been confiscated; but she is strictly forbidden, on pain of suffering the above penalties, to approach, within two leagues, the persons of the king or queen,—and is, likewise, condemned to make *amende honorable* to the king, by proxy in her attorney, who is to declare that she had falsely and wickedly accused Jacques Cœur, Jacques Colone, and Martin Prendoux, and to ask pardon for the same of God, the king, and justice. She was condemned to pay to the said Martin the sum of four hundred livres of the current coin; and to the wife and two daughters of Jacques Colone, one hundred livres each, amounting to three hundred livres more.

On the Sunday preceding Christmas-day in this year, master Guillaume Edelin, doctor of divinity, prior of St. Germain-en-Laye, formerly a monk of the order of St. Augustin, and of other orders, was publicly reprimanded on a scaffold in the city of Evreux, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the prisons of the bishopric, for having given himself up to the temptations and power of the enemy of mankind, that he might accomplish his carnal desires. He was particularly charged with cohabiting with a lady of birth; and, to accomplish this, had bound himself in such servitude to Satan that he was obliged to attend him whenever called upon by him. When such meetings were appointed he had only to bestride a broom, and was instantly transported to their consistorial meeting. Master Guillaume frankly confessed that he had done homage to the Enemy, under the form of a sheep, by kissing his posteriors,—and that he had persevered for many years in this damnable debasement, and had been aided by the enemy whenever he required it of him, until the time of his arrest; when, having been duly convicted by the law, he was detained prisoner, and the power of the Enemy was without effect. He therefore remained, according to his sentence, closely confined in a dungeon, fed on bread and water. The inquisitor of the faith frequently remonstrated with him on the degeneracy of his conduct from what it was formerly, when he went about preaching so well to the people the faith of JESUS CHRIST.

During the reprimands of the inquisitor, the prisoner was placed on a scaffold, in the presence of great crowds of people. At the end of these remonstrances, master Guillaume, knowing how infamously he had relinquished our Creator and Redeemer, began to groan and repent aloud of his sins, asking mercy of God, the bishop, and justice, and recommending himself to the prayers of the audience. He was then chained, and conducted to his dungeon, to do penance for the horrible sins he had committed.

* *Amende honorable.*—"A most ignominious punishment inflicted on great offenders, who were led through the streets barefooted and bareheaded (with a burning link in their hands) unto the seat of justice, or some public place, and there to confess their offences, and ask forgiveness of the party they had wronged."—COTGRAVE.

CHAPTER LXX.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS AN EMBASSY TO THE KING OF SPAIN.—HE BUILDS TWO CASTLES AT BORDEAUX TO KEEP THE INHABITANTS IN SUBJECTION.—THE DUKE OF YORK IMIRISONS THE DUKES OF SOMERSET AND GLOUCESTER.—OTHER EVENTS.

[A. D. 1454.]

In the year 1454, the reverend father in God, master John Bernard, archbishop of Tours, and sir Guillot Destan*, knight, seneschal of Rouergue, set out on an embassy from the king of France to the king of Castille, to confirm the alliances between France and Spain.

In this same year, the king of France sent a large body of men-at-arms and franc-archers to Bordeaux, with orders to erect two castles to keep that people under better subjection: one was placed on the bank of the river, and the other at the opposite end of the town toward Béarn.

The count de Clermont, the lord de Saintrailles bailiff of Lyon, the governor of la Rochelle, sir John Bureau mayor of Bordeaux, and sir Guichart le Boursier, were appointed to superintend the erection of these castles. They exerted great diligence to complete them,—and they were so strong that they were thought impregnable, so that the inhabitants were kept in more subjection than they had ever before been.

At this time, the duke of York seized the government of England, and imprisoned the dukes of Somerset and Gloucester †,—the first in the Tower of London, and Gloucester in Pomfret-castle. In this year also, the count de Charolois, son to the duke of Burgundy, married the daughter of duke Charles of Bourbon ‡. The king of Spain deceased, at the age of fifty years. It was a pity, for he was a good, wise, and handsome prince §. In this same year died pope Nicholas, who was but in his prime ||; and it was found, when the physicians opened his body, that he had been poisoned. Pope Calixtus was chosen in his stead ¶.

The king of England called a meeting of some of his lords in the month of February, and remonstrated with them on the imprisonment of the dukes of Somerset and Gloucester, his relatives, and wished that, if they were not too heavily charged with high-treason, they might be released. They consented to this; and the mayor of London even said, that he would instantly deliver them from prison, on receiving good security for their re-appearance. Soon after, these lords appeared before the Tower in great force, and took therefrom the duke of Somerset, who soon after gained the complete government of the king. The duke of York, seeing this, and dreading the effects of Somerset's anger, left the court as secretly as he could, and retired into his duchy **.

About this time, the lord de l'Esparre was arrested, for having, contrary to his oath,

* This should be d'Esteing or d'Estaign, the name of a very ancient and noble family in Rouergue. William the second son of John I. viscount d'Esteing et de Cheilane, was distinguished in the English wars, and rewarded by the posts of counsellor and chamberlain to King Charles VII. His will bears date 1471. His grandson, William d'Estaing, succeeded to the possessions of the elder branch of the family about A.D. 1500, and became ancestor of the counts d'Estaing of later date.

† There must be a mistake here; the duke of York did imprison Somerset, but Gloucester was a Yorkist. There was *no* duke of Gloucester at this time; for Humphrey duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, died under arrest, in the year 1447, and Richard, third son of the duke of York, was not created till the 1st of Edward IV. Stowe, in ann. 1454—"The duke of Yorke with his friends wrought so effectually, and handled his business so politikly, that the duke of Somerset was arrested in the Queene's great chamber and sent to the Tower, where he kept his Christmas without great solemnity, against whom in open Parliament were laid divers articles."

‡ On the 13th of November. She was already his first-cousin, being daughter of duke Charles, by Agnes, sister of Philip the Good. Her name was Isabella.

§ John II. king of Castile, &c. succeeded his father Henry III. in the year 1406, and died 1454. By his first wife, Mary of Arragon, he had one son, Henry IV. his successor. By his second marriage, with Isabella of Portugal, he had a son Alphonso, who died without issue, and a daughter Isabella, who succeeded her half-brother Henry, and by her marriage with Ferdinand of Arragon united the two principal crowns of Spain.

|| Pope Nicholas was said to have died of grief for the capture of Constantinople. He had reigned eight years and nineteen days.

¶ Alfonso Borgio, cardinal-bishop of Valencia in Spain, his native country. He took the title of Calixtus III.

** "Whilest King Henry lay sick, Ric. d. of Yorke bare all the rule, and governed as regent, and did now discover the sparkes of his hatred hid under dissimulation, against the duke of Somerset; but when the king had recovered his strength again, and resumed to him his princely government, he caused the duke of Somerset to be sett at libertye and preferred him to be captain of Calais, wherewith not only the commons, but many of the nobility, favorers of Richard duke of Yorke, were greatly grieved and offended, saying that he had lost Normandy, and would lose also Calais."—Stowe.

gone to England, and induced king Henry to send over troops to reconquer the Bordelois. Although his treason had been manifest, nevertheless the king, at the last capture of Bordeaux, being alway full of mercy, had pardoned him, on condition of his being banished Guienne and the Bordelois. However, by the instigation of the devil in hell, he had attempted, under colour of a passport, to restore those countries to the English, as a more false and wicked traitor than before. But as the Scripture says, that everything wicked, however secretly done, is at length discovered and punished, so this came to the king's knowledge, and, as I have said, he was arrested and carried prisoner to Poitiers, where, on being tortured, he confessed his guilt, and was judicially condemned. He was then delivered to the executioner, who smote off his head, and quartered his body, which was hung up at different places, as is usual in such cases, to serve for an example to all others.

CHAPTER LXXI.—THE MARRIAGE OF THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS WITH THE LADY ISABELLA OF BOURBON. — THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY RETURNS FROM GERMANY, AND IS MOST HONOURABLY RECEIVED IN THE TOWNS OF LILLE AND ARRAS.

On the last day of October in this same year, and when the duke of Burgundy was returned from Germany, his son the count de Charolois espoused, in the town of Lille, his cousin-german the lady Isabella of Bourbon, by dispensations from the holy church, on account of their nearness of kindred. The duke, being in Burgundy, was not present at the wedding, but the duchess was. The marriage was so sudden, that many said the count knew nothing of it until the preceding day; his father would have it so, and strictly ordered him to comply, which he did like a good and obedient son. Some said, that it was against his conscience to marry so near a relative; but others, that he would rather have married the daughter of the duke of York, and, by this alliance with England, have some claim to that crown. Whatever truth may be in these reports, he married to please his father, and behaved to his cousin in so honourable a manner that no married couple could behave better; and it was currently said, that after his marriage he knew not any other woman.

During the absence of his father in Germany, he had the regency of his states, and governed them with equity: he was only too prompt to believe the first reports that were made to him, which is a misfortune generally attached to great lords. About the middle of February the noble duke of Burgundy came to Lille, where he was received by his subjects with every honour. On the 24th of the same month he went to Arras, where he was likewise honourably and joyfully received,—for he had been long absent, and God had now permitted him to return from Germany in good health and without any hindrance.

CHAPTER LXXII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY LAYS HEAVY TAXES ON HIS ESTATES, TO DEFRAY HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST THE TURKS.

Five days after the arrival of the duke in Arras, and when the feasts of his coming were over, he assembled the three estates of Artois, and declared to them the vow he had made of undertaking a war against the Turks, and of marching thither in person with his whole force, provided the king his lord would promise to keep and guard for him his estates during his absence. To accomplish this vow, he said that it would be necessary for him to call for the aid of his good vassals and subjects; and he required that they would grant him supplies amounting in the whole to the sum of fifty-six thousand francs, royal money. The three estates having consulted together, agreed to grant him three aides instead of four, which he had demanded, amounting to forty-two thousand francs,—but on condition that if this expedition was not undertaken they should not be paid. The good duke replied, that in truth if the expedition failed he should not want anything.

The duke then visited Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant, where he made similar requests; and those countries granted him very great supplies to carry on the war against the infidels.

CHAPTER LXXIII.—THE BISHOP OF UTRECHT DIES.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY GOES TO HOLLAND TO PROCURE THE ELECTION TO THE BISHOPRIC FOR HIS BASTARD SON DAVID, THEN BISHOP OF THEROUENNE.

[A. D. 1455.]

In the year 1455 died the bishop of Utrecht*, which is in Holland, bordering on Germany. Duke Philip of Burgundy had for a long time thought of obtaining this bishopric for his bastard son David, then bishop of Therouenne, and had even during the lifetime of the late bishop solicited the canons to elect this his son on the first vacancy. They, however, paid no attention to his solicitations, but elected the provost of their church, brother to the lord de Brederode, a great baron in Holland, and a relative to duke Philip. The duke was much dissatisfied at this conduct, and sent to Rome, and managed so well with the pope that he gave this bishopric to his bastard son: he had even promised him the succession before the death of the last bishop. The duke went, therefore, to the Hague in Holland, where he endeavoured, but in vain, to gain over to his interest the chapter of Utrecht by every kind means, that they might receive his son for their bishop; and for this purpose he remained in Holland from the feast of St. Remy †, in the year 1455, until St. John Baptist's day in the ensuing year.

CHAPTER LXXIV.—THE COUNT DE CLERMONT, THE LORD DE LOHEAC, MARSHAL OF FRANCE, AND OTHER CAPTAINS, ARREST THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC AND DELIVER HIM UP TO THE KING.—THEY PUT THE ARCHBISHOP OF AUCH IN POSSESSION OF HIS ARCHBISHOPRIC.—OTHER EVENTS.

In the month of May of this year, the king of France sent the count de Clermont, the lord de Lohéac, marshal of France, and other captains, into the county of Armagnac, and likewise the count de Dammartin, the bailiff of Evreux, and several others. against the count d'Armagnac, into Rouergue, because he had refused to put the archbishop of Auch in possession of his archbishopric, to which he had been duly elected, and had received his bulls from the pope. The count had wished, contrary to all right, to place therein one called De l'Estin, and had given him admittance into the city and possession of the archbishopric, contrary to the will and orders of the king. The king, much angered at De l'Estin having been installed by the count by force, ordered his men-at-arms to besiege his city of Lectoure ‡, whither the before-named captains had marched, as well as into other parts of his possessions, in Armagnac and Rouergue. Thus did the count lose all his territories for his rebellion against the king; for, as the Scripture saith, it is hard to kick against the pricks. When this was done, these captains returned to the king according to his orders.

In this same year, king Henry of England, by the advice of the duke of Somerset, summoned a parliament of his great lords to consider the present state of affairs. For this purpose very many came to London; and the duke of York thought it would be advisable for him to make his appearance also,—and in fact he set out, accompanied by about a thousand armed retainers. He was, however, joined on his road by four or five thousand more, of which the king and the duke of Somerset were ignorant, they having knowledge of the duke being attended by only one thousand men. The king and the duke of Somerset held a council with the earl of Northumberland, and other lords, and determined to collect as large a force as they could in and about London, and march out to meet the duke of York, in the expectation of defeating him, as they were astonished he should come in arms to

* Adolphus of Diepenholt. Upon his death, the electors being solicited on one side by this duke for his son David, and on the other by the duke of Gueldres, for Stephen of Bavaria, in order to offend neither exasperated both, by choosing Guisbert, a brother of Reginald, lord of Brederode, for their bishop. But upon endeavouring to get their election confirmed by the pope, they found themselves anticipated by the duke, who had already obtained the papal sanction in favour of his son. The matter was afterwards compromised as related in chap. 76, and David held the bishopric of Utrecht for forty years.—Heuterus.

† St. Remy. This feast is on the first day of October, and St. John's the 24th June.

‡ Lectoure,—a city in Armagnac, of which Auch is the capital, ten leagues from Auch.

attend the parliament. The two armies soon met, and instantly came to blows, when numbers were slain,—but victory remained with the duke of York. Among the slain were the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and many other lords, and from four to five hundred common men. The king was wounded by an arrow in the neck, and was for some time in great danger. The duke of York made many prisoners, nobles and others, whom he led to London with the king,—where some were set at liberty, and others punished according to their deserts. The late government was entirely overthrown, and the whole power remained with the duke of York, as regent of the king and kingdom *.

At this time the count d'Armagnac, having lost all his possessions, retired into the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon.

CHAPTER LXXV.—THE KING OF FRANCE IS DISCONTENTED WITH THE DAUPHIN FOR GOING TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY WITHOUT HIS CONSENT.—POPE CALIXTUS MAKES REGULATIONS RESPECTING THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE TURKS.

[A. D. 1456.]

In the year 1456, the king of France, learning that his eldest son had left Dauphiny and gone to the territories of the duke of Burgundy to consult with him, was very much displeased that he should have done this without previously informing him thereof. And because he doubted his being led away by bad advice and acting imprudently, he determined to take possession of Dauphiny, to avoid the inconveniences that might ensue, and also to reduce him to that obedience a son owes to a father. In consequence, he marched a powerful army into Dauphiny, and took full possession of all its rents and revenues, together with the castles and strongholds, to prevent his son from receiving any advantages from them, and to induce him the more speedily to return. The king sent also men-at-arms to guard the passages at Pontoise, Compiègne, in Brie, and other parts, and forbade the great towns to admit the dauphin or any of his partisans, unless they should be forced thereto. He did all this, from his opinion how headstrong and obstinate the dauphin was; as a convincing proof of which, when he left the king he had asked leave to be absent only four months, and had remained nearly ten years, to the great vexation of his father.

About this time, pope Calixtus III. made certain regulations respecting a crusade, and issued indulgences to all who should carry into execution the contents of the bulls that had been published by him, and had been promulgated by different preachers throughout Christendom.

Certain proposals were now sent by the duke of Burgundy to the king of France respecting the dauphin, and were laid before him by the duke's ambassadors.

In this season †, the Hungarians made a great destruction of the infidels in Hungary, by the counsel of sir John Capestrian ‡, an ancient disciple of St. Bernard, in conjunction with

* This battle is called by the English historians the first battle of St. Albans, and was fought on the 22d of May, 1455. Besides Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, there were slain on the king's side two lords, five knights, and many gentlemen of good account. Humphrey duke of Buckingham, and his son Humphrey earl of Stafford, were wounded beside the king. The victory, as appears by the text, was decisive in favour of opposition.

The duke of Somerset left issue (by his wife Eleanor, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick), Henry duke of Somerset, beheaded in May 1464; Edward duke of Somerset after the death of his brother, also beheaded 1472; and John, killed at Tewkesbury: but none of these left any legitimate descendants.. Henry alone left an illegitimate son, Charles Somerset, who was afterwards created earl of Worcester, and is the ancestor of the present duke of Beaufort.

† The relation which follows is evidently that of the famous siege of Belgrade, at which Hunniades commanded, and Capistranus acted as his lieutenant. The soldan of Persia here mentioned may very possibly mean the bashaw of Asia Minor (Basseus Asiaticus), who is spoken of by Bonfinius as having a high command in the Turkish army. He was killed in the siege. Hunniades was attacked by a fever, the consequence of his exertions, and with difficulty removed as far as Semlin, where he died on the 4th of September, 1456. His faithful companion, Johannes Capistranus, attended at his bed-side during his last illness, and supported him at the moment of his dissolution. His affection followed him beyond the tomb; for from that hour he was never seen to smile; and not many weeks after was summoned from the world himself. The great Hunniades left two sons, Ladislaus and Matthias Corvinus. The first, though deserving of a better fate, became the victim of state intrigues, and perished on a scaffold. The second was elected king of Hungary in 1458.

‡ "Sir John Capestrian." John Capistrian, a celebrated Franciscan monk. Nicholas V. made him apostolic commissary in Hungary. He was greatly successful in

the aid of a wise and valiant knight called sir Guillaume Blanc *. By their means, the Turks, who were very numerous in Belgrade, were driven out of that city, and more than fifteen thousand were slain; indeed, none escaped being put to death. On the morrow, great armies of Turks advanced, and were valiantly fought with by the Christians, who again gained the victory, and slew one hundred thousand Turks between sunrise and sunset. The soldan of Persia †, commander-in-chief of the Turks, was there in person; and seeing the discomfiture of his army, he fled with a few of his men to a city called Boibe ‡, and thence into Greece. The chevalier Blanc pursued him, and won the city of Boibe, putting to death two thousand Turks; and by the aid of God, following up their success, the Christians won very many towns and strong castles, namely, the city of Bastiliance, Ulgaria, Fastigia, Emere, and a very handsome town called Angasta § : in the latter, fifteen thousand Turks were destroyed. The Christians lost, at this last attack, five thousand men, whom may God receive in paradise! "Quia dignus operarius mercede sua."

The Christians afterwards gained St. Vincent ||, and the town and castle of Valence ¶; and as they proceeded, the inhabitants were converted to the Christian faith. They continued successful, and won the town and castle of Flagis and Gaunaldalo, and Porrus, Stavengier and Chastouen **, where four thousand Turks were put to death, with the loss of one hundred Christians, whose souls may God pardon! The Christians now entered Greece with a large army, and conquered a great city called Glotuase ††, where they slew ten thousand infidels. They then left behind them all walled towns, and advanced to the province of Culdée ‡‡, which is near to Constantinople, having gained possession of the greater part of the lands in Greece, and to the westward of it, and also of the cities of Latheris and Glamus §§, with many other castles and towns.

The Turks that had been slain in these different battles were estimated at two hundred thousand, with the loss of eight-score cities and walled towns, four hundred castles, great and small. These victories have been thus detailed for insertion in the chronicles of the times, and asserted for truth on the Holy Evangelists, on the oath of their priesthood, by the following venerable persons: namely, sir John Valate, priest, sir Patrick Tournaille, priest also, and Andrew Valate, a layman; all three inhabiting the diocese of Umblanum in Dacia.

The chevalier Blanc was grievously wounded by a lance in the last battle |||| ; so that he was constrained to retire into the city of Angasta, where he died. God have mercy on his soul! he being well deserving thereof. In like manner was the Turk severely wounded, and forced to withdraw to Constantinople, where he remained for a long time very ill. These three persons having been interrogated by the chronicler of France on their oaths, how they knew what they had told to be true, deposed that they had been personally present in arms at all these battles and sieges, and had fought at them, and, in consideration of the very great perils they had escaped from, had vowed to make pilgrimages to the shrine of St. Denis, and to other places, which they intended to fulfil before they returned to their own country. They appeared to be well affected to the Christian faith. They said, that the Turk, when recovered, left Constantinople for Asia.

On Saturday, the 4th day of December in this year, and about three hours before day, such an earthquake happened at Naples, in Puglia, and Calabria, as the oldest persons did not remember to have seen, from which great and numberless evils ensued, a few of which shall be mentioned. In the first place, the small city of Ariano ¶¶, in the kingdom of Naples, was so completely destroyed that eight thousand persons perished. Another city, called

assembling the army which, under the command of the great Hunniades, raised the siege of Belgrade in 1456. He died three months after. He was canonised in 1690, by Alexander VIII. — *See Aikin's General Biography, Moreri*, &c.

* Sir Guillaume Blanc. I should suppose this must be meant for John Corvin Hunniades,—the greatest captain of the age, and the bitterest enemy of the Turks. See more of him in the biographical works above-mentioned.

† "The soldan of Persia." A mistake. It was Mohammed II. who was wounded at this battle.

‡ Boibe. Q.

§ Bastiliance, Ulgaria, Fastigia, Emere, Angasta. Q.

|| St. Vincent. Q. ¶ Valence. Q.

** Flagis, Gaunaldalo, Porrus, Stavengier, Chastouen. Q.

†† Glotuase. Q. ‡‡ Culdée. Q.

§§ Latheris, Glamus. Q.

|||| This does not appear to have been the case. Bonfinius calls his disorder a fever brought on by excessive fatigue. See before.

¶¶ Ariano,—in the Principato Ultra of Naples. It never recovered the desolation caused by an earthquake, 1456. Another, more destructive, happened in 1732.—*Crutwell's Gazetteer.*

Padula was destroyed, with its three thousand inhabitants, for not one escaped.—Item, another town, called Boucherry, was overwhelmed, and no one who had not seen these places before this unfortunate event would have supposed they could have existed, so thoroughly changed was the whole face of the country. One half of the town of Troia was thrown down, and many people perished. The greater part of the castle of Canosa fell, with some of the town. The cities of Ascoli and Santa Agatha shared the same fate, as did the castle of Arpi and several others *.

In the country of Molise, the cities of Campo Basso, Laurentino, the castle of St. Julian, Macona, the castles of St. Lou, Castine, and La Rippe, were swallowed up by the earthquake, and many lands near to Altavilla, when upwards of twenty-eight thousand persons perished. The city of Naples suffered some damage, but more in the churches than in the other buildings. The earthquake lasted for three days, and in some places more, namely, from the 4th of the month until the 7th inclusive; when, as reported by men of truth, more than one hundred thousand persons of both sexes were destroyed †.

This earthquake ruined in one night the castles of Sanguine, Presole, and la Roche Capoa, where neither walls nor houses were left standing. One half of the city of Sermone and the castle of Oliveto were destroyed: in which last five hundred persons were killed, and in the castle of Pesolo six hundred. In like manner, when the castle of Thoco was overthrown, its lord and all within perished. This accident ruined also part of the port of Ancona, and such damages were done to the buildings of Capua‡, Aversa, and Benevento, and to the castle of Lusano, as would have been incredible but to those who saw it. The account of this unfortunate disaster was sent in writing to the marquis of Ferrara by his brother Hercules §, then in the kingdom of Naples with the king of Arragon, and written at Rougia ||, the 7th day of December, in the year 1456.

On the first day of this same year, while the king of France was at St. Prier, near to Lyon, Otho Castellan, a Florentine and treasurer of the king's household, was arrested on the bridge at Lyon by the provost of the palace, from informations the king had received that the said Otho had formed certain devices prejudicial to his personal safety. He had made certain images that, by diabolical arts, would assure him the government of the king, and cause him to do whatever the said Otho should please. Guillaume Gouffier was his accomplice, and was long detained in prison to obtain from him the truth of these charges. Otho was carried prisoner before the parliament of Toulouse, where he had long acted as the king's treasurer; and Gouffier was sent to Tours. In the ensuing year, Otho was condemned by the chancellor to banishment and confiscation of his effects; but the king pardoned him, so that he only lost the places he had held, and was banished to twenty leagues distant from wherever the king should be, and was compelled to pay a fine of a thousand crowns for the expenses of his suit. But Otho was then accused of sodomy, and brought back to Tours for trial, and thence sent to Paris, as it was said that he had appealed to the parliament; but I cannot say how this matter ended, for he was transported from one prison to another, so that I am ignorant of the conclusion.

* Padula, a town of Naples, in the Principato Citra.—Bouchery. Q. Bocchianico? a town of Naples, in Abruzzo Citra.—Troia, a town of Naples, in the Capitinata.—Canosa, a town in the country of Bari. It was destroyed by an earthquake in 1694.—Ascoli, in the Capitinata.—Santa Agatha, in the Principato Ultra.—Arpi, in the Capitinata.

† Molise, a country of Naples.—Campo Basso is the capital.—Laurentino. Q. Perhaps Larina, the name of a town in the Molise.—St. Julian. St. Giuliano, in Molise.—Macona. Q. Ancona? This is hardly probable, for all the others are names of places in the Molise, or one of the Principati. *Macchia* has the nearest resemblance in sound of any town in the neighbourhood.—St. Lou. St. Lotiero, in the Principato Ultra.—Castine, Castigluini, Principato Ultra.—La Rippe, Ripa Limasara, in Molise.—Altavilla, in the Principato Citra, seventeen miles from Salerno.

‡ Sanguine. Q. Castel del Sangro, in Abruzzo? The river on which it stands is also called the Sanguine.—Presole. Q. Presciano. Principato Citra.—La Roche de Capoa. Q. Rocca de Minolfa, Molise.—Sermone. Q. Isernia, a bishopric in the Molise? or Sulmona, another city in Abruzzo?—Oliveto. Q. Alifi, in the Terra di Lavoro?—Pesolo. Pesola is a lake in the Basilicata.—Thoco. Q.—Capua, fifteen miles from Naples.—Aversa, ten miles north from Naples.—Benevento, in the Principato Ultra.—Lusano. Q.

§ Borso d'Este, marquis of Ferrara, was succeeded by his legitimate brother, Hercules d'Este.

|| Rougia. Q. Reggio? a seaport of Naples in Calabria Ultra.

This was a great year of rain. The duke and duchess of Savoy * came this year to the king of France, and the prince of Piedmont, eldest son to the duke, was married to Yolande daughter to the king of France. An embassy now arrived in France from Spain, to confirm the alliances between the two kingdoms; and at the same time, the prince of Navarre came to demand from the king the duchy of Nemours †, and also the cardinal of Avignon from Brittany, on his return from canonising St. Vincent ‡, at Vannes. Shortly after, the cardinal waited on the king, to require a tenth from the clergy of his realm, to carry on the war, as he said, against the Turks.

CHAPTER LXXVI.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY WITH A LARGE ARMY ESCORTS HIS BASTARD SON INTO HOLLAND, AND PUTS HIM IN PEACEABLE POSSESSION OF THE BISHOPRIC OF UTRECHT. — HE BESIEGES DEVENTER §, AND FORCES ITS INHABITANTS TO OBEY THE NEW BISHOP, WHICH THEY HAD BEFORE REFUSED.

When duke Philip saw that he could not prevail by love and entreaties to make his son be accepted for bishop by the chapter of Utrecht, he sent to Picardy and Hainault for a body of troops, and he was soon joined by full thirteen thousand combatants. The chapter now changed their tone, and admitted his son as their bishop, under certain conditions; namely, that the brother of the lord de Brederode, who had been elected, should receive for his life an annual pension from the bishopric of Utrecht of four thousand francs, from the bishopric of Therouenne two thousand francs; and, for the expenses he had been put to, fifty thousand lyons once paid. He was also to be made first counsellor to the duke in the affairs of Holland, with a salary of a thousand florins of the Rhine. In consideration of this arrangement, he resigned the bishopric, which was commonly said to be worth yearly fifty thousand mailles of the Rhine. When this had been settled, duke Philip entered Utrecht, with his company, on the 5th of August, and was most honourably received. On the morrow, his son entered in arms, grandly accompanied; and on the Sunday following he said mass in the cathedral.

Soon after, the duke left Utrecht, with his whole army, to besiege a considerable town in the diocese, called Deventer, because it had refused to acknowledge the new bishop. Those of the town sallied out against him; and a smart skirmish ensued, in which many were killed on both sides. In the end, they were repulsed and driven back into the town; and, on the fourth day, a strong bulwark they had erected in front of the gate was so much battered with cannon that those within, foreseeing it must be taken, set it on fire, and burned it during the night. The siege, however, lasted until the end of September, when the townsmen sent offers to the duke to obey the bishop, as the other towns within his diocese had done.

While this treaty was carrying on, the duke of Gueldres, who had married the niece of duke Philip, by whom he had a fair son about sixteen years of age, after having promised his aid to the duke of Burgundy, quitted his country, and abandoned his places,—but, nevertheless, made a hasty alliance with the Frizelanders, when they assembled a great army with the intent of overthrowing duke Philip. The duke of Burgundy would have remained in perfect ignorance of this treachery, had not his niece been told of the wicked

* Lewis duke of Savoy (son of Amadeus the first duke) and Anne de Lusignan, daughter of James king of Cyprus. The prince of Piedmont was their son, Amadeus, afterwards duke of Savoy, the second duke and ninth count of the name. By this marriage with Yolande of France he had a numerous issue, but no descendants in the third generation.

† This claim of Charles of Navarre, prince of Viana to the duchy of Nemours, must have been grounded on a grant made by king Charles VII. to his grandfather Charles the Noble, king of Navarre; which grant was held to have been only personal, and to have terminated with the death of the donee. The prince was therefore unsuccessful in his application.

‡ This saint is not the ancient deacon and martyr of that name, but St. Vincent Ferrier, a Dominican, of Valencia in Spain, and a great converter of Saracens and worker of miracles. He died in 1419, and was canonized by order of pope Calixtus, in 1455. He was buried at Vannes, the place of his death; and the miracles which were *attested* to have been wrought on his tomb were the occasion of the distinguished honours conferred on him.

§ Deventer,—on the Issel, the capital of Overyssel.

designs of her husband against her uncle; and instantly quitting the place she was in with her son, attended by her servants, she hastened to the duke, then besieging Deventer, and told him of the plots against him. This caused the duke to lose no time in closing with the offers of those in Deventer, so that the treaty was immediately concluded, and hostages were given for its performance. The duke raised the siege the 27th day of September, and returned to Utrecht, and thence to the Hague, where he disbanded his army, leaving his son David in peaceable possession of the bishopric of Utrecht.

He was under great obligations to his niece for the information she had given him; for if he had remained two days longer at the siege, he would have been attacked by the duke of Gueldres and the Frizelanders before he knew anything of their intentions, and it would probably have been unfortunate to him by reason of his being totally unprepared to receive them. The duke of Gueldres* was much reproached for this conduct, considering that he had married the duke of Burgundy's niece, and that the good duke had sent their daughter to marry the king of Scotland at his own expense, and had done many and very great kindnesses to the duke of Gueldres.

CHAPTER LXXVII.—THE DUKE OF ALENÇON IS ARRESTED AND THROWN INTO PRISON.—THE TURKS ARE MIRACULOUSLY DEFEATED IN HUNGARY.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THIS YEAR OF MCCCCLVI.

Soon after the feast of Pentecost, the duke of Alençon was arrested in Paris, by orders from the king and the count de Dunois, bastard of Orleans, and sent to Melun. From Melun he was carried before the king, and convicted, as it was said, of having intrigued with the English to accomplish a marriage between his eldest son and the eldest daughter of the duke of York, unknown to the king; and of having engaged to deliver up to the English his strong places, to the prejudice of the king, and particularly the duchy of Normandy. Having confessed his guilt, he was closely confined until after the death of king Charles. When he was arrested, it was currently reported that the duke of Burgundy was implicated in these intrigues of the duke of Alençon with the English; which so much displeased the king that he had it proclaimed throughout the realm, that no one, under pain of death, should make such charges against his good brother of Burgundy, nor any way speak disrespectfully of his honour.

In the month of June in this year, a comet with a prodigious tail appeared in the west. having its tail pointed toward England: it continued visible for three months. The new wines of this season were so sour that the old ones were in greater request for their superior goodness and flavour. In this year also, the great emperor of the Turks, called Morbesan†, besieged the strong town and castle of Belgrade, situated on the confines of Hungary. He was upwards of four months and a half before it, which vexed him so much that he swore, in the presence of his army, to win it by force or perish in the attempt. There were some in the Turkish army who gave information of this to those in the town, that they might be prepared; and Ovidianus‡, one of the noblest and most powerful princes of Hungary, hearing also of this intention, instantly assembled nine hundred cavalry and forty thousand infantry of all sorts, and entered the town by the Danube, without the Turk knowing

* Arnold of Egmont duke of Gueldres, was married to Catherine daughter of Adolphus duke of Cleves, by Mary a sister of the duke of Burgundy. In the note to chap. lxxiii. a sufficient reason will be found for his hostility, of which, however, Heuterus takes no notice, saying only that the matters in dispute with the Deventrians and Frieslanders were settled through the intervention of the duke of Cleves.

† Morbesan. Mohammed II. surnamed the Victorious.

‡ Ovidianus. John Corvin supposes this to be Hunniades. If so, then le Chevalier Blanc could not mean Hunniades, since he is already disposed of in page 240. The truth is, that nothing can exceed the confusion and misrepresentations with which Monstrelet's accounts from these distant countries abound; and it is labour lost to attempt at finding a meaning where there probably never was any. Capistran, who is mentioned in the next page, died also immediately or very soon after his friend Hunniades. I rather suspect that this is a mere repetition of the preceding account, as the reader will find the relation of the embassy in chapter lxxx. repeated again in chapter lxxxii. Probably towards the conclusion of his history, Monstrelet set down events without order or method, as he heard them in conversation or otherwise, and did not live to arrange his unconnected notes.

anything thereof,—for he had only besieged the place on the land side, and had neglected to post any guards on that great river the Danube.

Ovidianus entered the town on the eve of Magdalen-day, which was the day fixed on by the Turk to storm the place; and so eager was he to fulfil his vow that he ordered one-third of his army to commence the attack at midnight, which was done with much courage,—but the besieged made so gallant a defence that they were repulsed. The attack lasted until eight o'clock in the morning, when another division, equal in numbers to the first, advanced to renew the combat, but they also were forced to retreat. The emperor of the Turks now advanced in person, accompanied by the boldest of his captains, and continued the combat with such obstinacy and courage, that from its commencement, at four in the afternoon, it lasted until the middle of the following day, which made twenty hours in the whole: a terrible fatigue to those in the town thus to support three renewed attacks without any respite or repose. They were at length so worn down that they could no longer help each other, and the Turks were beginning to enter the town in large bodies.

Among the Christians in this town was a very devout cordelier friar, called John Capistran, who, seeing the Turks enter the breach, seized a crucifix, and, ascending the highest part of the castle, cried aloud, "O Deus meus, Deus meus! O altissime Pater! veni in adjutorium, veni et libera populum quem redemisti pretioso sanguine tuo. Veni noli tardare. Deus meus ubi sunt misericordiæ tuæ antiquæ, veni ne Turci et increduli dicant ubi est Deus eorum." The cordelier, in uttering these words, wept bitterly; and when the Christians heard them, they felt quite refreshed, and as if they were new men, without feeling any fatigue, and instantly fell on the Turks who were entering the town with such courage that they slew all they met, and put the rest to flight. They pursued them upwards of eight leagues, killing or wounding all they overtook, so that more than one hundred thousand were slain in the whole. They gained all the artillery of the Turks, and such quantities of riches, in tents, money, and effects, as it would seem marvellous to relate. Among other things won were eleven large bombards, six of which were of prodigious length and of a great bore, and more than two hundred smaller bombards and cannons. When news of this important victory was carried to the pope then reigning, he ordered processions and thanksgivings to be made in all the churches of Christendom, to render thanks to God for this great victory,—and, among other things, to ring the Ave Maria between two and three o'clock on the anniversary of the day this miracle happened, as it is usual to ring it every evening in all churches; and this manner of ringing it after dinner is continued in several churches in France.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.—THE DAUPHIN OF FRANCE TAKES REFUGE WITH DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THIS YEAR.

Louis de Valois, eldest son to the king of France, and dauphin of Vienne, had resided for ten or twelve years in Dauphiny, because the king was displeased with him. Some said, this was owing to his ill-treatment of his subjects in Dauphiny, more particularly the bishops and churchmen, whose revenues he seized against their wills, for the support of his state: others, however, excused him for so doing, because his father had stopped the allowance he had formerly given him. It was also reported that the king's anger arose from the death of the fair Agnes being caused by poison, of which the dauphin was suspected, as he had frequently blamed and murmured against his father for his attachment to her. In truth, Agnes Sorel was the handsomest woman of her age, and in more favour with the king than the queen: the great lords also paid more court to her than to the queen, who was a very good and honourable lady, which had vexed the dauphin much, and he had hastened her death. However, after the decease of the fair Agnes, the damsel de Villequier, her niece, succeeded her in the affections of the king, who, in his latter days, would have about him the finest and handsomest women of his realm.

Whatever may have been the real cause of the quarrel between the king and the dauphin, the king ordered sir Anthony de Chabannes, count de Dammartin, to proceed into Dauphiny

with a sufficient body of men-at-arms to arrest the dauphin and bring him to his presence by force or otherwise; but the dauphin fortunately escaped; for it was then commonly believed that, had he been arrested, the king would have treated him very harshly, and would have made king his younger son Charles. The dauphin having had intimation of the orders to arrest him, gave public notice for a hunting-party on the morrow, and ordered his dinner to be prepared at the place of rendezvous. Intelligence of this was carried to the count de Dammartin, who posted ambushes to seize the dauphin the moment he should arrive at the place; but, as he suspected their machinations, early on the morrow, when it was thought he was gone to the hunt, he with six of his most confidential attendants, mounted their fleetest horses, and set off, as fast as they could travel, for Burgundy, and never stopped until they arrived at St. Claude, a town in Burgundy. It was well for them that they made this haste, or they would have been overtaken by the count de Dammartin, who followed very closely at their heels.

Shortly after the dauphin's arrival at St. Claude, he went to the prince of Orange at Nasere*, who received him most honourably; and on hearing him declare that he feared he should be pursued, and that he was desirous of going to the duke of Burgundy, the prince sent off in haste for the marshal of Burgundy, who came to him with a handsome escort of men-at-arms, and they instantly departed for Brabant. This conduct was truly extraordinary; for the prince of Orange and the duke of Burgundy were the two men in the world whom the dauphin hated the most, for having several times repulsed, with loss, his own and the king's men, whenever they made any excursions on the duke's territories, which he was determined to preserve from inroads; but necessity, which owns no law, forced him to seek an asylum among those he hated, and to make use of them in his time of need.

The marshal of Burgundy conducted him with such prudence through the territories of the duke of Burgundy that he arrived safely at Louvain, whence he went to Brussels, and thence he sent one of his attendants with information to the duke, at that time in Holland, of his arrival. The good duke, anxious to receive and entertain him as the eldest son of his sovereign lord, hastened as much as possible the treaty of Deventer, that he might return to Brabant. Immediately on his arrival at Brussels, he went to the dauphin and paid him every respect in honour to the king, and to himself personally; and no prince knew better how to do these honours. He instantly assigned him three thousand francs monthly to maintain his estate, and begged of him to make choice of what place he should please for his residence, and he would give orders for its being immediately delivered up to him †. The dauphin asked for Geneppe ‡, a castle in Brabant, pleasantly situated, and a handsome residence, where he lived for a long time.

In the course of this year, sir Thibault de Luxembourg, lord of Fiennes, brother to the count of St. Pol §, and widower of the daughter of the lord of Antoing, by whom he had several children, became a monk of the order of Cistercians, notwithstanding that in his youth he had been a very free liver. Toward the end of October, soon after the arrival of the dauphin in Brabant, the duke of Burgundy sent a handsome embassy to the king of France, the chief of which was the lord de Chimay high bailiff of Hainault, to satisfy him

* Nasere. Q. Nazey? a village near Besançon.

† The motive assigned by Heuterus for this extraordinary display of friendship in the duke towards the dauphin, is the hope "that this young prince, bound by the immensity of the obligation, would, on his accession to the throne, be the firm friend of his son Charles, and of the Belgian states. But," adds the historian, "it is in vain that benefits are heaped on men of a depraved disposition, as king Charles himself prophesied in the following words: 'You know not, duke Philip, the nature of this savage animal. You cherish a wolf who will one day tear your sheep to pieces. Remember the fable of the countryman, who, in compassion to a viper which he found half frozen in the fields, brought it to his house, and warmed it by his fire-side, till it turned round and hissed at its preserver.'"

‡ Geneppe,—on the Dyle, six leagues from Brussels. Louis XI. resided here, when dauphin, with the dauphiness, upwards of five years.

§ Thibaut de Luxembourg, lord of Fiennes, younger son of Peter I. count of Brienne and St. Paul, married Philippa of Melun, daughter of John lord of Antoing, by whom he had issue James lord of Fiennes, and count of Gaure, &c. Philip, cardinal, and bishop of Mans, Francis viscount of Martigues, and several daughters. It may be doubtful from what motive he embraced the ecclesiastical profession, since a life of poverty was certainly not included in his intention. He was made bishop of Mans and abbot of Igni and Orcan, and was prevented by death from wearing the cardinal's hat, which was designed for him by pope Sixtus IV. 1st September, 1477.

as to his son's coming to his territories, and to say that he would show him every possible honour in his power. The ambassadors waited long for an audience; and while they were thus delayed, the king of France sent a body of men-at-arms to Compiègne and Soissons, two towns on the frontiers of the duke of Burgundy's possessions. The duke, hearing of this, suspected that the king intended to make war on him, as indeed did many others, and issued a summons throughout Picardy, Flanders, and Hainault, for all men capable of bearing arms to be ready in his defence in case the king should attack him.

About Christmas in this year, Charles duke of Bourbon departed this life, and was succeeded by his eldest son, who, by his mother, was nephew to the duke of Burgundy *.

CHAPTER LXXIX.—A QUARREL TAKES PLACE BETWEEN DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY AND HIS SON THE COUNT OF CHAROLOIS, BUT IS APPEASED BY THE DAUPHIN.—THE COUNTESS OF CHAROLOIS IS BROUGHT TO BED OF A DAUGHTER.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN DIVERS PARTS.

On the 17th of January of this same year, while the duke of Burgundy resided at Brussels, a dispute arose between the lord de Quievrain † and the lord d'Aymeries, both chamberlains to the count de Charolois, each of whom, during the absence of the lord d'Auxy his first chamberlain, would take the precedency of the other. The count was desirous that the lord d'Aymeries ‡ should have the preference, which coming to the knowledge of the duke, he sent for his son, and commanded him to prefer the lord de Quievrain. The count replied, that he would do no such thing, and that the house of Croy should not govern him, as he had suffered them to do in regard to himself. The duke was so exceedingly irritated at this answer of his son that he would have struck him, and commanded him to quit his territories instantly. The count therefore departed, much angered and grieved. When night came, the duke, equally troubled, called for a horse, and having mounted it, rode alone into the fields, although it was then raining very hard. He soon after entered a forest, and lost his road, so that he knew not whither to direct his horse; luckily he came to the house of a poor man, who received him, and he lay there that night. On the morrow, at the earliest dawn, he made his host conduct him straight to Geneppe, and on his departure gave him eight florins of the Rhine.

The attendants of the duke sought him during the night, so that on the morrow he was grandly accompanied, and thus returned to Brussels. He shortly after pardoned his son at the request and entreaties of the principal lords of his household, and especially at the entreaties of the dauphin; but he banished from his territories two of the count's attendants, because he suspected them of having advised his son to act in the manner he had done, respecting the two chamberlains.

It happened that, not long after, as the dauphin and the count de Charolois were hunting in a forest, toward evening they separated, and the dauphin, with only two attendants, lost his way in the thickest part of the forest. The count, imagining that he was returned to Brussels, came home without him. The duke seeing him return without the dauphin, was much angered, and ordered him to remount, and sent him, with many others, with torches and lights, charging them withal to seek diligently and find him. They made such haste that they met him full eight leagues from Brussels under the guidance of a peasant, to whom he had given a golden crown: by this means they had so soon found him. and were much rejoiced thereat; as was the duke, when he saw him arrive in safety §.

* Charles duke of Bourbon, by his marriage with Agnes of Burgundy, daughter of John the Fearless, had a numerous issue, of whom the eldest succeeded to his duchy by the title of John the Second, and was surnamed the Good. Of the other children, Charles was archbishop of Clermont; Lewis bishop of Liege; Peter was duke of Bourbon after the death of his brother, John II. His five daughters were married respectively to the dukes of Calabria, Burgundy, Gueldres, Savoy, and the prince of Orange.

† Philip de Croy, lord of Quiévrain, eldest son of John count of Chimay.

‡ Anthony de Rollin, lord of Aymeries. A particular account of this dispute is given by Heuterus, by which it appears that Monstrelet's statement is very correct.

§ In chapter cii., the very same accident which is here made to befal the dauphin, is also recorded to have happened to the count de Charolois, when hunting with Louis after his accession to the throne. Qy. Has not Monstrelet made the two stories out of one?

On the 13th of February in this year, the countess of Charolois was brought to bed of a daughter, in the town of Brussels. At her christening, the dauphin, the duchess of Burgundy, and the lady of Ravestein, were sponsors. The dauphin named her Mary, in honour of the queen his mother, who bore that name. Great feasts took place on this occasion throughout the duke's territories,—and in the great towns there were illuminations, and thanksgivings were offered up to God. A short time after this event, the duke of Burgundy sent again the same embassy, namely the lord de Chimay and sir Simon de Lalain, to assure the king of France that the dauphin had come to him of his own accord, and to find means of satisfying the king on this subject.

About this time died the patriarch of Antioch, brother to the chancellor of France, Juvenal des Ursins, to the archbishop of Rheims, and to another knight-at-arms, who were four brothers much in the good graces of the king of France.

CHAPTER LXXX.—AN EMBASSY FROM THE KING OF HUNGARY ARRIVES AT TOURS, AND IS HONOURABLY RECEIVED BY THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE KING OF HUNGARY DIES.—THE FRENCH TAKE THE SEAPORT OF SANDWICH BY STORM.

[A. D. 1457.]

In the year 1457, the king of France, anxious to attack his enemies, more particularly the Saracens and other unbelievers in the Catholic faith, made an alliance with the potent king of Hungary, who was sovereign of three kingdoms, namely, Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia. In consequence of this alliance, the king of Hungary was to espouse the princess Magdalen, the king of France's daughter; and very many great barons, knights, and lords of the three kingdoms were sent as ambassadors to France to be present at the betrothing: even churchmen were of this embassy, such as the archbishop of Cologne and the bishop of Passau; to the amount, in all, of six hundred horse*. When they arrived at Tours in their various dresses, the king was at Montils-les-Tours, a place had by; but the queen and princess were in Tours. The ambassadors presented to the queen a rich robe of cloth of gold, embroidered with pearls and jewels, and another, equally sumptuous, to the princess, together with a splendid waggon hung on springs†. Many of the principal lords of the king's household went about a league from Tours to meet them.

They were handsomely received by the king and his court, and great entertainments were made for them, especially by the count de Foix, who gave a grand feast on Thursday before Christmas, in the abbey of St. Julian at Tours, where all the princes and lords of the court were present. The tables were served, in the utmost abundance, with all sorts of delicacies, such as pheasants, patridges, bustards, cranes, wild geese, rabbits without number, fat capons, six score quarts of hypocras, as well white as red, removes; morrice dances of children dressed as savages issuing from a rock, singers, trumpets, clarions, and various devices; insomuch that this dinner cost eighteen hundred crowns, besides the rich presents to the guests. These feasts were continued to the ambassadors waiting for the betrothing of the princess to the king of Hungary, by procuration, soon after Christmas. But it has been truly said, that often man proposes, and God disposes; for on the morrow of Christmas-day, the melancholy news of the king of Hungary's death was brought to the king of France, which caused great sorrow to him and his whole court.

* Ant. Bonfinius, in his Decades, says nothing of the archbishop of Cologne, but mentions, as at the head of this embassy, the bishop of Passau. "Udalricus Pataviensium Pontifex, opibus, auctoritate, moribus, et doctrinâ præcellens." He says that it was by far the most magnificent embassy remembered in his time, and that out of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, and the bishopric of Passau, there were chosen seven hundred noblemen to attend it, such as "qui formâ, habitu, nobilitate, apparatuque pollerent, et quisque regno dignus videretur." The greatest expectations were entertained on the subject of this projected alliance, and the preparations made for celebrating it at the imperial court exceeded everything of the kind before known. In the midst of these preparations Ladislaus, then only twenty-two years of age, and a young man of the most promising character and attainments, was taken suddenly ill while presiding at an assembly of the states, with symptoms, as it is stated, of the plague, according to others, of poison; and he lived but thirty-six hours after. Dying without issue, George Podiebrad was elected by the states of Bohemia, and the great Matthias Corvinus by those of Hungary, to succeed him in his respective dominions.

† I have said "a waggon hung on springs," as it is in the original *chariot branlant*.

The king ordered a general mourning, and a grand funeral service to be performed, in honour of the potent king of Hungary, in the metropolitan church of St. Gratien in Tours, with ringing of bells, illuminations of wax tapers in the greatest profusion, befitting the obsequies of so noble a prince. The Hungarian ambassadors took their leave of the king of France on the morrow after New-year's-day*, and departed for their own country, taking their road through Paris, where they were grandly received; and all the nobility then in the town went out to meet them as far as the windmill beyond the gate of St. James. They had people appointed, however cold the weather was, to lie upon their carriages, which were chained up with great chains. This was a novel sight; and the chains were fastened with a lock, the key of which one of their governors carried with him when he went to sleep. A grand funeral service was performed in the church of Nôtre Dame, with a great display of torches and wax lights.

During the stay of the Hungarians in Paris, the frost was so intense that they could not walk or ride by reason of the slipperiness of the streets, but went about in a traineau, made of wood, square and without wheels, wherever business or pleasure led them. They visited the noble and royal church of St. Denis, and were received at the gate of the church by the convent in their copes, but the abbot was absent. They were presented to kiss a cross of gold set with precious stones, that contained within it a part of the true cross, and they were besprinkled with holy water and incense: in short, their reception was similar to that which would have been given to the late king of Hungary, had he been there in person. The treasures and sacred vestments of the church were displayed to them; and they saw the bodies of the saints that had been interred in separate chapels, and the sepultures of the kings and queens of France; all of which gave them much pleasure, for they had for interpreter one of the king's pursuivants, who understood their language, and had been ordered by the king to attend on them. After their return from St. Denis to Paris, they departed for Hungary.

On the 21st day of August, sir Pierré de Brézé, lord of Varennes and count de Maulévrier†, accompanied by Robert de Flocques, bailiff of Evreux, with many other lords, men-at-arms and archers, sailed from Honfleur, to the number of four thousand combatants. And on the 25th of the said month, the lords de la Fosse and de l'Eure put to sea, and sailed for several places without meeting any adventures, nor being able to land, from the roughness of the weather.

On the following Sunday, the 28th of the month, from sixteen to eighteen hundred combatants made a descent, two leagues from Sandwich in England, about six o'clock in the morning, and formed themselves into three battalions. They marched on foot two long leagues through very bad roads, until they came to a bulwark that had been lately repaired, the ditches of which were full of water. This bulwark had two towers full of archers, who were sharply attacked, and many wounded on each side. Several of the English were killed; and the bulwark was won by storm, the English having retreated into the town. The bailiff of Evreux, who commanded the rear-guard, remained at his post during this attack, and, when the bulwark was won, kept his position, as it had been ordered. A division came by sea before Sandwich, to the great joy of their companions on foot, seeing their handsome appearance, while the English were as much cast down. In this division was a guidon of the count de Dunois, borne by Galiot de Genouillac‡.

There were in the port of Sandwich a large carrack and three ships of war, into which many English had retreated, and would have continued to do much mischief to the French, if the grand seneschal of Normandy had not sent them orders to cease shooting or he would burn their vessels. It was then agreed, that they should retire in safety from these vessels, provided they ceased from hostilities, which was fully complied with. This same day the

* The commencement of the year seems *now* to take place seven days after Christmas.

† This nobleman is called, by Stow, sir Pierce Bressy, captain of Dieppe. The same historian mentions that a second division of this expedition sailed to the coast of Cornwall, and burned the town of Towey, under the command of William lord de Pomyars.

‡ James Ricard de Genouillac, called Galiot, lord of Brussac, &c., master of artillery in 1479, seneschal of Beaucaire in 1480, son of Peter Ricard lord of Gourdon, and brother of John Ricard lord of Gourdon, and John Ricard lord of Acier-en-Quercy. This last lord had a son who was also called Galiot, and distinguished himself at the battle of Fornova, and upon other occasions.

seneschal had it proclaimed through his army, that no one, under pain of death, should touch the effects of the churches, or violate the honour of any woman, or set any house on fire, or kill any one in cold blood: all of which commands were most honourably observed.

The infantry now entered the town by the gates, and the division by sea the harbour; when the English gave them full employment, for they attacked them in every square when they rallied after being defeated in another place. However, the French, but with great difficulty, drove them out of the town, and displayed their banners from the gates, under which the French formed themselves in battle-array: indeed, they had need so to do, for the English were increasing in strength from all the adjacent parts. They had heard that the French intended to attack Sandwich, but, from pride, they said they would not believe it until they should see them. The English, thus increased, kept up the skirmishes before the gates for six hours without intermission, when many were killed and wounded on each side. Thirty new knights were created on this occasion, namely, Robert de Flocques, called Flocquet, bailiff of Evreux; Thibault de Termes, bailiff of Chartres; John Charbonnel, lord of Chevreuses, and others, who behaved very valiantly.

When it was about five o'clock in the afternoon, the French, perceiving no end to skirmishing from the numbers of the enemy constantly increasing, and that their own men were greatly fatigued from their sufferings at sea, as the weather had been against them, determined on making a retreat; for they thought they should be unable to continue the engagement during the night, considering that they had many killed and wounded, that their men had little or no refreshments during the whole day, and that the English were hourly receiving reinforcements. In this retreat, the French suffered no other loss than that of a boat, in which were twelve men-at-arms, that sunk, and nine of them were drowned: it was a pity, for they had that day well done their duty. May God grant them his pardon, and show mercy to all the others who fell!

If it had not been for the great quantity of wine in Sandwich, of which many archers took more than was necessary, the seneschal would have tarried there with his whole company that night. They, however, carried off much wealth, and numbers of vessels, of different sizes, that were in the harbour: in the number were three large ships of war, which cast anchor in the road, two leagues from Sandwich, and remained there until the Wednesday following: the English all the time were drawn up in battle-array, about a cannon-shot distant one division from another. The seneschal departed with his fleet on the Thursday, with numbers of prisoners and much wealth. On his arrival at Honfleur, the prisoners were ransomed, and the plunder divided.

This was a year of great scarcity in France, and of great mortality in other places.

CHAPTER LXXXI.—DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY CARRIES THE DAUPHIN TO BRUGES, WHERE HE IS JOYFULLY RECEIVED WITH MANY HONOURS.—OTHER EVENTS MENTIONED AND REPEATED.

Soon after Easter in this year, the duke of Burgundy, accompanied by the dauphin, set out from Brussels for Bruges, passing through the towns of Oudenarde and Courtray. In both these towns the dauphin was received most honourably. Thence they proceeded to Bruges; and the principal inhabitants, to the amount of eight hundred, very richly dressed, came out to meet them, with a great concourse of common people, to do honour to the dauphin, and to please their lord.

On the first day of July, in this year, a meeting was held between St. Omer and Gravelines, by the count d'Estampes and the bastard of Burgundy, on the part of the duke of Burgundy, and the earl of Warwick * for the king of England, to repress and check the

* This is Richard Nevil, the king-maker, who, and his father the earl of Salisbury, were now the principal supports of the York, or opposition, party. Richard Nevil the father was brother of Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, and became earl of Salisbury by marriage with Alice, only daughter and heir of Montacute earl of Salisbury, who was killed at the siege of Orleans. Richard Nevil, the son, married Anne, sister of Henry Beauchamp duke of Warwick, and king of the Isle of Wight, and heir by descent from her father to the earldom, which was conveyed by marriage to her husband.

enterprises of the English on several parts of the duke's territories. The matter was so well managed, that a truce was settled between them for eight years. The 10th of this month, the lady Charlotte of Savoy, daughter to the duke of Savoy, and married to the dauphin, was conducted to him in the town of Namur by the lord de Montagu, whom he had sent to escort her; and then the marriage was perfectly consummated: for although they had been married five years, it was said that they had never lain together*. Duke Philip was not then at Namur, but in Picardy, whither he had gone to learn the intentions of the towns on the Somme, namely, St. Quentin, Corbie, Amiens, and Abbeville; for it had been rumoured that the king of France had raised a large army, but no one knew how he intended to employ it; and it was also reported that the king was much displeased with the duke of Burgundy, for detaining his son (as he thought) against his will, and out of contempt to him. The duke had therefore gone to these towns, which belonged to him by the treaty of Arras, to put them on their guard, and to entreat them not to admit any men-at-arms that the king might send to their towns. But should the king come in person, they were to admit him with every honour, as their supreme lord. These requests the several towns willingly complied with.

About the end of this month of July, upward of two thousand houses were destroyed by fire in the town of Dordrecht in Holland: many persons were also burned to death, which was a most melancholy case. The latter end of August, a large body of French sailed from Normandy, giving out that they were going to aid the Scots against the English; but they made a descent near to Sandwich, which they took by storm, before the country could be raised to oppose them. They, however, only staid there one tide: for had they remained longer, they would not have returned, from the great numbers of English that were hastening thither from all quarters. The commander-in-chief of the French was the lord de Varennes, seneschal of Normandy; and new knights were made, to the number of twenty gentlemen; among whom were Flocquet, Charlot de Mares, Porrus de Liques, and others. At this attack, three hundred English were killed, and about thirty French. They sailed back to Normandy with their plunder, which was very considerable.

Some short time before this, a party of Bretons had invaded the English coast, and burned and pillaged some villages; they made no long stay, for the English assembled in force to destroy them, had they not departed. In the month of September, of this year, the king of France sent the bishop of Constance† and a few others, as his ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy at Brussels, to remonstrate with the duke on several matters, especially on the dauphin's remaining so long with him, to the great displeasure of the king.

CHAPTER LXXXII.—A COOLNESS BETWEEN THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND THE COUNT OF ST. POL.—OTHER MATTERS.

In the preceding year, the duke of Burgundy, as earl of Hainault, had taken possession of the lands of Enghien, belonging to the count de St. Pol, and situated in the country of Hainault, although he had not touched any other lands of the count, situated in France or in the other territories of the duke. The count de St. Pol was much displeased at this conduct: but, wishing to avoid an open rupture with the duke, he sent to require, if it were his good pleasure, that he might appear in his presence to hear what he had been guilty of, and to make such answers and defence as became him; and for this purpose he demanded a passport from the duke. The duke replied, that he had no occasion to require a passport, unless he reputed himself his enemy. The count, in answer, said, that so far from reputing himself his enemy, he was his true and loyal subject, but that he had demanded a passport for the security of his person, to avoid the effects of the anger of his prince; for that he was surrounded by counsellors who loved him little, and who were seeking to create trouble between

* This marriage was contracted by the dauphin without the consent of his father, who prevented the young couple from coming together for five years after they were betrothed to each other. Their union was at last brought about by the duke of Burgundy, who sent the lord of Montagu into Savoy, to bring away the princess. She, it is added, was very ready to obey the mandate, and the solemnity was shortly after concluded with great pomp at Namur. This transaction by no means tended to reconcile the king to his son. See Vanderburch, Hist. Principum Sabaudonum.

† Qy. Coutances?

the duke and him; and he had, therefore, been advised not to appear before him without first having a passport. The passport was at length sent him. It was reported that the count de St. Pol considered the lord de Croy, first chamberlain and principal minister to the duke, as his chief enemy, although, a long time before, a marriage had been agreed to between the eldest son of the lord de Croy, and the daughter of the count de St. Pol; and the lady of Croy had received the damsel, and had educated her as her own child, because she was too young for marriage. I know not whether the count repented of this match, but he wanted to have his daughter again, probably to match her more nobly,—and he sent secretly one of his sons to the place where she was, to bring his sister back; but the lord de Croy, having had intimation of this, managed matters so dextrously, that the young couple were married and bedded before the count de St. Pol could provide a remedy. This was the cause of their hatred.

The count, having received his passport from the duke, came to Brussels grandly attended by noblemen, and by more than two hundred horse. The next day, which was about the middle of September, he had an audience of the duke, and was accused of having slain, or caused to be slain, certain persons,—and of having taken, or caused to be taken, effects wrongfully and contrary to justice. It was on these grounds the duke had laid hands on the lands of Enghien; and he was told that he made but a sorry return for the numerous acts of kindness that had been done to him and to his family by the duke and his predecessors. To these charges the count replied, that he always had been, and still was, ready to serve and obey the duke in all things, whom he considered so good and benevolent; that if there were none who had prejudiced the duke's mind against him, he trusted he should satisfy him, as to these accusations, if it were his pleasure to hear him in private, for that he should submit himself wholly to his gracious mercy,—but that if he would not hear him in private, he was ready to reply instantly and publicly to the accusations that had been laid against him. This was accepted; but, notwithstanding any defence or excuses that he made, he could not obtain the repossession of the lands of Enghien, and returned this time without effecting anything.

In this year of 1457, a splendid embassy, consisting of upwards of seven hundred horses, arrived at Tours from Lancelot king of Hungary and Bohemia. Among them were an archbishop, twelve or thirteen great barons, and more than thirty gentlemen, who were followed by twenty-six waggons richly adorned and well equipped, to carry their baggage. Before they entered the city, king Charles sent out the principal lords of his household to meet and escort them into the town; the churchmen and people went out also to do them honour: but the king then resided at a favourite palace at Montils-les-Tours, where he had been ill, so that the ambassadors were forced to remain ten days at Tours before they could have an audience. The ambassadors went to Montils-les-Tours on the 18th day of December, where they were presented to the king, the queen, their youngest son Charles, and the princess Magdalen. When the presentations were performed, the archbishop of Bolisdastain* made an harangue in Latin, in such terms as he had received from his sovereign, and discoursed first on the love and friendship that had always existed between the kings of France and the kings of Hungary and Bohemia,—adding, that it was in consequence of their mutual affection that the king of Hungary had sent his embassy. "When," continued he, "peace and amity shall exist between you both, who in the world can hurt you? Thy predecessors and our sovereigns, the kings of Hungary and Bohemia, have been in alliance. Thou art the column of Christianity, and my sovereign lord is the shield: thou art the house of Christendom, and my sovereign is the wall." Many other fine compliments he addressed to the king, and, at the conclusion, formally demanded in marriage the princess Magdalen for king Lancelot his lord, which had been before done in a private manner.

As the king was well inclined to this marriage, he ordered his ministers to confer on the subject with the ambassadors; but the first days were employed in feasting the ambassadors, which was done by grand and plentiful entertainments given them by one lord after another. At these feasts, all the nobles of the court of France were present in the most sumptuous dresses,—so that it was a splendid sight to view the dukes, counts, barons, knights, esquires,

* Bolisdastain. Q.—In the former account of this embassy, the archbishop of Cologne and bishop of Passau, according to M. du Cange, are mentioned.

ladies, damsels, heralds, pursuivants, minstrels and trumpeters out of number. But above all these entertainments was the first given by the count de Foix, which in variety and magnificence surpassed them all. The first ornament was a castle having four small towers at the corners, and in the middle a larger one with four windows; in every window was seen the fair countenance of a damsel with her yellow hair, like fine gold, scattered over her shoulders, and no other parts of her form were seen. On the summit of this tower was displayed the banner of king Lancelot, having his arms properly emblazoned, and around the smaller towers were attached the arms of the principal ambassadors. Within this large tower, but unseen, were six boys singing so very melodiously that they were supposed to be damsels.

The second pageant was the resemblance of a tiger, a horrible beast, with a short thick body, two small pointed horns on his forehead, and with tusks of a wild boar. A man was concealed within the beast, who moved him at his pleasure, to appear as if alive; and he was borne by four gentlemen dressed in the fashion of the country of Béarn, and dancing after their manner. The third was the resemblance of a great rock, on which were a fountain and great plenty of rabbits and other animals. From the rock issued five small children dressed as savages, who danced a morrice-dance. The fourth interlude was the appearance of a very able esquire as if on horseback; but the head and housings only were fastened to him, with which he pranced about the hall, holding in his hand a pot painted in various colours. From this pot there sprang roses, daisies, and other flowers; and, rising above all, was a handsome lily, loaded with flowers-de-luce. Having placed this pot on the table, another gentleman arrived with a live peacock in a dish, which he also put on the table, in order that all who wished to make any vows might then do so.* Upon which, two knights of the embassy did make vows to perform a deed of arms, and the other to hold a tourney

Vow of the Peacock.—Designed from contemporary authorities.

At length, dishes full of spices and all kinds of sweetmeats were brought to the great table, under the figures of stags, wild boars, bears, monkeys, lions, and other beasts; and on each dish were the arms of those who were present at this dinner. When the dinner was ended, the dancings began.

* See a particular account of this strange ceremony of swearing on the peacock in M. de St. Palaye's "Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie."

CHAPTER LXXXIII.—THE DEATH OF LANCELOT KING OF HUNGARY, WHICH CAUSES GREAT MOURNING AT THE COURT OF FRANCE.—THE DEATHS OF JOHN OF COIMBRA, KING OF CYPRUS, AND OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY,—WHICH LAST IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS BROTHER ARTHUR COUNT DE RICHEMONT.

On Christmas-eve, in the year 1457, news arrived at Tours of the death of Lancelot king of Hungary, while his ambassadors were feasting, as has been said. This sad event changed their feastings into sorrow, and their grief moved the compassion of all; for they well knew the ardent desire their king had to marry the daughter of the king of France, not through any wish of obtaining lands or money with her, but through a strong passion to connect himself by marriage with the king of France, as he was then but eighteen years old. They also perceived, from the great respect and attentions that had been shown them in France, that the king was equally desirous of this match: you may therefore suppose that their grief was very great. This event was concealed six days from king Charles, lest it might increase his disorder, and in order to afford time for its being broken gently to him. Funeral obsequies were performed in the church of St. Martin at Tours, before the king was made acquainted with it; but on that day it was told him, and he much lamented it. On the morrow, the ambassadors set out on their return, very sorrowful at the unfortunate issue of their embassy.

Intelligence of the king of Hungary's death was carried to the duke of Burgundy on Christmas-day, for which he testified his grief; for king Lancelot and he were nearly related; although he well knew that the projected alliance between the two kings was meant for his disadvantage, and particularly to deprive him of the duchy of Luxembourg, which he had gained, as well by arms as by purchase. King Lancelot, it was said, claimed this duchy *, and it was reported that he had bequeathed it to the lady Magdalen of France, and had ordered his executor, king Charles, to put her in the possession of it. Notwithstanding that duke Philip had heard all this, he cared very little about it. Soon after Christmas, the duke ordered a grand funeral service to be performed in the cathedral church of Bruges for the soul of the king of Hungary. It was rumoured, that he had died of poison given him by some of his ministers, who feared that, should he marry the princess of France, they would be dismissed from the government; and it was said that, from the time he had swallowed the poison, he only lived three hours.

In this year died also John of Coimbra, a Portuguese, nephew to the duchess of Burgundy †. He had married the widowed queen of Cyprus, and in her right became king of that island. It was a great loss, for he had given great hopes of his being a good and virtuous prince. The duke of Brittany departed this life without leaving any male heirs, so that the duchy fell to his brother Arthur count de Richemont, constable of France, who reigned as duke in his stead.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.—KING CHARLES IS DANGEROUSLY ILL.—ON HIS RECOVERY, HE SENDS TO INFORM THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY THAT HE SHALL TAKE UNDER HIS WARD THE ESTATES OF THE YOUTH OF RODEMAC ‡.—THE DUKE'S ANSWER.—OF THE STORMS OF WIND, FROST, AND SNOW IN THIS SEASON.

At this period, king Charles of France was so grievously ill at Tours that it was thought he could never recover, and processions and public prayers were made and offered up in several parts of the kingdom for the restoration of his health. He shortly after this recovered; and then sent a gentleman of his household with credential letters to the duke of

* In right of his mother Elizabeth, duchess of Austria.

† John duke of Coimbra, son of Peter, brother of Edward king of Portugal. He married Charlotte, only daughter and heir of John III. king of Cyprus; but it seems to be a mistake of Monstrelet's, where he calls her the widowed *queen*. She survived the duke of Coimbra, and married for her second husband Lewis prince of Savoy. The crown of Cyprus was usurped by James, the bastard son of John III., and never enjoyed either by Charlotte herself or by either of her husbands. Isabella duchess of Burgundy was sister of Edward king of Portugal, and of Peter duke of Coimbra.

‡ "Rodemac." Rodemacheron, or Rodemark,—a town in Luxembourg.

Burgundy; and, having laid them before the duke, he said, that the king of France signified to him by his mouth, that he had taken under his wardship all the lands of the youth of Rodemac, as well those in France as elsewhere. The duke instantly replied, that the lands of that youth were not in France but in the duchy of Luxembourg, and that, as he was his subject, the king had nothing to do with it. "I would wish to know," added he, "whether the king means to keep the peace of Arras, which I shall not on my part infringe; tell him, I beg of you, to make me acquainted with his will, and recommend me to him; for I know that he has some in his council who are no friends of mine." When the duke had given this answer, he sent off on the morrow a secret embassy to the king.

This youth of Rodemac, whose estates lay in the duchy of Luxembourg, had always been of the party of king Lancelot, in opposition to the duke of Burgundy, and was still against him. On the other hand, the count de St. Pol, in the expectation of being constable of France, had attached himself to king Charles; so that, from these circumstances, war rather than peace was looked for between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy.

In this year, the winter was so severe and long that the frost lasted from Michaelmas-day until the 18th of February, and the large rivers were so hard frozen that carriages passed over them. At length the frost broke up, with such falls of snow and rain that the country was greatly damaged by the inundations. These miseries were increased by storms of wind that blew down many houses and steeples, and chimneys without number: great damage was done to the vessels all along the coast. Toward the end of this year, there were such numerous pilgrimages of Germans and Brabanters,—men, women, and children,—to St. Michael's Mount, that the like was never seen before; nor could any one divine the reason of their being so numerous at this time, but from a sudden fit of devotion that had seized them.

CHAPTER LXXXV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AT THE REQUEST OF THE TOWN OF GHENT, GOES THITHER.—A GREAT FEAST IS MADE THERE.

[A. D. 1458.]

On the 23rd day of April, after Easter, in the year 1458, duke Philip of Burgundy made his entry into the town of Ghent, at the request of the inhabitants; but not on their first soliciting it, for they had frequently made this request through the dauphin and other great lords. He would not, however, agree to go thither until that day, when he made his entry with the dauphin; for he would not, for particular reasons, take thither the count de Charolois, nor the lord de Croy his first chamberlain. He was there received with greater honours than any prince had ever obtained, for the whole town came out to meet him,—the churchmen, in their robes and copes, as far as a quarter of a league, followed by the officers of justice, as well those of the town as of the prince,—then the deacons of the different trades, to the number of seventy, each attended by ten of his trade, all variously and appropriately dressed; after them came the knights, esquires, and burghers of the town, to the amount of more than four hundred. When they approached the duke, the bailiff of Ghent advanced and addressed him, saying, that the inhabitants of the town of Ghent were come out to meet him, and he entreated that he would hear what they had to say. The chief magistrate of the town then stepped forth, and made the following harangue:—"My most redoubted lord, behold your subjects of Ghent, who request and supplicate (here they all fell on their knees, with uplifted hands,) that you would be pleased to forget and forgive all their former outrages and ill-conduct, for they are ready and willing to obey you in all things, to remain your faithful servants, and, should need be, to die for you." He added other words, nearly to the same purport.

With the duke, were the count d'Estampes, the lord de Ravenstein, and others, to the number of three hundred knights. When this harangue was finished, the duke advanced to the town, the procession that had come out to meet him taking the lead, and the duke following, preceded by his heralds and trumpets in their tabards of arms. He was surrounded by fifty archers of his body-guard, clothed in their jackets, each having a hunting-spear in his hand. When the duke approached the gates, he found them open, for they had been

thrown into the fields; and as he passed, a virgin descended by machinery, who saluted him, and said, "Inveni quem diligit anima mea."

From this gate to the ducal palace, all the streets were hung with rich cloths; and at the windows of the houses were numberless lighted torches, and the people crying for joy at seeing their lord, and conducting themselves with the utmost humility. At each of the squares on his way were temporary stages erected, whereon very magnificent historical pantomimes were acted, and great bonfires were made in every street. So many fine shows were exhibited that the whole seemed like a dream; and the duke was two hours before he arrived at his palace, from the pleasure he took in looking at such beautiful pageants. At the entrance of his palace was a man dressed in skins to represent a lion, who took his horse by the bridle, and led him into the court-yard. On the morrow, the town repeated these rejoicings, and placed tables covered with all sorts of refreshments in the streets, for all to partake of who would, showing the greatest joy and humility on the occasion.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.—THE DEATH OF THE KING OF ARRAGON.—HIS BASTARD SON FERNANDO SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE OF NAPLES.—OF POPE PIUS AND THE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED ABOUT THAT TIME; SUCH AS THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, AND THE EMBASSY FROM ENGLAND TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

About St. John Baptist's day, in this year, Alphonso, king of Arragon, Naples and Sicily, departed this life in the city of Naples *. He had been in his time very powerful, redoubted, and rich, as was apparent after his death; for it was commonly reported that he had left to his bastard son Fernando, besides the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, six millions of florins in coin, and his chapel, which was marvellously rich, together with all his jewels, estimated at more than a million of gold. He had formed the largest ship that had ever been seen at sea, which returned to the port of Naples the very day of his decease. It happened that in so doing she struck on a bank of gravel with such force that she was dismasted, and the mainmast falling on the deck, split it into a thousand pieces, and the vessel sunk. The mast was so thick that five men could not encircle it with their united arms; and the noise of its fall was horrible to hear. Eight days after his death, a very richly gilt and painted tabernacle, that was placed over the seat he usually sat on in his hall, fell down just at the same hour that the king deceased. King Alphonso had been brother-in-arms to the duke of Burgundy; and although they had never seen each other, they were so strongly attached that they wore their different orders.

Pope Calixtus, then on the papal throne, hearing that the kingdom of Naples had escheated to him from the late king's dying without legal heirs, claimed that kingdom from Fernando the bastard; and because he would not give it up, excommunicated him and all

* This great prince was succeeded in his hereditary dominions of Arragon and Sicily by his brother John, who was already king of Navarre in right of his queen, Blanche the daughter of Charles the Third. Alphonso claimed the right of conquest in disposing of his kingdom of Naples in favour of his bastard son, Ferdinand. The succession of Arragon and Castile, and union of crowns in the person of Ferdinand the Catholic, will be easily comprehended by the following table.

John, king of Castile, died in 1390. = Eleanor, daughter of Peter IV. king of Arragon.

Henry III. king of Castile, eldest son, died 1406.

Ferdinand, king of Arragon and Sicily, succeeded his uncle Martin in 1410, died 1416.

John II. king of Castile, died 1454.

John II. king of Navarre in right of his first wife, king of Arragon and Sicily after his elder brother Alphonso, died 1479.

Alphonso, king of Arragon and Sicily and (by conquest) of Naples, died 1458, s. p. l.

Henry IV. king of Castile, married Blanche of Navarre, and died 1474, s. p.

Isabella = Ferdinand, (son of John II. died 1504. by his second wife,) died 1516.

Ferdinand (bastard) king of Naples.

his adherents. However, on the death of Calixtus, which happened soon after, his successor, pope Pius, restored the kingdom to Fernando. It was currently said, that Fernando had given to Pius a very large sum of money for his absolution, and to remain peaceably king of Naples. When pope Calixtus had held the papacy about four years, he departed this life . the cardinal of Sienna, called Æneas *, was elected in his room. He had been secretary to the emperor Frederic, was an eloquent man, and took the name of Pius II.

The summer of this year was so dry, that it scarcely rained at all from the month of April to the middle of October; and never, in the memory of man, was seen so dry a season. The wines of this year were very good, and corn at a low price; yet, notwithstanding this, a fatal pestilence reigned in many places, such as Paris, Abbeville, and in other great towns. About Martinmas of this year, an embassy from England to the duke of Burgundy came to him at Mons in Hainault. It was reported, that the object was to propose a treaty of alliance by a marriage, and that the duke had replied, he could not agree to it, according to the articles of the treaty of Arras, without the knowledge and consent of the king of France, who was equally debarred from making any treaty with England without the consent of the duke. After this answer, they went to the king of France.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MAKES HIS ENTRY INTO GHENT, AND IS MAGNIFICENTLY ENTERTAINED BY THE TOWN.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS TO SUMMON THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TO ATTEND THE TRIAL OF THE DUKE D'ALENÇON.

THE most excellent and potent prince the duke of Burgundy made his public entry into Ghent on Sunday after Easter, the 23d day of April, in the year 1458, about four or five o'clock in the afternoon. It was grandly conducted, and in the following order.

ENTRY OF PHILIP THE GOOD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY, INTO GHENT.—From an illumination engraved in Montfaucon's "Monarchie Françoise."

First, the churchmen led a procession out of the town, after paying each their devotions in their respective churches. Then the bailiff and sheriffs, with some of the burghers on

* Æneas Silvius Piccolomini.

horseback, clothed in black, went out to meet their lord, and received him with the greatest humility; the other sheriffs remaining at the gate of the town. At each place they paid him every reverence by kneeling on the ground, offering him at the same time their persons and effects. Then the deans of the guilds came forth in handsome array, each with a torch in his hand, and a deputation from the different trades, amounting to upwards of two hundred, clad in sky-coloured mantles, and as many in white mantles, sweeping the ground. Without the gate, and on both sides of the street on the other side of the river, were figures representing the prophets: the one that looked toward the duke displayed a roll, on which was written in large letters, *Ecce nomen Domini venit de longinquo*, Isaiah xxx. The other figure pointed to the trumpets over the gate, and on his roll was written, *Canite turba pariter omnes*, &c. Near to the gate was a sort of orchard or garden, in which was a young girl about ten years old, with her hair hanging down, and simply dressed in a damask mantle: on the duke's approach she flung herself on her knees, and displayed a roll with uplifted hands, on which was written, *Inveni quem diligit anima mea*, Cantic. iii. The portal and inside of the gate were hung with black, grey, and crimson cloths; on the cloth over the portal, at the barrier, the following was written in letters of gold, *Venit nobis pacificus Dominus, utere servitio nostro sicut placuerit tibi*, Judic. iii. On the cloth over the great gateway were the arms of the duke, emblazoned with helmet and crest. The streets, from the gate to the palace of the duke, were hung on each side with cloths of the before-mentioned colours, namely, black, grey, and crimson. On the black was written, in letters of silver, *Venit nobis pacificus Dominus*: on the grey, *Utere servitio nostro*: and on the crimson, *Sicut placuerit tibi*. Above these cloths were five or six hundred torches, including those in the front of the houses, so that, comprehending all that were illuminated in the streets and in the boats on the river, there were from fifteen to sixteen thousand torches.

Near the gate of entrance, and within the city, was a pageant representing the prodigal son after he had been forgiven by his father; and on a roll over it was written, *Pater peccavi in cœlum et coram te*, Luc. xv. Not far distant was the figure of a prophet holding a roll, on which was written, *Lex clementiæ in lingua ejus*, Proverb. xxxi. A little farther was a scaffold, on which was acted a representation of the emperor Caius in the midst of twelve senators, and before him stood Marcus Tullius, who harangued the emperor on his clemency, in liberating many prisoners on his capture of Rome, beginning, *Diuturni silentii*, &c. In this oration is the following expression among others, *Nulla de virtutibus tuis major clementia est*. These words were written on the folds of the robes of the figure. The next pageant represented a black lion holding in his paw the banner of the arms of the duke: before him was a white lioness humbly couched on the ground, and between them lay three young lion cubs half dead; but on the roaring of the lion they recovered strength, life, and activity. There was a roll over them, with these words, *Quasi leo rugiens, et formidabunt filii ejus*, Hosea xi. Further on was another prophet displaying a roll with these words written thereon, *Ecce venit desideratus cunctis gentibus et replebitur gloria ejus domus Domini*, Haggai ii. Near to this last pageant was a representation of David's indignation against Nabal, which was appeased by Nabal's wife; and over it was written, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel quoniam te misit*, Sam. xx.

The second gate was hung with black and grey cloth, on which were the arms of the duke properly emblazoned, with the arms of all the knights-companions of the Golden Fleece. A scaffold was erected close to this gate, having in the centre a fountain, and surrounded by a representation of the triumphant state of the church, with the figure of a shepherd having recovered his lost sheep: he displayed a roll, which had written on it, *Congratulamini mihi quia inveni ovem quam perdideram*, Luc. xv. Near the bridge was the figure of Pompey, governor of Rome, after having made the king of Armenia prisoner for his rebellions against the Romans; but, seeing his great submission and humility, he had restored him to liberty, which showed that he thought he gained as much glory by pardoning as by conquest. Over him was written, *Æque pulchrum est vincere reges*, &c., Valerius, v. c. There was the representation of another prophet near the bridge, pointing with one hand to the water, and holding a roll in the other, whereon was written, *Respice Domine in servos tuos*, Psalm lxxxix.

In the river were the figures of six apostles, among whom was St. John, who addressed St. Peter in writing, *Dominus est*, Matt. xiv. St. Peter, seeing our Lord walking to him on the water, and fearing to be drowned, said also in the roll which he extended, *Domine salvum me fac*, Matt. xiv. Our Saviour held out to him a roll, whereon was written, *Modice fidei quare dubitasti?* Matt. xiv. On this same river was a very large boat full of burning torches, and adjoining it another figure as a prophet, with a roll in his hand, pointing also to a large figure: it was written on the roll, *Exultabunt omnia ligna silvarum a facie Domini quoniam venit*, Psalm xv.

Facing this last prophet was a large platform, on which was erected a fortress with two small towers, on the battlements of which were suspended shields, having emblazoned on them the arms of all the countries under the dependence of the duke of Burgundy. At the gate of this castle was the personage of a giant, called Mars, and surnamed the Victorious, having a lion by his side. In front of this castle was a wood, in which were dragons, wolves, foxes, and all sorts of wild beasts, that attempted to enter the gate and gain the castle, but were always repulsed. In the centre of the gate was a man who represented the three conditions of men in the states of the duke, and was dressed, as to his head, like a priest; his right side was clothed with a long robe of cloth of silk for the gentry, and the left side was attired as the labourers in the field: there was written above him, *Diligam te Domine fortitudo mea. Et nisi custodieris civitatem frustra vigilat qui custodit eam*, Psalm xxv. On each side were the figures of king Solomon and the queen of Sheba, over whom was written, *Major est gloria tua quam rumor quem audivi*, Reg. I. c. x.

On another part of the platform was a representation of Gideon after he had obtained the victory, and the Israelites humbly addressing him with these words, *Dominare nostri tu, hic est filius tuus et filii tui quia liberasti nos*, Judic. viii. Not far off was an elephant bearing a castle, in which were two men and four children, who sang melodiously a new song, the words of which were as follows:—

"Long live the valiant Burgundy!
With heart and voice we loudly cry.
Henceforth no other lord we own;
But place our trust in him alone.

Long live the valiant Burgundy!
Who now from sorrow sets us free;
Whilst on his entrance thus we cry,
Long live the valiant Burgundy!"

This entry was more grand and magnificent than ever prince made before; for by the side of the duke on horseback, with his hood thrown on his shoulder, was the bastard d'Armagnac *, marshal to the lord dauphin,—and he was preceded by the ushers-at-arms, his first master of the horse bearing his sword. Immediately before him, his kings-at-arms, heralds, and pursuivants, clothed in their tabards of arms, were in great numbers; and before these heralds were from twelve to fourteen clarions and trumpets, who followed the count d'Estampes and sir Thibault de Neufchâtel lord de Blancmont, marshal of Burgundy †. These were preceded by the lords and gentlemen of the dauphin, the two sons of the lord de Croy, and the two sons of the marshal of Burgundy. Before them rode the lord Adolphus of Cleves, the lord bastard of Burgundy, and sir Philip Pol, all richly dressed, themselves and their heralds. They were preceded by the great lords of the court,—and before them other lords and gentlemen, two and two, without varlet or page: before these gentlemen were the principal burghers and gentlemen of the town in great numbers, dressed in black.

Immediately after the duke were fifty archers of his body-guard on foot, dressed in their jackets, each having a hunting-spear in his hand: behind the duke were fifteen pages and

* John d'Armagnac, lord of Gourdon, bastard son of John IV. count of Armagnac, and brother by the same mother of another John d'Armagnac, called also de Lescun archbishop of Auch. He was advanced by the dauphin after he became king, to several high offices of trust and favour, and was made marshal of France in 1461. He married Margaret, daughter of Louis I. marquis de Saluces, by whom he had one daughter, married into the house of Amboise, and died A. D. 1472.

† Thibault the ninth marshal of Burgundy and bailiff of Franche-Comté. He died in 1469, leaving by Bona of Châteauvilain his wife, Thibault lord of Hericourt, who died without issue, and Henry lord de Neufchâtel, who was made prisoner at the battle of Nancy, and died in 1503, and he was brother of John de Neufchâtel, lord of Montagu. This lordship of Neufchâtel in Burgundy must be carefully distinguished from the county of Neufchâtel in Switzerland, with which it had no connexion whatever.

numbers of gentlemen. The horses that were at this entry were estimated at more than two hundred, without including those of the pages, varlets, and other attendants, which were already in the town. In short, it was the most triumphant entry that ever lord made into a town for these five hundred years past. The illuminations were continued on the following night; and the townsmen acted many mysteries in the town-house, expressive of the praise of their lord, and of their own ill conduct. They did the same on the Tuesday evening, but without illuminations,—for it was said that the duke had desired they might not be longer continued. One of the burghers had covered the outside of his house with gold and silver, and had placed a great number of torches and lanterns before it. In like manner did many others in the different streets ornament their houses with rich hangings and splendid illuminations, at a great expense, during the two days the feast lasted.

On the Tuesday, the municipal officers and principal burghers waited on the duke at his palace, to thank him humbly for having come to his good town of Ghent, and to make offer of their lives and fortunes, for which he expressed his obligations. Then, on their knees, they supplicated him that he would be pleased to sup with them, in the manner of a banquet, at the town on the following Sunday, the last day of April, which he granted. It was rumoured that this banquet would be free to all comers, like an open court, and that it would cost more than ten thousand crowns of gold. On the morrow, the managers of the feast despatched purveyors nine leagues round Ghent, to collect every delicacy they could lay hands on, so that a small chicken was sold for two patars*.

Toward the end of April, the king of France sent ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy, to signify to him that he intended to give judgment on the duke of Alençon on the 10th of the ensuing month of June, in the town of Montargis, and to summon him to attend at the above place and time with the peers of France, of whom he was one, and dean of the said peers, and also to consider on other matters touching the welfare of the realm. The duke instantly replied to these ambassadors,—"Although my lord the king, by the treaty of Arras, has no right to command me in anything, and notwithstanding I am personally exempted from my dependence on him, nevertheless I will, if it please God, be personally present at the time and place he has fixed on, to give sentence on the duke of Alençon, and respecting the matters touching the welfare of the kingdom of France."

When the ambassadors, on receiving this answer, were departed, the duke sent Golden Fleece, the king-at-arms of his order, to king Charles, to deliver a certain message he charged him with. He then had it proclaimed in all his great towns, that all who had been accustomed to bear arms, and by their fiefs and oaths were bounden to serve him, should prepare themselves to be in readiness to accompany him, the first day of June, on his journey to the king of France at Montargis, whither he had been by him summoned to attend; and it was his intention, if it pleased God, to appear there with the greatest possible force he could raise. On the other hand, the king of France had ordered the arrière-ban of his realm to hold themselves in readiness the first of June,—which made many suppose that a renewal of war was about to take place; and it was currently reported in France that these preparations were made to oppose the English, who were intending to invade France.

During this interval, those of Utrecht rebelled against their bishop, which caused the duke of Burgundy, his father, to send sir Anthony his bastard to Holland, with eight score lances, and from seven to eight hundred archers. But the rebels, hearing of this, made up their quarrel, and returned to their obedience to the bishop as before,—and this armament marched back to the duke of Burgundy.

* Patart,—a Low-country coin, worth about one penny English.—Cotgrave.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE COUNTERMANDS HIS SUMMONS TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, FORBIDS HIM TO COME TO MONTARGIS, AND ORDERS HIM TO SEND THITHER THREE OR FOUR OF HIS NOBLES TO CONSULT WITH THE OTHER PEERS OF FRANCE. — SLIGHT MENTION MADE OF THE SENTENCE PASSED ON THE DUKE OF ALENÇON IN THE TOWN OF VENDÔME, WITH THE RESERVATION OF THE KING'S APPROVAL.

On the return of Golden Fleece king-at-arms, about the beginning of June, he told duke Philip his lord, that the king having learned that he intended coming to Montargis with a very numerous army, which would unavoidably do great damage to the countries they should pass through, on that account held him excused from coming thither in person, and entreated that he would send three or four of his council to represent him. The duke immediately appointed the count d'Estampes, sir Simon de Lalain, knights, and some clerks of his council, together with Golden Fleece king-at-arms, as his proxies at the ensuing meeting. Before this, however, took place, a great meeting was held at Gravelines, between commissioners from England and others sent by duke Philip. Soon after, the count d'Estampes went under a passport to Calais, where he was grandly feasted by the English; and it was reported that a truce was then agreed on between the two countries.

The king of France, considering that Montargis could not hold the numbers of people summoned to attend the judgment of the duke of Alençon, changed the place of meeting to Vendôme, where he appeared in so royal a state that it was a pleasure to see him,—and all who had been summoned were expected to come thither. On the day appointed, only the proxies for the duke of Burgundy appeared before the king, of all the temporal peers: in consequence, by royal authority, he named proxies for the duke of Bourbon, the count de Foix, the count de la Marche, and the count d'Eu, to assist the king in passing sentence on the duke d'Alençon. When the court had been thus regularly formed in the place prepared for it, master John L'Orfevre, president of Luxembourg and one of the proxies for the duke of Burgundy, arose, and besought the king that he would be pleased to hear what he had been charged by his lord to say, in defence of the duke d'Alençon. The king having granted him permission to speak, he began an harangue of some length, very well arranged and ornamented, with apt quotations from the Scriptures, containing four propositions which the duke of Burgundy had ordered him to lay before the king, to induce him to incline to a merciful sentence on the duke of Alençon, whom his lord considered as his near relative.

The first proposition was, that it belonged at all times to royal majesty to show mercy, and use clemency. The second, that the duke of Alençon was nearly related to the king. Thirdly, that the services which the duke of Alençon himself, and his ancestors, had rendered to the crown of France, should be well considered; and, fourthly, the weakness of mind of the duke of Alençon, which being added to the three foregoing propositions, if duly weighed by the king, might induce him to show clemency to the duke.

The cardinal de Constance answered in the king's name, that his majesty had carefully listened to all the reasons that had just been offered by the duke of Burgundy, to incline him to show mercy on the duke d'Alençon: that, in reply to the first proposition, it was true, mercy and clemency properly belonged to kings and sovereign princes,—but to do justice was also an inherent right in them, and it was in virtue of this that kings reigned; for if that were neglected, their kingdoms would be devoured by robbers and thieves. As to the second point, that the duke d'Alençon was related to the king, he should answer, that so much the more was he bounden to guard the preservation and welfare of the king and his crown. As to the third point, touching the services done by the duke's ancestors to the crown of France, &c., he should say, that he had not in these instances followed their steps: and since children should not suffer for the evil deeds of their fathers, neither ought they to claim any merit from their services.

With regard to the last point, he should reply, that the lord d'Alençon had clearly shown that he was not very wise; but he was not so simple as had been stated, for he had, in the matters charged against him, proceeded with great subtlety and malice, as was apparent

and might be seen in the evidence on his trial: that it had not depended on him that his treason was unsuccessful, and that he was equally deserving punishment as if his treachery had taken effect. The cardinal concluded by saying, that the king would act in this business with the advice of the princes of his blood, and the members of his council; that the king would have been glad and was desirous of the able assistance of the duke of Burgundy, whose absence he regretted, but that he would act in such wise that the duke of Burgundy and the public should be satisfied with the sentence he would give.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.—THE KING'S SENTENCE ON THE DUKE D'ALENÇON READ IN HIS PRESENCE WHILE SEATED ON HIS JUDGMENT-SEAT, BY HIS CHANCELLOR.

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France. Having been duly informed that John duke of Alençon, peer of France, has entered into a treasonable correspondence, by himself and others, with our ancient enemies and adversaries the English,—we make known, that having personally examined in our chamber of peers, and others for this business called in, the charges and evidence produced against John d'Alençon, together with his confessions, and other facts brought duly forward,—we, by the advice of the aforesaid chamber of peers, have declared, and by these presents do declare, that the said John d'Alençon is guilty of high-treason against us and our crown, for which we have deprived and do deprive him of the honour and dignity of a peer of France, and of all dignities and honours attached thereto. We have also condemned, and do by these presents condemn, him to suffer death according to law, and have declared, and do declare, all the effects of the said John d'Alençon to be confiscated to our use, and to belong to us; saving, however, any further orders or regulations we may make concerning the same."

This sentence having been publicly read, the king declared his will to be, that "the execution of the duke d'Alençon should be deferred until his further pleasure were known: that in respect to the confiscation of his effects, &c., although his children ought, according to law and usage, to be deprived of every honour, prerogative, and property, and reduced to such beggary as may be an example to all others, considering the enormity of the crimes of their father,—nevertheless, in remembrance of the services done by their ancestors to the kings and crown of France, and in the expectation that these children will conduct themselves toward the king as good and loyal subjects should do to their sovereign lord, and likewise out of favour to the solicitations of the duke of Brittany*, uncle to the duke of Alençon, the king, out of his grace, declares, that the effects of the duke of Alençon shall remain to the wife and children of the said duke of Alençon; but the king reserves to himself all artillery, arms, and military stores. With regard to the lands and lordships, the king retains the towns, castles, and viscounties of Alençon, Domfront, and Verneuil, as well on one side of the river Aure as on the other, with all their rights, privileges, and dependencies, which from this moment he incorporates into the domain of the crown of France. The king retains also the castlewick and lordship of St. Blansay in Touraine, together with the tolls which the said d'Alençon had and received from the bridges of Tours, to regulate at his pleasure.

"Item, the king reserves to himself all the homage, dues, and acknowledgments, which appertained to the said d'Alençon on account of his country of Perche, on the town of Nogent le Rotrou, with all its dependencies, and all other lands belonging to the count du Maine, in right of the countess du Maine his wife.—Item, in regard to the other lands and effects immoveable, the king wills that they belong to the children of the said d'Alençon,—namely, the county of Perche to be enjoyed by his only son Réné, and his heirs in lawful marriage, without, however, any dignity or prerogative of peerage. As for the other effects of the said d'Alençon, the king wills that they be divided among the younger children, who are to be under the wardship of the king until they become of an age to manage for them-

* Mary, eldest daughter of John V., and sister of John VI. and Arthur dukes of Brittany, was married to John I. duke of Alençon, father of the duke here mentioned.

selves,—they to enjoy these estates as their own free inheritance, and the said estates to descend to the heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten in marriage, according to the usages of the countries in which those estates are situated."

When this had been finally settled, the king ordered the duke d'Alençon to confinement in the strong prison of the castle of Aiguesmortes*, not far from Avignon.

CHAPTER XC.—THE ENGLISH MAKE AN INROAD ON THE BOULONOIS FROM CALAIS.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS AN EMBASSY TO THE POPE, AND FORTIFIES HIS TOWNS AGAINST THE ENGLISH.—ARTHUR OF BRITTANY DIES, AND IS SUCCEEDED IN THE DUKEDOM BY THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES.—OTHER EVENTS.

About this period, eight hundred combatants issued out of Calais and marched to Estaples†, where they found many vessels laden with wines from Poitou, which the Bretons had brought thither to sell, all of which the English made them ransom. They gained also numbers of mules, which some merchants from Languedoc had conducted thither to carry back a cargo of salted herrings: these were also ransomed, and they carried away several prisoners.

The duke of Burgundy sent this year, about Christmas, a handsome embassy to pope Pius at Rome, to do him homage for all his states, like a good son of the church, and, shortly afterward, another embassy to the king of France, to avoid a war, which everybody conjectured would ensue, because the dauphin resided with the duke contrary to the will of his father, and had refused to return to France.

The English, on the frontier of Calais, made continual inroads on the territories of the duke; and to check them he strengthened with men-at-arms the garrisons of Boulogne, Ardres, Gravelines, Fiennes, and St. Omer. They were ordered to oppose force by force, and to hang all whom they should take.

About Christmas died Arthur duke of Brittany, without leaving any male heir: he was, therefore, succeeded in the duchy by John de Bretagne count d'Estampes, son to the brother of a former duke of Brittany by a sister of the duke of Orleans‡. Notwithstanding that he was count d'Estampes, John of Burgundy, brother to the count de Nevers, assumed the same title, but without advantage,—for the king held possession of Estampes, and gave the revenue of it to whomsoever he pleased.

At this time, peace was restored between the duke of Burgundy and the count of St. Pol, so that the count was on the same familiar terms with the duke, and as much beloved by him as before: he was, likewise, in the good graces of the count de Charolois.

Nearly at this period an embassy from Greece, of about fifty horsemen, waited on the duke to request that he would personally attend, or send his proxies, to a meeting appointed by pope Pius, of all the princes of Christendom, touching the welfare of the Catholic church. The duke received them honourably, and gave them rich presents, and said that, under God's pleasure, he would send proxies to the meeting they had mentioned.

CHAPTER XCI.—THE KING OF FRANCE SUMMONS THE TWELVE PEERS OF FRANCE TO THE TOWN OF MONTARGIS, TO HEAR SENTENCE PASSED ON THE DUKE D'ALENÇON.—OF THE DEATH OF POPE CALIXTUS.—THE KING TRANSFERS THE COURT OF JUSTICE FROM MONTARGIS TO VENDÔME.

In the year 1458 the king of France summoned the twelve peers of his realm, secular as well as temporal, and the members of his court of parliament, to assemble in the town of Montargis on the 8th day of June, in which place he intended holding a court of justice, and

* Aiguesmortes,—a town in lower Languedoc, five leagues from Montpellier.

† Estaples,—a town in Picardy, at the mouth of the Conche, four leagues from Boulogne.

‡ A mistake. He was succeeded by Francis II. son of his younger brother, Richard, count of Estampes. Richard count of Estampes, who died in 1438, married Margaret daughter of Louis duke of Orleans, and Francis II. was the only son of that marriage.

for considering other matters that greatly affected the welfare of the realm. The most part of those summoned attended, and were there for two months, treating on the condemnation or acquittal of the duke of Alençon, cousin-german to the king, and one of the peers of France. The duke of Alençon had been imprisoned for certain treasonable acts imputed to him, and of which he was said to be guilty. There were present at this meeting the count de Dunois and de Longueville, the chancellor of France, master Pierre du Reffuge *, general of France, and many other great lords and officers. The duke of Burgundy would not appear, although he had been summoned, and was the first of the peers. He had refused to come in consequence of an article in the treaty of Arras, by which he could not be constrained to attend any meeting, but at his own free-will. The king remained at Baugency during these two months, always intending to have gone to Montargis; but fearing the epidemic distemper which raged there, and the badness of the air, he dissolved the meeting, and appointed it to assemble within fifteen days afterward at Vendôme.

On the 4th of April in this year died pope Calixtus; and Pius, a native of Italy, was elected in his room.

The 15th of August, all the king's counsellors, as well laics as ecclesiastics, of his court of parliament, who had been summoned, came to Vendôme,—even the bishop of Paris and the abbot of St. Denis, who had not appeared at Montargis.

CHAPTER XCII. — THE DUKE OF ALENÇON IS CONVICTED, AND CONDEMNED TO DEATH FOR HAVING INTENDED TO DELIVER UP HIS STRONG PLACES TO THE ENGLISH, THE ANCIENT ENEMIES OF FRANCE, AND TO INTRODUCE THEM INTO NORMANDY.

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to all to whom these presents may come, health and affection. Whereas we have been duly informed that John duke of Alençon, a peer of France, has held various treasonable correspondences with our ancient enemies the English; and that for this purpose he has sent divers messengers to England without our leave or licence, and without making us acquainted with the purport of them, to the great danger and prejudice of us and our realm. To obviate the evil effects that might have arisen from such conduct, we provided a remedy, and, in consequence, commanded, under our letters-patent given at Chastelier, near Esbrimbe, the 24th day of May, in the year 1456, our dear and well-beloved cousin the count de Dunois and de Longueville, our beloved and faithful counsellors and chamberlains Pierre de Brézé, lord of Varennes, and grand seneschal of Normandy, John le Boursier, superintendant-general of our finances, William Cousinot, knight, bailiff of Rouen, and Odet d'Aidié, bailiff of Coutantin, to lay hands on and arrest our said nephew the duke of Alençon; and for the furtherance of his trial we issued our orders, dated at Mont Richart † the 23d of last May, for our court of parliament, then sitting at Paris, to adjourn to the town of Montargis, on the first day of June last, and to remain there until the whole of the judicial proceedings on this subject should have been brought to a conclusion.

"We also summoned to attend this court of justice, at Montargis, a sufficient number of presidents and counsellors of our said parliament, together with the peers and princes of our blood, the chancellor, some masters of the requests of our household, and others of our council. In consequence whereof, our said chancellor, our well-beloved and faithful counsellors, the archbishop-duke of Rheims, the bishops and dukes of Laon and Langres, the bishops and counts of Beauvais, of Châlons and Noyon, peers of France, our said presidents, masters of requests, and counsellors of our court of parliament, and the members of our council have regularly assembled in the town of Montargis, and have there taken the preparatory steps for the judgment of the said d'Alençon, by the interrogation of his accomplices and adherents, which occupied them until the 10th day of July last passed.

"These lords did not proceed further, in the expectation of our coming thither to bring the matter to a conclusion in our presence; but we delayed going to Montargis on account of the great mortality that then existed in the towns of Orleans, Sully, and other places

* Reffuge. Q.

† Mont Richart, or Mont Tricard,—six leagues from Amboise.

around, through which we must have passed; and not only to avoid the consequences that might have arisen from this mortality we deferred going thither, but also having heard that our enemies had fitted out a considerable fleet, with the intent of invading our kingdom on the coasts of Saintonge, Poitou, and lower Normandy. That we might be ready to oppose any such attempts, we, by the advice of our council, transferred this court of justice from Montargis to the town of Vendôme. We ordered the members of the said court to assemble at Vendôme on the 15th day of August, then and there to continue sitting until they should have brought this trial to a close. We afterward came to Vendôme in person, where were assembled many of the princes of our blood, peers of France, both laics and ecclesiastics, and those before-named, with the members of our council and court of parliament, and others for this business summoned thither. While we were seated on our judgment-seat, the court being filled with the whole of its members, the said d'Alençon was brought before it, who, after having had the oath administered to him, to declare the whole truth respecting the crimes with which he was charged, frankly and voluntarily confessed as follows.

"That after lord Shrewsbury had taken Bordeaux, an Englishman called James Hay, attached to sir Richard Woodville, an English knight, came to him at Alençon, under a passport, and made secret proposals to him of a marriage between his daughter and the son of the duke of York: that, as well in regard to this marriage as for other matters they mutually wished to be acquainted with, they held many conversations, and agreed on a certain manner of squeezing the hand and thumb, as a signal that every person was to give before he delivered any message relative to his business, to prevent their being betrayed. That about the month of August in the year 1455, he, the said duke of Alençon, sent for a priest living at Domfront, called Thomas Gillet, whom, having sworn to secrecy, he told that he intended to send him to England, and detained him some time with him for this purpose, and carried him to La Fleche in Anjou, expecting to be enabled to send him from thence: that while he was at La Fleche, an English herald, called Huntingdon, came thither, to whom he opened his intentions, and charged him to return to England, and to exhort his countrymen, by every possible means, to make a descent in Normandy, desiring them, by the aid of God, or the devil, to make up their internal quarrels, and not think of anything else but this invasion: that now was the time or never; and should they allow the present most favourable opportunity to slip by, they would never again find another; for that the king was at a distance, and his army separated in three divisions,—one in Armagnac, another in Guienne, and the third employed against the dauphin: that the nobles and great towns, as well as the people of all ranks, were more discontented than could be conceived; and that he, the duke of Alençon, was himself so displeased with the present government that, if the English would support him, he would aid them to the utmost of his power,—for that he had sufficient stores and artillery to combat for a day ten thousand men. He advised that the king of England should come in person, and with not less than from thirty to forty thousand combatants: that there was in Normandy only one of the king's generals, with but four hundred lances, and that they might conquer the greater part of the country before any resistance could be made. He advised that the king of England should, on his landing, issue a proclamation, by sound of trumpet, to forbid any one, under pain of instant death, to take goods or other effects from husbandmen or labourers by force, and to leave every one at peace in their habitations. The king of England was likewise to revoke all the gifts made by his father and by himself, to grant a full pardon to every one, and to proceed as if it were a new conquest.

"In consequence of this treachery, our enemies did land in several parts of our dominions, namely, the king of England and the duke of York in Lower Normandy, the duke of Buckingham at Calais, to march through Picardy to the country of Caux, and to cut off all intercourse with us should we attempt to oppose them. Those of Guienne, according to the duke of Alençon, were much discontented; and if our enemies would support them they would rise in rebellion against us,—and, in short, we should lose all that part of our country. The enemy was to inform the duke of Alençon three months before they intended to land, that he might provide his places with stores, and prevent us from taking possession of them. On their landing, the English commander was to send the herald Huntingdon to the duke to

make him acquainted with their numbers and plans, that he might take measures to act in concert with them. The duke particularly insisted, when he sent Huntingdon to England, that king Henry should bring with him as much money as possible ; and that he should deliver at Bruges, or elsewhere, twenty thousand crowns,—or at least ten thousand, at his disposal, should be there deposited without loss of time, and not longer than a month after their landing, for him to pay his men, and put his artillery on a respectable footing ; for he charged the herald to say, that on their landing they would find part of his artillery at Alençon or Domfront.

"The said d'Alençon confessed that he had promised, on oath, to Huntingdon, that he would punctually perform the engagements he had entered into with the enemies of our realm : and he made this herald swear that he would tell all these things to the duke of York, Richard Woodville, and James Hay, and that he would reveal them to none others but them. That our enemies might not have any doubts of the truth of the above engagements, the said d'Alençon gave to Huntingdon, on his departure, credential letters addressed to the duke of York, signed with an N, with a stroke through it, containing as follows :—"Gentlemen, have the goodness to believe what the bearer of this shall tell you from me. I thank you for your kind intentions, and it shall not be my fault if they be not farther strengthened." In saying this, our said nephew had well remembered that he had given to Huntingdon the fullest information respecting his own affairs, as well as those of our kingdom, in order to accomplish his designs, and then had sent him to England.

"The said d'Alençon confessed, that some time afterwards he had also sent thither Thomas Gillet, the priest before mentioned, and had charged him to acquaint the duke of York or Richard Woodville (having previously made the signal with the thumb) with the state of our kingdom and the discontent of the people, and to press them to make the invasion as soon as they could, and with as large a force as possible,—to tell them that they were very thoughtless in not having before attempted it, for they could never have so fair an opportunity of recovering what they had lost ; and if they would land twenty thousand men, they would regain the greater part of the country before we could provide any effectual resistance ; for we were at a distance, in Berry, on an expedition against our son the dauphin : that there were no forces in that part of the kingdom : that the people were exceedingly discontented, and that now or never was the time for reconquering Normandy. Thomas Gillet said, that the duke d'Alençon was much surprised he had not heard from them, nor from the herald ; that they should send him back with intelligence of their intentions ; and he told them frankly, that unless they showed more vigour and activity, the enterprise had better be dropped. He spoke to them, likewise, of the twenty thousand crowns that had been stated as necessary by the said d'Alençon to Huntingdon ; and the said d'Alençon had bidden him assure the duke of York, that he was the most beloved of all his family in Normandy, and that the people of the country would do more for him than for any one else. Thomas Gillet was also charged to tell the English, on their landing, not to forget to issue the proclamations he had mentioned to Huntingdon; and if he were spoken to concerning the marriage of his daughter with the eldest son of the duke of York, to say all he knew and all he had seen of her. The said d'Alençon gave to Gillet letters of the following tenor, to deliver to the duke of York :—'Sir,' &c., 'I commend myself to you, and entreat that you will instantly let me hear from you, and have me in your thoughts. For God's sake, use diligence in his designs,—it is time,—and acquit yourself manfully, for who waits becomes displeased. Hasten to send me money, for your service has cost me much, and may God grant all your desires.' Written as above, and at the bottom 'always yours, N.,' adding a postscript, to say, that a little before Christmas he would send a person called Pierre Fortin to Calais, and would instruct him to make the signal of the thumb, that he might converse with James Hay or Richard Woodville, and know from them if they had any intelligence to give him from the herald or Thomas Gillet.

"The said d'Alençon also confessed, that between Christmas and the Epiphany, Thomas Gillet and the herald returned from England, and reported to him that the duke of York and the chancellor of England thanked him for his good intentions ; that the parliament of England was not as yet assembled, nor the king of England in a situation to send him an

immediate and decisive answer,—but that the parliament would shortly be holden, and the matter should then be so arranged that the duke of Alençon should be satisfied, and that he should receive information thereof in the course of the ensuing Lent, by the said Woodville. Gillet added, that the duke of York commended himself to the said d'Alençon, thanked him for his good wishes, and begged of him to continue them to him,—and assured him that before the month of September next the duke, accompanied by the greatest lords of England, would invade Normandy with such a large army that the said d'Alençon should be contented; but he was required to secure some good seaport on that coast for their landing,—and they wished to know whether the dauphin would go into Normandy. A nearly similar message did Gillet deliver from the chancellor of England.

"The said d'Alençon likewise confessed that, on the return of these his messengers, he had despatched to England a person called master Edmund Gallet, having first sworn him on the Scriptures to secrecy, and then he gave him a letter addressed to the duke of York, signed with his real name 'John,' and sealed with his own signet: it was cut into four pieces, and contained as follows: 'My lords, I commend myself to you. The messages you sent me have been delivered; and I beg to hear further from you as speedily as may be, if you propose undertaking the measures the bearer will explain to you: it is now time, and I will support you in such wise that you shall be satisfied. You may believe all that the bearer shall say to you from me.'

"The said d'Alençon owned that he had charged Gallet to bring him back an answer as to the marriage, and the other things that he had mentioned to the English lords by Gillet and the herald; to tell them that it was now full time to begin the business, if they looked for success; and that he wished they were landed in Normandy in bodies as thick as flies or hailstones. That the said d'Alençon was assured that we intended to march against our son the dauphin; and that if they landed and entered into proper engagements with him, the dauphin would join them, and give up to them his artillery and strong places, and everything else within his power: he repeated, therefore, that they must not delay nor fail to come,—and the twenty thousand crowns must be instantly paid.

"The said d'Alençon said, that being astonished that Gallet was not returned from England, he sent about Easter the said Fortin to Calais, and charged him, after making the usual signs, to talk with the English, and learn whether they intended invading Normandy or not. He added, that Gallet came back from England about Low Sunday, and brought letters signed, as he said, by the king himself, namely Henry, and that these letters contained in effect as follows: 'Very dear cousin, we thank you for your good-will toward us: we shall send commissioners on the first day of next August to Bruges, to propose a truce between us and our fair cousin of Burgundy, where we shall hope that they may meet commissioners from you, to settle everything between us, and we shall act in such wise as, please God, you may be satisfied.'

"The said d'Alençon said, that Gallet had informed him the king of England had taken the government into his own hands, and that the duke of York had retired into Wales, which had caused the said Gallet to address himself to the king in person, telling him of the good inclinations of the duke of Alençon, for which he thanked him, and said, that he should send ambassadors to Bruges, as he had stated in the said letters, and that the duke d'Alençon should send others from him to meet them; that these ambassadors would settle everything relative to the twenty thousand crowns, and they would mutually exchange written documents respecting the matters under consideration.

"The said d'Alençon confessed, that because the term for the payment of the said twenty thousand crowns was remote, and because he wished to be made acquainted with the state of preparation of our enemies, he again sent Gallet into England to press the advance of the money, and to obtain a blank passport for any one of his people whom he might wish to send thither touching these several matters, should there be any necessity for it; that he told the said Gallet, as the chance of war was uncertain, he wished to secure a retreat in England should their plans prove abortive, and mentioned the duchies of Bedford, of Gloucester, and of the lands which the dukes of the said duchies held for life, that he might speak of them to the king of England. That, on the departure of Gallet, the said d'Alençon gave

him letters, addressed to the duke of York, containing as follows: 'My lord, I commend myself to you, and am very much surprised that I did not receive any intelligence from you by the bearer of this on his return from England. I entreat that I may speedily hear from you,—and you may safely believe whatever he shall tell you from me.' He wrote also other letters to master Louis Gallet, residing in England, father to this Edmund Gallet, thanking him for his good inclinations toward him, of which he had been informed by his son, to whom he desired that he would always address himself on this business.

"The said d'Alençon added, that as he and master Edmund were conversing on this subject, master Edmund told him that it was the intention of the English to send the duke of Glocuester and the son of lord Shrewsbury, to make a landing in Guienne, with ten or twelve thousand men,—while the king, the duke of York, and a large body of nobles, should invade our province of Normandy: that the duke of Buckingham, with the earls of Wiltshire and Worcester, should land at Calais, with ten or twelve thousand combatants, and march through Picardy. He likewise confessed that he had spoken on this subject to Fortin, one of the gentlemen of his chamber, to induce him to join him in his plans to support the English, and that he had sent him to Granville *, to examine the state of that place, if it were well fortified, and what repairs had lately been made there, especially on the side where it had been formerly taken; and if that Fortin joined the English, as it appears he did, he was to find out some means of delivering up Granville, and as many other places as possible to them.

"The said d'Alençon confessed, that he had been induced by his different messages to excite the English to invade our kingdom by the advice and instigation of a person called Matthew Prestre, whom he knew not otherwise than by name, but who said he was from the country of the Lionnois and attached to the bastard d'Armagnac, and who (as the said d'Alençon said) had brought him credential letters from our son the dauphin, and from the bastard d'Armagnac. Of the letters from the dauphin, the said d'Alençon said, that he had his suspicions of their reality from their not being in the usual style in which the dauphin was accustomed to write to him: he also suspected the signature was not the dauphin's. On this matter, and at the request of the said d'Alençon, several witnesses specified by him, and of his household, have been examined by our commissioners, who have affirmed that they saw the said Matthew Prestre.

"The said Edmund Gallet has also been examined, to whom the said d'Alençon had declared that he had made most ample communications respecting the said Matthew Prestre; and the said Gallet has been confronted with the said d'Alençon, and interrogated respecting the different messages he had carried to England, as well as others of his accomplices, who, it may be supposed, would know if the statement touching this Matthew Prestre were true, who have all denied any knowledge thereof, so that it may be presumed, from their depositions, that the contrary to what the said d'Alençon had said was the fact; besides, the said d'Alençon declares that he never had any letters from our said son, nor any communication from him on these matters, but through the said Matthew, and that he knew not whether he communicated the above from himself or from others; and that he, the said d'Alençon, had never any instructions from our said son on this subject.

"Several remonstrances having been made to the said d'Alençon on this part of his conduct, it has appeared that the whole was a contrivance to cover his treasonable practices, and to give a colour to them; for the said d'Alençon said that he knew not what reply to make to these remonstrances. As a further confirmation, when the said d'Alençon has been interrogated as to this Matthew, he has varied in his answers on many points, as may be clearly seen in the evidence of his trial. From all of which, and from the whole of what has been advanced by the said d'Alençon, as well as from the interrogatories of the different witnesses respecting Matthew Prestre and his interference, and from other evidence examined at the request of the said d'Alençon, we have not found anything wherewith we could accuse our said son the dauphin, nor the bastard d'Armagnac, as any way implicated in the treasons of the said d'Alençon.

* Granville,—a sea-port in Normandy, six leagues from Coutances.

"When the whole of the evidence had been gone through, there only remained judgment to be given. And we make known that the court, having fully and maturely examined the different interrogatories and confrontations, together with his voluntary confessions, have declared, and do declare, by these presents, the said d'Alençon guilty of high treason, and, as such to be deprived of the honour and dignity of the peerage of France and all other dignities and prerogatives, and do, besides, condemn him to death by the public executioner. The court has also declared, and does declare, that all his effects whatever shall be confiscated to our use, and that they shall henceforth be reputed legally to belong to us as we may please to dispose of them. Such was the sentence passed by the peers of France and the other members of the court of justice held at Vendôme. We, however, reserved to ourself the power to make whatever changes we should please; and we now declare our will to be, that the capital part of the said sentence on the said John d'Alençon be deferred until our further pleasure be known.

"With regard to the effects of the said d'Alençon, considering the enormity of his guilt, his children ought to be deprived of them, and reduced to a state of beggary, to serve as an example to all others. Nevertheless, remembering the good services their ancestors have done to the crown and kingdom of France, and in the hope that these children will behave themselves as good and loyal subjects toward their sovereign; and in consideration of the earnest solicitations for mercy from our very dear and well-beloved cousin the duke of Brittany, uncle to the said d'Alençon, we, out of our especial grace, shall moderate these confiscations,—and declare our pleasure to be, that the moveable effects shall remain to the wife of the said d'Alençon, and to his children, with the exception of his artillery and military stores, which we reserve to ourself.

"In regard to his lands and lordships, we shall moderate the confiscation as follows: We retain the town and castlewick of Domfront, the town, castle, castlewick, and viscounty of Verneuil, on both sides of the river Aure, with all their appurtenances, lordships and dependencies, which we from this moment unite, incorporate and adjoin, to the patrimony and domain of our crown. We shall likewise retain in our hands the duchy of Alençon, together with its town, castle, lordship, rights, appurtenances, revenues, and immoveable effects, and every claim that might have belonged to the said d'Alençon as duke thereof, and all rights and duties that may have been granted from our crown as an appanage to the said d'Alençon, with the reserve of the county of Perche, concerning which we shall hereafter ordain, according to our good pleasure. We retain also the castle and castlewick of St. Blansay in Touraine, together with all the duties the said d'Alençon received for pontage in our town of Tours, and the other rents and revenues he was accustomed to receive from the said town, to order as we may please best. We likewise reserve to ourselves the homages appertaining to the said d'Alençon as count du Perche, on the town of Nogent le Rotrou and its dependencies, and also on the lands and lordships of our very dear and well-beloved cousin the countess du Maine, wife to the said d'Alençon.

"In respect to the other lands and lordships that did belong to the said d'Alençon, we will that they remain to the children of the said d'Alençon, in manner following,—that is to say, the only son of the said d'Alençon shall have and retain the county, lands, and lordships of Perche, to be freely enjoyed by him and his male descendants, lawfully begotten in marriage, but without any dignity or prerogative of peerage. With regard to the remaining lands, lordships, and other immoveable effects, we will that they belong to the other children, as well males as females, of the said d'Alençon, for them to enjoy the same under our tutelage until they become of a proper age to manage for themselves,—and that they descend to the heirs of their bodies in lawful marriage, according to the usages and laws of the countries these different estates may be situated in. In testimony of which, &c.

"Given at Vendôme, the 10th day of October, in the year of Grace 1458, and of our reign the 37th."

This sentence was pronounced in the absence of the said John d'Alençon, but read to him afterwards in his prison by the first president of the parliament, de Thorette, master John

Boulanger, counsellor to the king in his court of parliament, master John Bureau, treasurer of France, and others of the king's council; which much astonished and overwhelmed the said John d'Alençon, and not without cause *.

In the month of January, in this year, that most noble and potent prince Arthur duke of Brittany departed this life, who, before and after he had succeeded to the dukedom, had been constable of France. He was succeeded by the lord Francis, son to madame d'Estampes, sister to the duke of Orleans, who in person conducted him to take possession of the duchy of Brittany.

CHAPTER XCIII.—THE AMBASSADORS FROM ENGLAND ARE DENIED ACCESS TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF CLEVES ATTENDS THE MEETING OF PRINCES AT MANTUA.—THE DAUPHINESS BROUGHT TO BED OF A SON, AT GENAPPE.—THE KING OF SCOTLAND KILLED BY A SPLINTER FROM A BOMB.

[A. D. 1459.]

This year ambassadors from England arrived in France, anxious to obtain an alliance with the king by a marriage or truce; but the king would neither hear nor see them. They were therefore forced to return without effecting anything; and what was more, neither lord nor lady would accept of their palfreys, which they had brought with them in numbers, to gain the friendship of the lords and ladies of the court.

In the month of June in this year the duke of Burgundy, being very desirous of the welfare of Christendom, sent his nephew the duke of Cleves, as his proxy and ambassador, to Mantua, where the meeting was to take place of the pope and the princes, and cardinals of Europe, to consider on the means of opposing the enterprises of the Grand Turk, who was making daily conquests on the Christians, more especially in Greece. The duke of Cleves was nobly received wherever he passed, as well to honour the duke of Burgundy, whose proxy he was, as out of respect to his own personal worth. About this time the count d'Estampes, by orders from his uncle the duke of Burgundy, made prisoner, in the town of Amiens, the viscount d'Amiens and lord of Pecquigny, whom he carried prisoner to Vilvorden†, on account of his having conducted himself in a manner unbecoming a person of his rank.

Toward the end of July, in this year, the princess Charlotte of Savoy, dauphiness of France, was delivered of a fair son, who was baptised by the name of Joachim. Great rejoicings took place for this event throughout the territories of the duke of Burgundy, wherein the dauphin resided during the time he was in ill estimation with his father king Charles VII. and indeed so long as the king lived, keeping his court at the castle of Genappe in Brabant. These rejoicings were, however, turned to grief, for the child did not long survive its birth. In the month of August, it happened that while the king of Scotland was pointing a cannon, to try its power, it burst, and the king was so severely wounded by a splinter that he died soon after: it was a melancholy accident. He had married a daughter of the duke of Gueldres, and niece to the duke of Burgundy, by whom he had several children ‡.

* "John duke of Alençon was condemned to death by a celebrated sentence given by king Charles VII. sitting in a bed of justice, at Vendôme, the 10th of October 1458, which sentence was instantly commuted to perpetual imprisonment. The duke was confined in the castle of Loches until Louis XI. came to the throne in 1461, who granted him a free pardon in the month of October in the same year.

"The duke could not remain quiet, but attempted again to throw the kingdom into confusion,—and Louis XI. had him arrested a second time, the 22d September 1472. Another sentence was passed on him, but its execution was again suspended,—and the duke remained a prisoner in the Louvre, but did not die there, as is supposed. He was transferred to the house of a burgher, as a private prisoner. He died in the year 1476."

See more in the note from which this is copied, page 595 of the 8th volume of the Mémoires de l'Académie.

† Vilvorden,—a town in Brabant, between Brussels and Mechlin.

‡ "While king James was observing the effects of his artillery (at the siege of Roxburgh castle), one of the rudely-contrived cannons of that age, consisting of bars of iron, girded with circles of metal, suddenly burst: a fragment struck his thigh,—and the great effusion of blood produced a death almost instantaneous. The earl of Angus, who stood next to James, was wounded.

"It is impossible to express the grief of the camp, or of the kingdom, at the premature loss of a beloved sovereign, in the flower of his age, aggravated by the circumstances and the strange fatality of the case. The young regretted a youthful prince, and an ardent leader: the old sighed at the prospect of another minority. Could any consolation

A terrible and melancholy transaction took place this year in the town of Arras, the capital of the country of Artois, which said transaction was called, I know not why, Vaudoisie * ; but it was said, that certain men and women transported themselves whither they pleased from the places where they were, by virtue of a compact with the devil. Suddenly they were carried to forests or deserts, where they found assembled great numbers of both sexes, and with them a devil in the form of a man, whose face they never saw. This devil read to them, or repeated, his laws and commandments, and in what manner they were to worship and serve him; then each person kissed his backside; and he gave to them, after this ceremony, some little money: he then regaled them with great plenty of meats and wines, when the lights were extinguished, and each male selected a female for amorous dalliance, and suddenly they were all transported back to the places they had come from. For such criminal and mad acts, many of the principal persons of the town were imprisoned; and others of the lower ranks, with women and such as were known to be of this sect, were so terribly tormented that some confessed matters to have happened as has been related. They likewise confessed to have seen and known many persons of rank, prelates, nobles, and governors of districts, as having been present at their meetings; such indeed as, upon the rumour of common fame, their judges and examiners named, and, as it were, put into their mouths; so that, through the pains of the torments, they accused many, and declared that they had seen them at these meetings.

Such as had been thus accused were instantly arrested, and so long and grievously tormented that they were forced to confess just whatever their judges pleased, when those of the lower ranks were inhumanly burnt. Some of the richer and more powerful ransomed themselves from this disgrace by dint of money; while others of the higher orders were remonstrated with and seduced by their examiners into confessions, under a promise that, if they would confess, they should not suffer in person or fortune. Others again suffered the severest torments with the utmost fortitude and patience. The judges received very large sums of money from such as were enabled to pay them: others fled the country, or completely proved their innocence of the charges made against them, and remained unmolested.

It must not be concealed, that many persons of worth knew well that these charges had been raked up by a set of wicked persons, to harass and disgrace some of the principal inhabitants of Arras, whom they hated with the bitterest rancour, and, from avarice, were eager to possess themselves of their fortunes. They had first maliciously arrested some persons deserving punishment for their crimes, whom they had so severely tormented, holding out promises of pardon, that they forced them to accuse whomsoever they were pleased to name, and them they arrested and tormented as mentioned above. This matter was considered, by all men of sense and virtue, as most abominable; and it was thought that those who had thus destroyed and disgraced so many persons of worth would put their souls in imminent danger at the last day.

CHAPTER XCIV.—SLIGHT MENTION MADE OF THE REBELLION AND DISCORD IN ENGLAND.—OTHER INCIDENTS.

[A. D. 1460.]

In this year there were great troubles, civil wars, and murders in England. Some held for the party of king Henry, such as the duke of Somerset and others; and some held for the party of the duke of York, namely, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Salisbury, and others. A severe battle took place, in which numbers of each side fell † ; but it was gained by

have arisen, it must have proceeded from the spirit of the queen, Mary of Gueldres, who, immediately upon the tidings, arrived in the camp with the infant heir of the monarchy, and showing him to the soldiers, while tears gushed from her eyes, she conjured them by every domestic tie, by the memory of their sovereign, by the fame of Scottish valour, not to depart from their design, but to destroy this calamitous fortress. The castle was taken and levelled with the ground."—*Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 244.

* Vaudoisie,—a nocturnal meeting of sorcerers.—Du Cange. Supplement. See "Valdenses," in his Glossary.

† The battle of Northampton. Those of most note, on the king's side, were Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, who was succeeded by his son Henry; and John earl of Shrewsbury, lord treasurer of England, grandson to the great Talbot. The battle was fought at two o'clock in the afternoon, on the tenth of July, and is said to have lasted only half an hour.

the duke of York, who made a treaty with the king, in such wise that, on the decease of the king, the duke was to succeed to the crown, to the prejudice of the prince of Wales, son to king Henry and the daughter of Réné king of Sicily.

This treaty was so contrary to the will and interests of the queen that she raised another army, of all who were inclined to her and her son the prince of Wales, and took the field to offer battle to the duke of York, who had increased his army as strongly as possible, to defend his rights. On the first day of January, in this year, the battle took place, which was very bloody, and hardly contested; but this time fortune turned against the duke, who was made prisoner, together with his second son* and the earl of Salisbury†. Shortly after, the queen had them beheaded, and their heads put on the points of three lances: and on the head of the duke was placed, by way of derision, a paper crown, to denote his eagerness to be king, and his having failed in the attempt‡. The earl of Warwick § found means to escape after the battle, and quit the kingdom. which he did in a small boat, with great danger, and arrived safely at his government of Calais.

In this year, the rector of a village near to Soissons would have the tithes from a farm near to this village, belonging to some crusaders in the holy land. The farmer refused to pay the tithe,—and the rector instituted a suit against him and the crusaders, which he lost, and for this reason conceived a great hatred against the farmer and the farmer's wife. In this same village resided a sorceress, a woman of very bad fame, and using the black art, who having quarrelled with the farmer's wife for some trifle, complained to every one of the wrong that had been done her, and even made complaint of it to the rector. He, full of hatred against the farmer's wife, said that he wished to be revenged on her if he knew but how; when the sorceress instantly said, that if he would do as she should direct, he would have ample vengeance on her. The rector replied that there was nothing he would not do to satisfy his revenge. The sorceress then went and brought him an earthen pot, in which was a large toad that she had long kept and fed, and said, "Take, sir, this animal and baptise it in the same manner as if it were a child, and christen it John; then consecrate a holy wafer and give it him to eat, and leave the rest to me."

The accursed priest, blinded by his hatred, baptised the filthy beast by the name of John, and gave it to devour the holy body of our Lord, then returned it to the hag, who instantaneously cut it in pieces, and made a drink of it, with other diabolical ingredients. She then gave it to a young girl whom she had, bidding her carry it to the house of the farmer at his dinner-hour, and after holding some conversation with the farmer, his wife and children, while they were at dinner, to throw it under the dining-table and come back to her. The girl did as her mother had ordered, when the consequence was, that the farmer, his wife, and one of their sons who was dining at the table, felt themselves suddenly taken with qualms as if they had eaten something nauseous,—and all died within three days.

This coming to the knowledge of the magistrates, the sorceress, her daughter, and the rector, were arrested; and, on the truth coming out, the hag was publicly burned in the town of Soissons: the girl, being with child, was sent back to the prison, whence she escaped, but was afterward retaken, and carried by an appeal before the parliament. The rector was confined in the prisons of the bishop of Paris, whence he escaped by dint of friends and money. I know not what became of the girl.

* Second son,—Edmund earl of Rutland.

† Battle of Wakefield. For particulars of this reign, see the English historians, particularly Wethamstede, a contemporary writer.

‡ Together with the queen and the prince of Wales, the dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the earls of Devon and Wiltshire, the lord Clifford and many other great lords, were on the king's side this day. The young duke of Rutland was murdered in cold blood by the barbarous Clifford. The duke of York himself was killed in the field, not made prisoner as in the text. The earl of Salisbury was made prisoner and carried to the castle of Pomfret, where "he had grant of life for a great ransome, but the common people of the country, who loved him not, tooke him out of the castle by violence, and smote off his head.'' The earl of March, now duke of York by his father's death, and afterwards king of England, was at Gloucester when this event happened.

§ The earl of Warwick was not present at this battle, for he and the duke of Norfolk had the charge of king Henry and of the city of London: it was from the second battle of St. Albans that he fled to Calais.

CHAPTER XCV.—EDWARD EARL OF MARCHE, ELDEST SON TO THE LATE DUKE OF YORK, DEFEATS, IN BATTLE, QUEEN MARGARET OF ENGLAND, AND OBTAINS THE CROWN BY MEANS OF THE LONDONERS.—THE QUEEN SEEKS AID FROM THE SCOTS.

On Palm Sunday, the 28th of March. in this same year, Edward earl of Marche, eldest son to the duke of York, who had so lately been beheaded, accompanied by the earl of Warwick and other English barons, marched in arms to London, where he was received as king, and was offered the crown, but refused to accept of it, until, as he said, he should drive his enemies out of the kingdom. He thence led his army to York, where the queen, the duke of Somerset, and those of her party, were waiting in great numbers to give him battle. When the two armies approached, an engagement was agreed on between the parties, to take effect near to a place called Ferrybridge, eight leagues from York* ; and when the day of battle arrived, the earls of Marche and of Warwick ordered their van to advance, under the command of earl Warwick's uncle†, which was severely handled by the Lancastrians, and put to the rout. The duke of Somerset, thinking the battle won, allowed his troops to plunder and strip the dead. News of this was carried instantly to the earl of Marche, whose army, though very large and unbroken, was much alarmed at the intelligence. When the earl saw them thus panic-struck, he had it proclaimed through the ranks, that whoever was frightened might return home, but that all who were willing to share his fortune should, if successful, receive a sum of money ; and that whoever fled, after having agreed to remain, the person who put him to death should be handsomely paid for so doing.

The earl of Warwick, hearing that his uncle was slain, and his men defeated, cried out, with tears, "I pray to God that he would receive the souls of all who die in this battle :" then added, "Dear Lord God, I have none other succour but thine now in the world, who art my Creator and Redeemer, to apply to : I beg, therefore, vengeance at thy hands!" Then drawing his sword, he kissed the cross at the handle, and said to his men, "Whoever chooses to return home may, for I shall live or die this day with such as may like to remain with me." On saying this, he dismounted, and killed his horse with his sword.

On the morrow, the main body of each army was so near that a general battle took place, which was most bloody and severe ; insomuch that it lasted three days,—and for some time no one could tell which side would be victorious : at length, the queen's party were defeated and almost all killed or made prisoners. Among the principal persons of note who fell that day were, the earl of Northumberland‡, the lord Clifford, the lord Muelle§, brother to the earl, the lord Willoughby, the lord Wells, son to the duke of Buckingham, the lord Grey, sir Andrew Trollop, a terrible man-at-arms, who had done marvellous deeds of valour at this and other battles, and numbers of other valiant gentlemen, and others, to the amount of thirty thousand. Some that were made prisoners were afterward beheaded at York||.

After the battle, Edward entered York, and had the heads of his father and of his other friends taken down from the gates and most honourably interred ; and magnificent obsequies were performed for their souls in the cathedral. He then returned to London, triumphant after his victory, where he was joyfully received, and soon after crowned king of England.

On the other hand, the queen and the duke of Somerset had retreated to a castle, wherein they remained until they heard that king Edward was marching to besiege it¶. On this

* The battle of Towton. Ferrybridge is twenty miles only from York.

† Probably Ralph Nevil. earl of Westmoreland. who is named among the slain at this battle.

‡ Henry Percy, the second earl of that name and family, who fell in this long contest. The former was killed at the first battle of St. Albans, mentioned before. I believe that no earl of Shrewsbury fell on this occasion, and that the continuator of Croyland in this point confounds the battle of Towton with that of Northampton, mentioned above.

§ Muelle. Q. Nevill.

|| Those who were employed to number and bury the dead, (as we are told by a contemporary writer, who lived near the scene of action, Continuat. Hist. Croyland, p. 533,) declared that their number amounted to thirty-eight thousand. Amongst these were many persons of rank and fortune; as the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Shrewsbury,—the lords Clifford, Beaumont, Nevil, Willoughby, Wells, Roos, Scales, Grey, Dacres, and Molineux,—besides a prodigious number of knights and gentlemen!—*Henry's Hist. of England*, vol. v. pp. 137, 138, 4th ed.

¶ Edward did not leave York until after Easter and

they fled from the castle, and sought a refuge with Mary queen of Scotland, daughter to the duke of Gueldres. The two queens concerted a marriage between the young prince of Wales and queen Mary's eldest daughter, to secure the aid of the Scots against Edward; but the duke of Burgundy, uncle to Mary, instantly despatched to her the lord de Groothuse, to break off this marriage, because the king of Sicily, father to queen Margaret, was no friend to the duke,—and thus the match was interrupted *.

However, soon after the lord de Groothuse had left Scotland, the Scots formed an alliance with the queen of England and her son, on condition that the town and castle of Berwick, with its dependencies, then possessed by the English, on the borders of Scotland, should be restored to them; and the marriage before mentioned was agreed on,—the Scots thus adventuring their princess to regain Berwick rather than not obtain it, as it was of very great strength,—although the prince and princess were both too young to be then united, as neither of them was more than seven or eight years old.

During these troubles, and prior to the coronation of king Edward, he had sent his two younger brothers into Holland that they might escape should he prove unsuccessful, confiding in the generous mind of the noble duke of Burgundy. They remained in that country some time in secret: but the duke no sooner knew who they were than he sent to seek them, and had them brought to him at Bruges, where he showed them every honour, and grandly entertained them. When king Edward had conquered his enemies, he sent to request the duke to cause his brothers to be escorted home, which the good duke very cheerfully complied with, and had them honourably accompanied as far as Calais, toward the end of April, in the year 1461.

CHAPTER XCVI.—KING CHARLES OF FRANCE, HAVING BEEN TOLD THAT IT WAS INTENDED TO POISON HIM, FELL SICK AT HEART AND DIED.

[A. D. 1461.]

About the beginning of July, in this year, certain rumours having been spread abroad by evil-minded persons, that it was intended to poison the king while he resided at Mehun-sur-Yèvre †, and these reports coming to his ears, he never afterward tasted joy. It was told him by one of his captains, whose attachment he knew, and therefore he put such confidence in the tale that he refused to take any kind of food, because he had not any faith in those about his person; nor could he be prevailed on to take any nourishment for eight days, until his physicians told him, that if he pursued this plan, he would die. He then attempted to eat, but he had left off so long that his stomach refused its functions. On this, he confessed himself, and made his preparations like a good Catholic; and finding himself grow daily weaker, he devoutly received all the sacraments of the church, and made his last arrangements and will according to his pleasure. He ordered his executors to bury him in the same chapel where his father and grandfather had been interred, in the church of St. Denis, and ended his days on Magdalen-Day in the month and year above-mentioned, in the town of Mehun-sur-Yèvre.

was crowned the 29th of June at Westminster. The dukes of Somerset and Exeter, seeing the battle lost, fled with the king, queen, and prince of Wales, and never thought themselves safe until they arrived at Edinburgh. Henry, on coming to Edinburgh, was only attended by four men and a boy.—*Note to Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 248.—From the Paston Letters.

* "A marriage between Edward prince of Wales and Mary the daughter of Scotland, was proposed and resolved, but delayed by the youth of the parties, and finally prevented by the misfortunes and death of the prince. To conciliate the expected aid, Berwick was surrendered to the Scots: an object often wished and attempted since the disgraceful invasion of Edward Baliol. In return, a Scottish army entered England and laid siege to Carlisle, which held for Edward IV.; but the English, led by lord Montague, raised the siege, and defeated the Scots with great slaughter."—*Pinkerton*, p. 248.

The Paston Letters say, that six thousand Scots were slain at Carlisle. The lord Montague, I imagine, should be sir John Nevel, brother to the earl of Warwick, created lord Montacute after the battle of Towton. He was created earl of Northumberland in 1463, and marquis of Montacute or Montague a short time after, but in 1466 resigned the earldom in favour of Henry Percy, son of the earl who was killed at Towton.

† Mehun-sur-Yèvre,—a town in Berry, four leagues from Bourges.

CHAPTER XCVII.—TWELVE HOUSES ARE BURNT IN THE VILLAGE OF JUCHY, NEAR CAMBRAY.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HOLDS THE FEAST OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE, AT ST. OMER.—THE DAUPHINESS BROUGHT TO BED OF A PRINCESS, AT GENAPPE.—AMBASSADORS FROM THE HOLY LAND COME TO THE COURT OF FRANCE,—AND THENCE TO THE COURT OF BURGUNDY.

About this period, twelve houses were burnt in the village of Juchy, near Cambray. The fire began in the house of a man who had thrice, that same day, thrust his own mother out of it, saying the third time, with great malice, that he would see his house on fire rather than that she should remain another day in it. Shortly after, his house took fire, nobody knew how, and was burnt down, with twelve of the adjoining houses, which seemed to prove the Divine vengeance against this wicked man.

The good duke of Burgundy held his feast of the order of the Golden Fleece on the first of May, in this year, at St. Omer, right nobly. Most of the knights of the order were present; among whom were Charles count de Charolois his son, the duke of Cleves, his brother Adolphus nephew of the duke of Burgundy, the count d'Estampes, the marshal of Burgundy, the lord de Croy, his brother, and the lord de Launoy their nephew, the lord de Hautbourdin, the bastard de St. Pol, the lord de Bievres bastard of Burgundy, and many more. The dukes of Orleans and of Alençon were not present, but they sent their proxies. Several great lords from Germany, France, Scotland, and other countries, came to this feast, which lasted for three days in the usual manner. Notwithstanding the regulations of this order, that every knight of it must be without reproach, a knight assisted at the feast as proxy for the duke of Alençon, whom the king of France had declared guilty of high treason against him, and for this had sentenced him to perpetual imprisonment. But the duke of Burgundy held him for a nobleman of honour, and without reproach, and said that the king of France had thus condemned him through the envy and wicked insinuations of others, and had wrongfully dishonoured him! This language he publicly held during the three days of the feast!

As it was the custom, after this feast, to hold a chapter of the order and to elect new companions in the room of such as had deceased, they now elected sir Philip Pot lord de la Roche-Bourguignon*, the lord de Groothuse, a Fleming, the lord de Roye, a Picard, and also the king of Arragon, to whom the duke sent the collar of the order, by the lord de Crequy, notably accompanied. At the conclusion of the feast, and when all business was done, the count de Charolois, Adolphus of Cleves, and Anthony bastard of Burgundy, held a joust against all comers, which was followed by another noble feast.

At this time the dauphiness, consort to the lord Louis, eldest son to the king of France, was brought to bed of a daughter at Genappe, in Brabant, where he resided for fear of his father, in whose ill graces he was, as mentioned before.

In this same month of May, there arrived at the court of France, ambassadors from the Holy Land and other Eastern countries. In the number was a prelate dressed like a cordelier friar, who called himself patriarch of Antioch,—a knight from the king of Trebisonde,—another knight from the king of Persia,—one from the king of Georgia and Mesopotamia, who was more strangely dressed than the rest. He was a stout, robust man, having two tonsures on his head like to the one our priests have in France, and to each ear hung a ring. There was also an ambassador from the little Turk†, who said, that if the Christians would make war on the Grand Turk, his lord would join them with fifty thousand combatants. There was another ambassador from the king of Armenia, a handsome and genteel knight; and, to conclude, there was another from Prester-John, who, the others said, was a most learned man. It was reported that they had been more than seventeen months journeying from their own countries before they came to France.

On their presentation to the king of France, they styled him the "most Christian king,"

* Not de la Roche Bourguignon, but de la Roche, a Burgundian. This Philip lord de la Roche was afterwards in high favour with king Louis, who advanced him to the dignity of count of St. Pol, on the attainder and confiscation of the constable and his estates.

† Little Turk. Q. The cham of the Tartars?

and requested that he would send an army under his banner against the Grand Turk, and assured him that he would have the assistance of all the kings and princes whose ambassadors were now before him. They declared, that they wanted not his money, for of that their lords had enough; but that if the king would send his banner, under the command of one of his experienced captains, the Grand Turk and his whole army would be more alarmed than by one hundred thousand other persons. I know not what answer the king made them, but he caused them to be grandly feasted and entertained. Shortly after, they departed from France, for the court of the duke of Burgundy, who received them most honourably, entertained them well, and made them many rich presents. It is to be supposed that they made to the duke a request similar to that which they had made to the king of France; for the duke replied, that if they could prevail on the king of France to guarantee his possessions during his absence, he would assist them personally, and to the utmost of his power.

CHAPTER XCVIII.—OF THE DEATH OF CHARLES VII. KING OF FRANCE.—OF THE TROUBLES AND DIFFICULTIES HE HAD TO ENCOUNTER AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS REIGN,—AND OF HIS GLORIOUS AND GREAT FEATS OF ARMS.

On the 22d day of July, in the year 1461, departed this life, at Mehun-sur-Yèvre, king Charles VII. of France, in the 58th year of his age and the 39th of his reign. Fortune was so adverse to him at the beginning of his career, that he lost the whole of that part of his kingdom which extended from the seas of Flanders and England to the river Loire, by the efforts and courage of Henry king of England, who had married his sister, and contended to be king of France through the aid of the duke of Burgundy, because king Charles had been consenting to the murder of his father duke John of Burgundy, at the town of Montereau-sur-Yonne, notwithstanding they had sworn to keep peace and friendship between them on the holy sacrament, and had divided the wafer between them as a pledge of their amity,—which was a most disgraceful act, and never can be enough condemned. However, duke Philip of Burgundy, from loyalty to the crown of France, and a dislike to see the English in possession of that country, which they were destroying, at the earnest request and solicitations of king Charles agreed to a peace, which was signed at Arras in the 35th year of the king's reign.

The English from that moment lost ground in France; and king Charles prospered so much that he reconquered from them the whole of his kingdom, with the exception of Calais, Guines, and Hammes, which are situated on the confines of the Boulonois. After these conquests, he always kept on foot fifteen hundred lances, and from five to six thousand archers, on regular pay,—namely, for each man-at-arms and three horses fifteen florins, royal money, and for each archer seven florins, per month. These sums were raised by taxes on the inhabitants of the good towns and villages, and, in common, so punctually collected that there was scarcely any delay in the payments.

The men-at-arms and archers were under such good discipline that no pillager or robber dared to infest the highways for fear of them, as they were continually on the look-out and in pursuit of such with the officers of justice. These men-at-arms escorted the merchants who travelled with their merchandise from place to place, so that every one was pleased with them; for before their appointment, those called Skinners, from their robbing all who fell in their way, were the sole guides of merchants, whom they plundered.

CHAPTER XCIX.—THE DAUPHIN AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MAKE PREPARATIONS TO GO TO RHEIMS, FOR THE CORONATION OF THE DAUPHIN.—OF THE INTERMENT OF THE LATE KING CHARLES.—THE CORONATION OF KING LOUIS XI. AT RHEIMS.—OTHER MATTERS.

As soon as the dauphin heard of the death of his father, he sent off in haste a messenger to Hêdin, to inform the duke of Burgundy of this event; but he was already acquainted with it. These two princes now appointed a day for meeting at Avênes, in Hainault, thence

to proceed to the city of Rheims, for the coronation of the dauphin as king of France. For greater security, the duke ordered all his nobles to be under arms, in and about St. Quentin in the Vermandois, on the 8th of the ensuing month of August; and there was not a lord or baron who did not equip himself in the handsomest array, and come attended with the greatest possible number of archers,—so that, when all assembled, it was a fine sight to be viewed.

The DAUPHIN receiving intelligence of the Death of his Father CHARLES VII. From the illuminated MS. of Monstrelet, in the Royal Library, Paris.

But when the dauphin learned that the duke of Burgundy had collected so numerous an army, he was fearful that all the country it should march through would be ruined and wasted: he therefore requested the duke to disband it, and bring with him only the greater barons of his country in their usual state, armed or disarmed. The duke willingly complied with this request, and dismissed to their homes the greater part of his army, retaining, to attend him, only about four thousand combatants, the best appointed that ever nobles were; but it was said, that if he had not disbanded the army he would have been escorted by more than one hundred thousand fighting men. The great lords of France came daily to pay their obedience to the dauphin, and to acknowledge him for their king, as did deputations from the principal towns.

Soon after the news of the late king's death was known to the duke of Burgundy, he set out for Avênes in Hainault, where the dauphin waited for him; and on his arrival, a grand funeral service was performed for king Charles during the second and third days of August. At this service the dauphin was the chief mourner, dressed in black, supported by the duke of Burgundy and the count of Charolois, and followed by the count d'Estampes, James de Bourbon, Adolphus of Cleves, and many other great lords. When the service was over, the dauphin, whom I shall henceforth call king, immediately dressed himself in purple, which is the custom in France; for as soon as a king there dies, his eldest son, or next heir, clothes

himself in purple, and is called king,—for that realm is supposed never to be without a king. King Louis departed from Avênes on the 4th day of August for Laon; and on the next day the duke of Burgundy set out for St. Quentin to meet the nobles of his country, whom he had ordered to assemble there and to accompany him to the coronation of the king.

While these things were going on, the body of the late king was embalmed, placed on a car covered with cloth of gold, and carried to the church of Notre Dame in Paris, where a solemn funeral service was performed, and thence carried to St. Denis, where another service was performed,—and the body was then interred with the kings his ancestors, who were all buried in the church of this abbey. On the 14th of August, king Louis made his entry into the city of Rheims, attended by the noble duke Philip of Burgundy, the count de Charolois his son, the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Cleves, his brother the lord of Ravenstein—all three nephews to duke Philip,—the count of St. Pol, and such numbers of barons, knights, and gentlemen, all richly dressed, that it was a handsome spectacle. There were also present, the counts of Angoulême*, of Eu, of Vendôme, of Grand-pré†, sir Philip de Savoye‡, the count de Nassau, and numbers of other lords.

The morrow, being the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, king Louis was crowned king of France by the hands of the archbishop of Rheims, in the presence of all the peers of France, or their proxies. When the king was dressed and on the point of being mounted, he drew his sword, and, presenting it to the duke of Burgundy, desired that he would make him a knight by his hand,—which was a novelty, for it has been commonly said that all the sons of the kings of France are made knights at the font when baptised. Nevertheless, the duke, in obedience to his command, gave him the accolade, and with his hand dubbed him knight, with five or six other lords then present,—namely, the lord de Beaujeu, his brother James, both brothers to the duke of Bourbon§, the two sons of the lord de Croy, and master John Bureau, treasurer of France. The duke was then entreated to make all knights who wished to be so, which he did until he was weary, and then gave up the office to other lords, who made so many that it would be impossible to name them all: let it suffice, that it was said that upwards of two hundred new knights were created on that day.

Many fine mysteries were performed at this coronation,—at which were present, besides the twelve peers and great officers of state, the cardinal of Constance, the patriarch of Antioch, a legate from the pope, four archbishops, seventeen bishops, and six abbots.

After the ceremonies in the church, the twelve peers of France dined, as usual, with the king. When the tables were removed, the duke of Burgundy, with his accustomed benevolence and frankness, cast himself on his knees before the king, and begged of him, for the passion and death of Our Saviour, that he would forgive all whom he suspected of having been the cause of the quarrel between him and his late father; and that he would maintain all the late king's officers in their places, unless, after due examination, any should be found to have acted improperly in their situations. The king granted this request, with the reserve of seven persons,—but I know not who they were.

After this, the duke said, "My most redoubted lord, I at this moment do you homage for the duchy of Burgundy, the counties of Flanders and of Artois, and for all the countries I hold of the noble crown of France. I acknowledge you as my sovereign lord, and promise you obedience and service, not only for the lands I hold of you, but for all others which I do not hold of you; and I promise to serve you personally so long as I shall live, with as many nobles and warriors as I shall be able to assemble, and with as much money in gold and silver as I can raise." Then all the other princes, dukes, and counts and lords, did homage to the king. From Rheims the king departed, after the coronation, to Meaux in

* John count of Angoulême, brother to the duke of Orleans;—Charles of Artois, last count of Eu;—John of Bourbon, count of Vendôme.

† Henry de Borselle, a nobleman of Holland, who purchased the county of Grand-pré from Raoul le Bouteiller. He was father to Wolfhard de Borselle, marshal of France.

‡ Philip of Savoy, lord of Bauge, younger brother to the prince of Piedmont, who married a daughter of the duke of Bourbon, and became duke of Savoy on the death of his grand-nephew, Charles II., in 1496; John the elder, count of Nassau.

§ Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu, who married Anne of Valois, daughter of Louis XI., and became duke of Bourbon on the death of his elder brother without lawful issue in 1488. James de Bourbon, a younger brother of these, died young and unmarried.

Brie, and thence to St. Denis, to pay his devotions at the sepulchre of his father. In the mean time, the duke of Burgundy went, with a small attendance, from Meaux to Paris, where he arrived on Sunday, the last day but one of August, and found there his son, and the greater part of his attendants, who had arrived eight days before him.

CHAPTER C.—KING LOUIS XI. MAKES HIS PUBLIC ENTRY INTO PARIS.—THE HANDSOME RECEPTION HE MEETS WITH.—THE GREAT MAGNIFICENCE OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND HIS ATTENDANTS.

On Monday, the last day of August, the noble duke of Burgundy issued out of Paris, after dinner, grandly accompanied, to meet the king of France, who was waiting for him in the plain of St. Denis, to attend him on his entrance into the city of Paris, which was to take place on that day, for the first time since his coronation. After the first compliments on their meeting, they arranged their men, for their entrance, in order following: First rode before all the rest, the lord de Ravenstein, the lord de Baussegines, and the lord de la Roche, abreast, each having six pages behind him so nobly mounted and richly dressed that it was a pleasure to see them. Next came the archers of the count d'Estampes, two and two, in number twenty-four, and well-appointed, with two knights as their leaders, followed by the two brothers, the counts de Nevers and d'Estampes, the count d'Estampes having behind him thirteen pages magnificently dressed; then upwards of thirty of the lords and gentlemen of the household of the count, superbly equipped. Next came the archers of the duke of Bourbon, amounting to more than twenty-four; then thirty archers of the count de Charolois, very well appointed, having two knights for their captains; then two other knights, leaders of the duke of Burgundy's archers, to the number of one hundred, handsomely dressed; then the lords and gentlemen of his household, with the other great barons who had accompanied him, most magnificently dressed, themselves and their horses, to the amount of upwards of two hundred and forty, with housings trailing on the ground, which was a noble sight.

After them came the admiral and marshal of France, with many great lords and gentlemen of the king's household, with forty very splendid housings; then came the counts d'Eu, de la Marche, and de Perdriac, abreast and without housings, who were followed by the heralds of the king and princes, to the number of seventy-four; then the king's archers, amounting to six score, well equipped, each having a valet on foot beside him; then fifty-and-four trumpeters, but none sounded excepting those of the king. After the trumpets came the marshal of Burgundy and the lord de Croy, very richly dressed; then Joachim Rohault, master of the horse to the king, bearing the royal sword in a scarf, followed by the son of Flocquet, bearing the king's helmet, having thereon a very rich crown of gold. Between these last and the king was a led-horse covered with trappings of blue velvet, besprinkled with flowers-de-luce of gold; then came the king, mounted on a white steed, dressed in a white silk robe without sleeves, his head covered with a hood hanging down. He was surrounded by four of the burghers of Paris, who bore on lances a canopy over his head of cloth of gold, in the same manner as the holy sacrament is carried from the altar. Behind the king were two men-at-arms on foot, having battle-axes in their hands. The king was followed by the duke of Burgundy, so splendidly dressed, himself and his horse, that the whole of his equipment was valued at ten hundred thousand crowns. Nine pages attended him, magnificently appointed, each having a light but superb helmet, one of which was said to be worth a hundred thousand crowns,—and the frontlet of the duke's horse was covered with the richest jewels. On his left hand was his nephew, the duke of Bourbon, handsomely dressed and mounted; and on his right, his son, the count de Charolois, most superbly dressed. About a stone's-cast in their rear came the duke of Cleves, himself and his horse highly adorned with precious stones; then all the other lords of France in such numbers that there were upwards of twelve thousand horse, so finely equipped that it was a pleasure to see them, although not with such splendid trappings as the Burgundians,—for many among them knew not whether they were well or ill in the opinion of the king.

Before this grand entry commenced, a cardinal and the principal burghers of Paris came

out of the town to pay their obedience to the king while in the plain. The duke of Orleans did not come out of Paris, as well on account of his age as because he mourned for the death of king Charles, but placed himself at an apartment which looked towards the street, from the windows of which he saw the procession pass, as did the duchess of Alençon with her son the count du Perche *, then about fifteen years old, of a noble figure, and in high spirits, for his father was released from prison immediately on king Charles's death.

At the entrance of the gate of Paris was the representation of a ship elegantly made, from which two small angels descended, by machinery, right over the king as he passed, and placed a crown on his head; which done, they re-ascended into the ship. In the street of St. Denis was a fountain that ran wine and hippocras for all who chose to drink. At the corner of a street leading to the market was a butcher of Paris, who, on seeing the duke of Burgundy, cried with a loud voice, "Frank and noble duke of Burgundy, you are welcome to Paris: it is a long time since you have been here, although you have been much wished for."

At the entrance of the Châtelet was a representation of the capture of the castle of Dieppe from the English, which had been taken by king Louis while dauphin. In other parts were pageants of the crucifixion of Our Lord, and of divers subjects from history. The streets were so crowded with people that with difficulty the procession went forward, although it had been proclaimed by sound of trumpet that no one should be in those streets through which the king was to pass; but the anxious desire thus to see all the nobility of France caused the proclamation to be little regarded; for the whole of the nobles were there excepting king Réné of Sicily and his brother the count du Maine, who were with the widowed queen their sister†. Neither the duke of Brittany, the duke of Alençon, nor the count d'Armagnac were present, for the late king had banished the two last his kingdom, and confiscated their fortunes. However, soon after,—namely, on the 18th day of September,—the duke d'Alençon came to the new king at Paris, who received him most kindly, and granted him a free pardon: he then waited on the duke of Burgundy, who gave him a very kind reception.

On the king's arrival at Paris, he went straight to the church of Notre Dame, where he paid his devotions, and then took the usual oath which the kings of France take on their first entrance into Paris,—and while in the church, he created four new knights. He then remounted his horse, and went to the Palace, which had been highly ornamented for his reception, where he held open court and supped: the peers of France and those of his blood sat at the royal table. On the morrow, he fixed his residence at the Tournelles.

The duke of Burgundy was lodged at his hôtel of Artois, which was hung with the richest tapestries the Parisians had seen: and his table was the most splendid any prince ever kept, so that all the world went to see it, and marvelled at its magnificence. Even when he rode through the streets or went to pay his devotions at church, crowds followed to see him, because every day he wore some new dress or jewel of price,—and he was always accompanied by seven or eight dukes or counts, and twenty or thirty of his archers on foot, having in their hands hunting-spears or battle-axes.

In the dining-hall of his hôtel was placed a square sideboard, with four steps to each side, which, at dinner-time, was covered with the richest gold and silver plate: at the corners were unicorns, so handsomely and finely done that they were surprising to behold. In the garden was pitched a superb tent, covered on the outside with fine velvet, embroidered with fusils in gold, and powdered over with gold sparkles. The fusils were the arms of all his countries and lordships, and were very richly worked. In short, whether the duke remained in his hôtel or came abroad, every one pressed to see him, on account of his noble appearance and great riches.

* Réné duke of Alençon, after the death of his father, in 1476. His mother was Joanna, daughter to the duke of Orleans.

† Mary of Anjou, queen of France, who survived her husband only two years, dying in 1463.

CHAPTER CI.—THE KING AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TAKE LEAVE OF EACH OTHER, AND DEPART FROM PARIS.—EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN DIVERS PARTS.

The king, during his stay at Paris, dismissed some of his officers from their places, and nominated others to fill them. He then made preparations to leave Paris, for Amboise, to visit the queen his mother, who there resided. The day before his departure, he went to the hôtel of Artois, to take leave of his uncle of Burgundy, who was then sitting at dinner; but he rose from table the moment he heard the king was coming, and went out far in the street, and, on meeting him, knelt down to salute him. The king instantly dismounted, and they walked together in the hôtel; and then, in the hearing of the whole company, the king thanked the duke for all the honours and services he had done him, acknowledging that he was indebted to him for everything he possessed,—for had it not been for his friendship, he would not, perhaps, have been now alive. He then took leave of the duke, and returned to the palace of the Tournelles,—and on the morrow, the 24th of September, set out from Paris, escorted by the duke and all the lords of his company, very far on the road, notwithstanding they had taken leave of each other the preceding day. The king then again thanked him for his friendship and services,—and the duke most honourably offered him his life and fortune whenever called upon.

The king continued his road toward Amboise; and the duke returned to Paris with his noble company, where he remained until the last day of September, and then went to St. Denis, staying there two days with his niece the duchess of Orleans. He had a magnificent funeral service performed in the church of St. Denis, as well for the soul of the late king Charles as for the souls of all the kings who had been there interred, and from whom he was descended. He gave dinners and banquets to the lords and ladies who had accompanied him thither from Paris. From St. Denis the duke returned by Compiègne, and the places of the count de St. Pol, who grandly feasted him, to the town of Cambray; for the king of France, while at Paris, had made up the quarrel between the count and the duke of Burgundy. Peace was also made between the count de St. Pol and the lord de Croy, who before hated each other mortally. At length, the duke arrived at his city of Brussels in Brabant. His son the count de Charolois took his leave at St. Denis, and, with the duke's approbation, went into Burgundy, where he was grandly feasted, for he had never before been in that country, having been brought up in the town of Ghent. Before he left Burgundy, he went to visit the shrine of St. Claude*, on the confines of that country, and thence took the road to wait on the king at Tours.

In this year the summer was very fine and dry: the wines and corn were good, and the last very cheap. However, after August there were many fevers and other disorders, which although not mortal, lasted a long time. About the feast of St. Remy, all the gabelles and taxes throughout the realm were proclaimed to be let to the highest bidder. It happened that the populace in Rheims rose against those who had taken them, and killed several; they then seized their books and papers, wherein their engagements were written, and burned them in the open streets. The king, on hearing this, ordered thither a large body of troops, who, dressing themselves as labourers, entered the gates by two and three at a time, so that, soon being assembled in sufficient force, they threw open the gates for the remainder of the army, under the command of the lord de Moy, who instantly arrested from four-score to a hundred of those who were the most guilty of this outrage, and had them beheaded,—which so intimidated the rest that they dared not longer oppose the will of the king.

In this year died at Bordeaux, Poton de Saintrailles, seneschal of the Bordelois, who had been in his time wise, prudent, and valiant in arms; and together with another great captain, called La Hire, who died before him, had aided the late king Charles so ably and gallantly to reconquer his kingdom from the English, that it was said his success was more owing to them than to any others in his realm.

* St. Claude, or St. Oyen,—a city in Franche-comté: it owes its origin to a celebrated abbey, founded in the fifth century, so called after St. Claude, archbishop of Besançon.

On the 11th of October, in this year, the church and town of Encre * were almost entirely destroyed by fire in less than half an hour; which was a sad misfortune to the poor inhabitants. Between September and the 1st of November, marvellous signs were seen in the air like to lighted torches, four fathoms long and a foot thick, where they remained fixed for half a quarter of an hour,—and they were thus seen at two different times. Some said they had observed in the night the appearance of battles in the air, and had heard great noises and reports.

CHAPTER CII.—THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS WAITS ON THE KING OF FRANCE AT TOURS, WHERE HE IS MAGNIFICENTLY ENTERTAINED.—HE LOSES HIMSELF WHILE AT THE CHASE.—HE RETURNS TO ARTOIS THROUGH NORMANDY, OF WHICH THE KING HAD MADE HIM HIS LIEUTENANT.

After the count de Charolois had performed his pilgrimage to Saint Claude, he took the road to Tours, where king Louis resided at that time. The count was accompanied by a number of great lords and nobles, and about three hundred and fifty horsemen.

When the king knew that he was near to Tours, he sent out to meet him the greatest lords of his household, who gave him a joyful reception, and, by the king's commands, led him to dismount at the palace, where he was met by the king and received most honourably by him and his whole court. The king took him for his amusement to all the handsome places around,—and he was grandly feasted at each of them. The king one day took him to hunt a red deer, which showed much sport, but ran so long, the count pursuing him, that when night came, he knew not where he was, and had but four other persons with him. They, however, proceeded, although it was dark night, until they stumbled on a good inn, wherein they were lodged.

The king, on his return from the chase, not hearing anything of the count, no one being able to give him the least intelligence what was become of him, was exceedingly vexed and alarmed, and instantly despatched people to all the adjacent villages, and had lighted torches fixed to the church steeples, that, should the count see them, he might find his road back again to Tours: those who were sent into the forests carried lighted brands or torches. The king was so troubled for fear of some accident happening to the count, that he swore he would not drink until he should hear something of him. In the mean time, the count, doubting that the king would be uneasy at his absence, and learning from his host that he was but two leagues from Tours, wrote him an account where he was by one of his servants, whom he sent under the guidance of a peasant, and desired him not to be uneasy at his absence, for that he had only lost his way. The king, on the receipt of this letter, was much rejoiced, and sent for him very early the next morning.

The duke of Somerset was at this time with the king of France, having been banished England by king Edward, whose enemy he was, and against whom he had made war, in support of queen Margaret's quarrel. He had fled to France to take refuge under king Charles, but, on his arrival, had found him dead. He had been arrested by the officers of the new king, and carried to his hôtel; but at the request of the count de Charolois, the king gave him not only his liberty, but handsome presents of gold and silver, for he was a great favourite with the count, because he was his relative †, and also because he preferred the party of king Henry to that of king Edward, although he knew well that his father the duke of Burgundy was of a contrary way of thinking. The duke of Somerset was desirous of retiring into Scotland; but as he was informed that king Edward had put spies to watch his conduct, he withdrew to Bruges, where he remained in private a considerable time.

The count de Charolois, having staid nearly a month with the king, was desirous to take his leave, which the king granted, together with an annual pension of thirty-six thousand francs, and appointed him his lieutenant-general of Normandy. The count returned by

* Encre. Q. Ancre or Abbert? a town in Picardy, seven leagues from Peronne.

† I do not understand what relationship could possibly have existed between the count de Charolois and the duke of Somerset, and must therefore set this down under the head of mistake.

Blois, where he was handsomely entertained by the duke of Orleans, and thence proceeded through Normandy. He was met by processions from all the principal towns through which he passed, and received as many honours as if he had been the king himself,—for the king had so ordered, by commands which he had sent to the different towns. At Rouen, in particular, he was magnificently received. He passed through Abbeville and Hêdin without stopping anywhere, until he came to Aire, where his countess was: from Aire he soon after departed, to wait on his father the duke of Burgundy, then at Brussels.

About this time, John bishop of Arras, through the instigation of the pope, prevailed on the king of France to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction *, which had been established in France for upward of thirty years. In return for having done this, the pope sent him the red hat, and made him a cardinal, under the title of Cardinal of Arras. While this Pragmatic Sanction was in force, the benefices of the kingdom were disposed of at the nomination of the universities; whence arose innumerable law-suits;—and this practice was greatly prejudicial to the court of Rome.

At this period died Flocquet, one of the king's commanders, valiant and subtile in war. By his subtilty he won Pont de l'Arche from the English, and was the first cause of the total loss of Normandy to the English. At this time also died master Nicholas Raullin † at Autun in Burgundy. He had first been an advocate in the parliament, then chancellor to duke Philip, whom he governed very wisely in many difficult affairs during the whole time he held this office, and was a great favourite with the duke; but while he managed his lord's business so well, he was not neglectful of his own,—for he acquired, during his service, upwards of forty thousand francs of landed revenue and many lordships,—so that his sons were rich and great lords, and his daughters married very nobly.

CHAPTER CIII.—DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY DANGEROUSLY ILL, BUT RECOVERS.—OTHER MATTERS WHICH HAPPENED AT THIS PERIOD.

About Candlemas in this year, 1461, the duke of Burgundy was taken so dangerously ill in the city of Brussels, that the physicians despaired of his life; and the duke, in consequence, sent in haste to his son, then at Quesnoy, who instantly came to him. The count de Charolois, seeing the duke in so great danger, issued orders throughout his father's dominions for the priests and monks of all churches and abbeys to offer up ardent and devout prayers to God, that he would be pleased to restore his father to health. Processions were therefore made, and prayers offered up with so much affection that God, full of pity and mercy, restored the duke to health,—for he was beloved by his subjects as much as prince ever was.

His son the count de Charolois, who had no legitimate children, showed his affection in another manner; for he never quitted his bed-side, and was always at hand to administer to him whatever was prescribed in his illness. He was three or four nights and days without taking any rest; which rather displeased his father,—and he ordered him frequently to take some repose, because it was better to lose one than both. In short, the prayers for the good duke were so effectual, and his physicians so attentive, that he recovered his health, excepting a debility that always remained; which inclines to a belief that, had it not been for the prayers of some religious and good persons, he had never recovered.

At this time died the lady of Ravenstein, niece to the duchess of Burgundy; a very good

* The title of the Pragmatic Sanction was given to an assembly of the French clergy at Bourges, called by Charles VII., where, in the presence of the princes of the blood and of the chief nobility of the kingdom, the canons of the council of Basil were examined, and being found, for the most part, to be very wise and just, and perfectly calculated to extinguish the capital grievances that had been so long complained of, they were compiled into a law for the benefit of the Gallican Church. The power of nominating to ecclesiastical dignities was taken from the see of Rome; and those branches of the papal prerogatives which were not abolished, were so curtailed as to be less injurious to the people and detrimental to the monarchy.

† Or Rollin. He was father of the lord d'Aymeries, mentioned before in chap. 79 of this book, and, by merit, had raised his family from a middling station of life to the honours of nobility.

lady, devout and charitable, and much regretted by all who knew her. About the beginning of March, the lady of Bar, wife to the count of St. Pol, deceased *. She left her husband four sons and several daughters. Her eldest son, Louis de Luxembourg, succeeded to the earldom of Marle, the second to that of Brienne, and the third to the lordship of Roussy. She was a very noble lady, and of high birth. At this time also died in Abbeville, a very renowned knight-in-arms, called sir Gauvain Quieret, the most adventurous of all his fraternity in war, and much beloved by his men.

In this year, the duchess of Orleans †, niece to the duke of Burgundy, was brought to bed of a fine boy, to whom the king of France stood godfather, and gave him his name of Louis. The queen of England, wife to king Henry, was the godmother, who had come to require aid from her cousin-german, the king, against king Edward, who had deprived her husband of his crown.

At this time, and three or four years prior to it, all sorts of crimes were committed in the country of Artois with impunity; such as robberies, thefts, violating of women, even in the great towns, and often under the eyes of officers of justice, who took no notice of the criminals, except, indeed, of some poor persons unacknowledged by any great lord! These crimes were committed in a greater degree within the city of Arras, the capital of Artois, than elsewhere; which was a shocking and infamous example to all the other parts of that country.

CHAPTER CIV.—A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE FUNERAL SERVICES PERFORMED AT PARIS AND ST. DENIS, ON THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES VII. OF FRANCE.

On Magdalen-day, in the year 1461, as I have before mentioned, died king Charles VII. of France, at the castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre, whose soul may God pardon and receive in mercy! On the following Tuesday, a solemn funeral service was performed for him in the church of St. Denis, such as has been usually performed yearly for Louis-le-Gros, formerly king of France. On the Wednesday, the 5th of August, the body of the said king was brought, at ten o'clock at night, to Paris, but left without the walls, in the church of Notre-Dame-des-Champs. Four lords of the court of parliament held the four corners of the pall, clothed in scarlet mantles: many other lords also supported the pall, dressed in crimson robes.

The body was on the morrow put on a litter covered with a very rich cloth of gold, and borne by six-score salt-porters. The duke of Orleans, the count of Angoulême, the count of Eu, and the count of Dunois, were the principal mourners, all four on horseback. They were followed by the car which had brought the body from Mehun, having a black velvet pall thrown across it, which was covered with a white cross of very rich figured velvet. This car was drawn by five horses with trappings of black figured velvet, that reached to the ground, and covered them so completely that their eyes only were to be seen. After the car came six pages in black velvet, with hoods of the same, mounted on horses with trappings similar to those of the car. Before the body was the patriarch, then bishop of Avranches, who performed the services at Notre Dame and at St. Denis, as shall be mentioned hereafter. The clergy of Notre Dame, and of all the other parishes of Paris, led the procession; then came the rector of the university, followed by the members of the chamber of accounts dressed in black; then those of the court of requests, the provost of Paris, the court of the Châtelet, and the burghers of Paris, in regular order. In the front of all were the four orders of mendicant monks. The whole was closed by an innumerable quantity of people from Paris and other parts. There were two hundred wax-tapers, of four pounds weight each, borne by two hundred men dressed in black. The church of Notre Dame was hung with black silk, besprinkled with flowers de luce.

The body of the king was placed in the middle of the choir, when a service for the dead

* Joan de Bar, only daughter and heir of Robert count of Marle and Soissons. Her children are said by Moreri to have been John count of Marle and Soissons, who was killed in 1476 at the battle of Morat; Peter II. count of St. Pol; Anthony count of Brienne; and Charles bishop and duke of Laon.

† Mary, daughter of Adolphe duke of Cleves, third wife of Adolphe duke of Orleans. The infant mentioned in the text was afterwards king of France under the title of Louis XII.

was performed, and the vigils chaunted. On the morrow, Friday, the 7th day of August, mass was celebrated by the patriarch; and about three o'clock in the afternoon of that day, the lords before-named attended the body, which was carried to La Croix-au-Fiens, which is between La Chapelle-St.-Denis and where the Lendit-fair is holden, when a desperate quarrel arose about carrying the body to the church, and it remained there a long time; at length the burghers of St. Denis took up the bier as it was, and wanted to carry the body to St. Denis, because the salt-porters had left it on the road, by reason of a refusal to pay them the sum of ten livres, which they demanded. The master of the horse to the king having promised payment of this sum, they carried the body into the choir of the church of St. Denis; but it was eight o'clock before it arrived there. At this hour, vespers for the dead only were chaunted for the king, and on the morrow, at six in the morning, matins, namely, *Dirige*, &c.

There were present at St. Denis the duke and duchess of Orleans, the counts of Angoulême and of Dunois, the lords de Brosses and de Château-brun, the master of the horse, the bishop of Paris, the court of parliament, the bishop of Bayeux. The bishops of Troyes and of Chartres performed the service, and the bishop of Orleans the office. The bishops of Angers, of Beziers, of Senlis, of Meaux, the abbots of St. Germain, of St. Magloire, of St. Estienne de Dijon, of St. Victor, attended the mass,—but only one grand mass was celebrated for the king; after which, the body was interred in the chapel of his grandfather, between the body of the latter and that of his father. The choir of the church was all hung with black velvet,—and there was a most sumptuous catafalque in the centre of the choir, under which was placed the body of the late king, surrounded with as many wax tapers as it could hold. The corpse was in a cypress-wood coffin, inclosed in another of lead, and then in another of common wood, having a representation of the said king lying between two sheets on a mattress on the pall. This figure was dressed in a tunic and mantle of velvet, embroidered with flowers-de-luce, lined with ermine, holding in one hand a sceptre of the hand of Justice, and in the other a larger sceptre: it had a crown on the head, under which was a pillow of velvet.

The king's officers had borne a canopy over the coffin, on eight lances, as far as the Croix-au-Fiens, where they were met by eight of the Benedictine monks from St. Denis, who would have taken their places; but the equerry refused to allow it, as he said that it was not customary,—for that the canopy was only borne over the body when passing through towns, but not when in the open country. When the body arrived at the gate of the town of St. Denis, it was set down, when three prayers were chaunted over it, as was done at every place where they halted; and then the canopy was given up to the monks, who bore it over the body, but in such wise that every one could plainly see the figure on the coffin.

After the interment, a serious quarrel arose between the master of the horse and the monks of the abbey, respecting the pall that was under the representation of the king, which the master of the horse claimed as his fee; when at last the pall was deposited in the hands of the count de Dunois and the chancellor of France,—when it was determined by them that the pall, which was of very magnificent cloth of gold and crimson, should remain in the abbey of St. Denis, it being declared on behalf of the grand-master that whatever claim he might have to it he gave up to the church of St. Denis. The canopy, with the velvet, wax, and everything else, remained to the church, without any dispute, excepting the velvet and white cross which covered the car: these were carried away. The count de Dunois and the grand-master visited all the chapels wherein were interred any bodies of saints, and presented to each velvet and satin sufficient to cover two altars from top to bottom.

In the middle of the high mass, was a sermon preached by master Thomas de Courcelles, doctor in divinity,—at which all the people bewailed and prayed for the defunct, who was then styled "Charles, the Seventh of the Name, most Victorious King of France." When the body was let down into the vault, the heralds shouted, "Long live king Louis! May God have mercy on the soul of Charles the Victorious!" Then the ushers and sergeants broke their rods, and threw them into the grave.

The company, after this, went to dinner in the great hall of the abbey, where was an open

table for all comers. When dinner was ended, the count de Dunois and de Longueville arose, and said with a loud voice, that he and the other servants had lost their master, and that every one must now provide for himself. This speech made every one sorrowful, and not without cause, more especially the pages, who wept bitterly.

CHAPTER CV.—THE DISGRACEFUL DEATH OF JOHN COUSTAIN, MASTER OF THE WARDROBE TO DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY.—THE CAUSE OF IT.—THE DEATH OF HIS ACCUSER*.

[A. D. 1462.]

On Sunday, the feast of St. James and St. Christopher, in the month of July, in the year 1462, John Coustain, master of the wardrobe to the noble duke Philip of Burgundy, was arrested and carried prisoner to Rupelmonde, for having intended to poison the count de Charolois,—with which crime he was charged by a poor gentleman from Burgundy, called John d'Juy. The said Coustain had bargained with him, for a large sum of money, to go into Piedmont, and buy for him some poison, and had told him the use he intended to make of it. When this John d'Juy was returned from Piedmont to Brussels with the poison, he demanded payment as had been agreed on; but Coustain not only refused to give him the money, but abused him in most coarse language; for this Coustain had not his equal in pride and wickedness. John d'Juy, discontented at such treatment, made his complaints to another gentleman of Burgundy, called Arquembart, and discovered to him the plot. Arquembart, much alarmed, advised him to reveal the whole of it to the count de Charolois, saying, that if he did not instantly do so, he would go and tell it himself.

John d'Juy, without further delay, waited on the count, and, casting himself on his knees, humbly besought him to pardon the wickedness he was about to reveal to him, and then told him the whole truth of the intentions of John Coustain. The count was much astonished and troubled, and, hastening to his father the duke, told him all he had just heard, and demanded justice on John Coustain for his disloyalty and treason. The duke said, he should have instant justice,—on which the count returned to his apartments, and ordered John d'Juy to go and surrender himself a prisoner at Rupelmonde, and wait for him there, as he would speedily follow him.

On the morrow, which was the feast of St. James, as I have said, as the duke was ordering the lord d'Auxi and Philip de Crevecœur to carry John Coustain prisoner to Rupelmonde, he was playing and amusing himself in the duke's park: the duke called to him, and said that he wished he would go to Rupelmonde, with the lord d'Auxi, to answer a gentleman who had made heavy charges against his honour. Coustain answered insolently, according to his custom, that he did not fear any man on earth, and went to boot himself, and mount a fine horse, attended by four others. In this state, he went to the hôtel of the lord d'Auxi, whom he found mounted, together with Philip de Crevecœur, and fifteen or sixteen of the

* Heuterus relates the subject of this chapter with some varieties which deserve to be noticed. "Coustain," he says, "is reported to have sent his accomplice (whose name is Latinized to Ingiëus) into Savoy to a famous witch, from whom he received certain waxen images of the man whom they designed to destroy, over which various and admirable forms of incantation had been practised." Arquembart, the informer, should be Hacquenbach —"*Petrus Haquenbachius, vir nobilis.*" Heuterus adds that, in making his confession, Coustain did not accuse any of the family of Croy, or other great nobles of Burgundy who were most suspected on the occasion by the count of having instigated the crime; but he says, "The wiser sort, however, had their suspicions with regard to king Louis; and the opinion which they now secretly entertained seemed to be afterwards confirmed, when they learned that he had procured the death of his own brother, merely to avoid giving up to him a small portion of his dominions." This is a very curious passage; for although the alleged murder of the duke of Guienne, Louis's brother, is at least a very doubtful point of history, and although, if manifestly proved, it would be a strange piece of sophistry to urge that the perpetration of one crime ought to be admitted as evidence of the intention to perpetrate another wholly unconnected with it either in time or circumstances, yet it sufficiently shows what must, even at the commencement of his reign, have been the character of the king, and the opinion generally entertained of his dissimulation, perfidy, and inhumanity. I imagine, however, that Heuterus is hardly to be credited, when he adds that the suspicion entertained by the duke of Burgundy on this occasion was the immediate cause of his quarrel with the king, whom he suspected; unless it be conjectured that among the secret confessions mentioned in this chapter to have been made by the villain Coustain previous to his execution, he actually accused the king, and supported his accusation by some very pregnant reasons. If this be admitted, it may justify in a great degree the assertion of Heuterus just mentioned.

duke's archers. When Coustain saw so many archers, he began to fear the consequences: nevertheless, they all rode together through the town of Brussels,—but when they came into the open country, the lord d'Auxi made John Coustain dismount from his war-horse, and mount a small hackney that he rode; which alarmed Coustain more than before, and instantly the lord d'Auxi put his hand on his shoulder and declared him prisoner to the duke, and then pushed forward, without any stopping, until they came to Rupelmonde. They were scarcely arrived before the count de Charolois came and took possession of the tower in which John Coustain was confined.

Shortly after, Anthony bastard of Burgundy, the bishop of Tournay, the lord de Croy, and the lord de Goux, came thither. No one spoke to John Coustain but the above, and in the hearing of the count de Charolois. When they were assembled, John d'Juy was ordered before them, and related, in the presence of John Coustain, how he had bargained with him to purchase poisons, which he had brought to him,—after which, he had refused to pay him the sum agreed on for so doing. To confirm what he had said, he produced, not one, but many letters to this purpose, written and signed by Coustain. Notwithstanding these proofs, Coustain denied the whole of the charge, and loaded d'Juy with many reproaches. At length, however, without being tortured, he acknowledged that all was true,—and added, that he himself had been twice in Piedmont since Christmas in the year 1461, to procure poisons, but without success. For that purpose, he had indeed bargained with John d'Juy, as he had said; but added, at first, that it was not to poison the count de Charolois, but in order that the count might have him in his good graces, and not deprive him of his place, or of anything appertaining to him, should the duke chance to die: at last, he owned that the poisons were intended for the count, and that he had proposed to give them at a banquet, which would take place about the middle of August,—which poisons being taken, he would not live longer than twelve months afterward.

When John Coustain had made this confession, he was taken, on the Friday following, to the highest tower of the castle to be beheaded; and while there, he earnestly begged that he might say a few words in private to the count, who, on being informed of it, consented,—and he was some time in conversation with the prisoner alone. None of those present heard what was said; but they saw the count cross himself at almost every word Coustain told him, which caused it to be supposed that he was accusing others in the hope of lessening his own crimes. He entreated the count that his body might not be quartered, but buried in consecrated ground. After this conversation, he was immediately beheaded.

John d'Juy was then called; and the count asked him whether, if Coustain had kept his promise of payment, he would have informed against him. On his replying that he would not, the count ordered him to be beheaded also.

The fortune of the said Coustain, amounting to more than three hundred thousand francs in the whole, was declared confiscated to the duke; but he, out of his noble and benign nature, gave them back again to the widow and her children. It was afterward commonly reported, that this Coustain had poisoned the good lady of Ravenstein, because she had blamed his wife for her pomp and extravagance, which was equal to that of a princess.

CHAPTER CVI.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY CAUSES A NUMBER OF ROGUES AND VAGABONDS TO BE EXECUTED IN HIS COUNTRY OF ARTOIS.—THE DEATH OF THE ABBOT OF ST. VAAST AT ARRAS.—OTHER EVENTS.—TAUNTING REPLIES MADE BY THE LORD DE CHIMAY TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

The duke of Burgundy was at length informed of the mischiefs that were doing in his country of Artois by the dependants of different lords, whom the bailiffs, and other officers of the duke, were afraid to arrest or punish, lest they should be ill-treated themselves. In consequence of this, the bailiffs of Amiens, of the Cambresis and of Orchies, entered the town of Arras as secretly as they could, by two and three at a time, having with them about fifty horse of the body-guard of the count d'Estampes, governor of Picardy, and took possession of different inns. They showed their orders from the duke, which commanded

them to arrest and execute all those who had acted so criminally, to whatever lord they might belong, even were they dependants of those of his blood. It is, therefore, to be believed, that had the good prince earlier received information of their wickedness, he would sooner have provided a remedy; but he was surrounded by some who wished not that the truth should come to his ears. When the above-mentioned bailiffs were come to Arras, they sallied out in the night to the places where they expected to meet these rogues; some they arrested, but many fled and hid themselves. They then advanced into the country, and laid hands on several of bad fame, whom they hanged on the trees by the road-side, and this time performed a good exploit.

On the 15th day of September, in this year, died the abbot John du Clerc, abbot of St. Vaast in Arras, whose death was much bewailed by the poor; for he was exceedingly charitable, and had governed the abbey for thirty-four years more ably than any abbot had done for the two hundred preceding years, as was apparent from the church and different buildings which he had ornamented and restored in many parts, having, on his election, found them in ruins. Among many good deeds, he did one worthy of perpetual remembrance; namely, when corn was so dear in the year 1438, that wheat sold for ten francs the septier, or five francs the mencault of Arras, which prevented the poor from buying any, he opened the granaries of his abbey, that were full of corn, and ordered it to be sold to the poor only, at twenty-eight sols the mencault, and but two bushels to be delivered to any person at a time; so that, if the famine should continue, his corn might last longer. He built the entrance-gate to the abbey, and the nave of the church, and managed the revenues of his abbey better than any abbot had done, and added greatly to them. When he died, he was eighty-six years old. May God pardon and show mercy to his soul!

About this period the lord de Chimay returned from France, whither he had been sent by the duke of Burgundy, respecting some differences that had arisen between him and the king of France. The most important was, as it was said, that the king wanted to have it proclaimed through the territories of the duke that no one should afford aid or support, in any way whatever, to king Edward of England; which the duke would not allow to be done, considering that not only a truce existed between him and king Edward, but that he was favourably inclined towards him. King Louis wanted also to introduce the gabelle, or salt duty*, into Burgundy, which had not been done for a very long time; and this the duke likewise refused to permit to be done.

For these and other matters, the lord de Chimay had been sent to remonstrate with the king, and to entreat that, out of his love to him, he would desist from pursuing them further; but the lord de Chimay was long before he could obtain an audience, and would perhaps have waited longer, but one day he stood at the king's closet-door until he came out. On seeing the lord de Chimay, he said to him, "What kind of a man is this duke of Burgundy? is he of a different stamp † from the other princes and lords of my realm?" "Yes, sire," replied the lord de Chimay (who was of a bold and courageous character), "the duke of Burgundy is indeed of another sort of metal than the other princes of your realm, or of the adjoining realms; for he received and supported you against the will of king Charles, your father, whose soul may God pardon! and contrary to the will of others, whom this his conduct displeased,—and he did that which no other prince would have dared to do!"

On hearing these words, the king was silent, and, without making any reply, entered again into his closet. Some said that the count de Dunois then approached the lord of Chimay, and asked how he dared thus speak to the king: when he answered, "If I had been fifty leagues off, and had supposed that the king would have said to me what he has done respecting my lord and master, I would have instantly returned to make him the answer I did." He then set out for Brussels, to make his report to the duke of Burgundy.

* Heuterus adds, that it was the purpose of the king, with the profits of the gabelle to have redeemed the lands on both sides of the Somme, which were assigned to the duke by the treaty of Arras.

† The question, as stated by Heuterus, was, "Solidiori e materia boni ne corpus coagimentatum foret, quam ceterorum principum?" To which Chimay is made to answer, "Imo: nam nisi id ita foret, quomodo te patris iram fugientem recipere, &c. &c., ausus fuisset?" The king was greatly confounded, and from this time said no more about the gabelle; but the duke of Burgundy, by the advice of the lords of the house of Croy, and to the great displeasure of his son, shortly after gave up the towns on the river Somme, as mentioned in chap. 110.

CHAPTER CVII. — THE DUCHESS OF BOURBON COMES TO RESIDE WITH HER BROTHER THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. — THE KING OF FRANCE GRANTS SUCCOURS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN DIVERS PARTS.

At this time the widowed duchess of Bourbon came to visit the noble duke of Burgundy, accompanied by three or four of her sons and two of her daughters; for she had had by her late husband six boys and five girls. The eldest son, John, succeeded his father in the dukedom; the second was married to a daughter of the king of Cyprus, but died of leprosy before he went thither; the third, Charles, was archbishop of Lyons, on the Rhône, and abbot of St. Vaast, at Arras; the fourth, named Louis, was bishop of Liege; the fifth was lord of Beaujeu, and married to a daughter of the duke of Orleans *; the sixth, James, died when young.

Of the daughters, one was married to the duke of Calabria, by whom she had a fair son, but died shortly after: the second married her cousin-german the count de Charolois, and had only a daughter, when the good lady died: the third espoused the duke of Gueldres, nephew to the duke of Burgundy: another was afterwards married to the lord d'Arquel †; and another was then to be married; for the duke of Burgundy, their uncle, had always very earnestly promoted the advancement of his friends and relatives.

About this period the king of France sent two thousand combatants to England, to the aid of queen Margaret, under the command of the lord de Varennes, high seneschal of Normandy, who, under the late king's reign, had governed everything, and it was reported that king Louis had given him this command for the chance of his being slain: nevertheless, he bore himself well, and conquered several places, in the expectation of being joined by the duke of Somerset, who had promised to come to him with a large body of Scots and others; but he failed; for he had found means to make his peace with king Edward, who had restored to him his estates and honours. The French were now besieged in the places they had won

* Q. Peter, lord of Beaujeu, was married to Anne daughter of Louis XI. This might be a second marriage; but I do not find it so in the genealogical tables which I have consulted.

† Here is a double mistake in the genealogy. Catherine, third daughter of the duke of Bourbon, married Adolphus, son of Arnold duke of Gueldres, who was himself duke of Gueldres after his father's death in 1473, and might, during his father's lifetime, have been sometimes styled the lord of Arckeln, which lordship came into his family by the marriage of his grandfather John count of Egmond with the heiress of Arckeln and Gueldres. The connexion of the families of Gueldres and Cleves with each other and with the house of Burgundy will be better understood by the following table, which will also explain, at one view, the mode by which the duchy of Gueldres passed successively by marriages into the families of Juliers, Arckeln and Egmont, and the county of Cleves into that of Marck, and how the younger branch of Cleves came into possession of the county of Nevers.

William VIII. duke of Juliers. = Mary, sister and heir to Edward the last duke of Gueldres of the first house.
- William IX. d. of G. & J. d. s. p. (Juliers being a male fief, passed to a distant branch.)
- Reginald d. of G. and J. d. s. p.
- Joanna the duchess of G. married John lord of Arckeln.
  - Mary duchess of G. married John count of Egmont.
    - Arnold duke of Gueldres, died 1473. = Catherine second daughter.
      - Adolph d of G. married Catherine of Bourbon.

Adolph V. c. of Marck married the heiress of Cleves.
- Adolph VI. c. of M. and C.
  - Adolph I. duke of Cleves. = Mary, one of the daughters of Burgundy.
    - Catherine second daughter. (married Arnold duke of Gueldres)
    - John d. of C. (married the heiress of Nevers.)
      - John II. &c. (d. of Cleves.)
    - Adolph, lord of Ravenstein. = Anne, natural daughter of Philip.

Philip the Bold, d. of Burgundy.
- John d. of Burgundy.
  - Mary, one of the daughters of Burgundy.
  - Philip the Good, d. of Burgundy.
    - Anne, natural daughter of Philip.
- Philip c. of Nevers, third son.
  - Charles c. of Nevers, d. s. p. 1464.
  - John count of Nevers, second son d. 1491.
    - Elizabeth, heiress of Nevers, married John d. of Cleves.
      - John II. duke of Cleves, &c.
      - Engilbert, c. of Nevers.

by the earl of Warwick, and were glad to return to France with their lives spared. All were not so fortunate, for many were slain or captured in the different skirmishes that had passed between them *.

The duke of Burgundy now sent one hundred men-at-arms and four hundred archers to the aid of the bishop of Mentz, who was engaged in a destructive warfare with one of the princes of Germany, insomuch that the extent of three or four days' journey of the flat country was burnt and totally ruined.

On the 21st day of November in this year, was an eclipse of the sun; and shortly after there were tiltings and other entertainments at Brussels, in honour of the arrival of the duchess of Bourbon, and of her children, whom she had brought with her. To these feasts the duke of Burgundy came with great pomp, and most superbly dressed. About the same time the count de Charolois had three men and an apothecary imprisoned at Brussels; which three men had caused the apothecary to make three images of wax, of the form of men and women; three of each for some sort of sorcery, and even, as it was said, touching the said count de Charolois. This was found out from the apothecary telling some of the count's servants what he had made, and that those who had ordered them would do wonders with them; that they would make these images talk and walk, which would be miraculous: in short, so much was said that it came at length to the ears of the count, who ordered the three men to be arrested, who belonged to the count d'Estampes. The apothecary was also arrested, but soon set at liberty, because he was ignorant for what purposes these images had been made. A gentleman of the household of the count d'Estampes fled, but was retaken and carried prisoner to Quesnoy-le-Comte in Hainault: his name was Charles de Noyers. It was rumoured that these four persons had been closely interrogated, and had confessed wonderful things; but they were kept so secret that few knew what to say about them. The prisoners, however, remained very long in confinement.

CHAPTER CVIII.—OF THE MANY DIFFERENT EVENTS THAT HAPPENED DURING THE COURSE OF THIS YEAR.—OF THE HARD FORTUNE OF MARGARET QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

[A. D. 1463.]

On the 19th of April this year, after Easter, died master Robert le Jeune, governor of Arras, aged ninety-two years. He began life as an advocate at Amiens, and was afterward retained of the council of king Henry V. of England, who made him a knight, and gave him great riches. After the death of king Henry, the duke of Burgundy made him bailiff of Amiens, in which office he governed so partially towards the duke and the English, that he put to death, by hanging, drowning, or beheading, upwards of nineteen hundred persons, and many more of the French party, called Armagnacs, than of the other; for which the populace of Amiens so much detested him that he dared not longer abide there, but went to Arras, of which place the duke of Burgundy made him governor! In whatever place he resided, he managed so well for his own interest that his two sons became great and rich lords. One of them was bishop of Amiens, and afterward bishop and cardinal of Therouenne, the richest of all the cardinals, but he died when only forty years old, and it was said that his death was hastened by poison. The other son was a knight-at-arms, and a considerable landholder, who had the greater share of the government of the duchess of Burgundy's household, and afterward of that of her son, the count de Charolois. The daughter of sir Robert le Jeune was nobly and richly married.

The 6th day of July the duke of Burgundy came from Bruges to Lille, where he had not been since his severe illness the preceding year. The townsmen received him with greater honours than at any former time; for a procession of upwards of four hundred of them went

* Henry says, that the French fleet appeared off Tinmouth; that many of their ships were driven on shore near Bamborough in a storm; that the French took shelter in Holy Island, where they were attacked and beaten by a superior force; that sir Pierre de Brézé, their commander, and the rest, saved themselves in Berwick.—*Hist. of England*, A.D. 1461.

out of the town to meet him, with lighted torches in their hands, not to mention the principal burghers, who went out in numbers. The streets were all hung, and illuminated so brilliantly that it appeared like noon-day, and many pageants and mysteries were exhibited, although it was late, and the night very dark. In this state was the duke escorted to his hotel.

Duke Philip, ever anxious to fulfil the vow which he had made in the town of Lille, in 1454, to attack the Grand Turk, and drive him back to his own territories beyond the Straits of St. George, would most cheerfully have gone thither in person, had he not feared that, during his absence, the king of France would attack and perhaps conquer his country. For this reason, therefore, he sent a notable embassy to pope Pius, the principal of which were the bishop of Tournay, the lord de Montigny * and the lord de Forestel, knights, to learn the will of the pope respecting his vow, which, as has been said, he was unable to accomplish, making offer, in lieu thereof, to send six thousand good combatants at his own costs and charges against the Turk, in any way the pope might be pleased to order.

I must mention here a singular adventure which befel the queen of England. She, in company with the lord de Varennes and her son, having lost their way in a forest of Hainault, were met by some banditti, who robbed them of all they had. It is probable the banditti would have murdered them, had they not quarrelled about the division of the spoil, insomuch that from words they came to blows; and, while they were fighting, she caught her son in her arms and fled to the thickest part of the forest, where, weary with fatigue, she was forced to stop. At this moment she met another robber, to whom she instantly gave her son, and said; "Take him, friend, and save the son of a king." The robber received him willingly, and conducted them in safety toward the seashore, where they arrived at Sluys, and thence the queen and her son went to Bruges, where they were received most honourably. During this time, king Henry, her husband, had retired into the strongest parts of Wales.

The queen left prince Edward at Bruges, and went to the count de Charolois at Lille, who feasted her grandly, whence she set out for Bethune, to hold a conference with the duke of Burgundy. The duke, hearing that large reinforcements of English were landed at Calais, sent a body of his archers to escort her from Bethune to St. Pol, where he went to meet her, notwithstanding he knew well that she had never loved him; but, according to his noble nature, he received her with much honour, and made her rich presents. Some said that he gave her two thousand crowns of gold, and to the lord de Varennes one thousand, and to each of the ladies that attended on the queen one hundred crowns: he had her also escorted to the country of Bai, which appertained to her brother the duke of Calabria. The queen repented much, and thought herself unfortunate, that she had not sooner thrown herself on the protection of the noble duke of Burgundy, as her affairs would probably have prospered better!

CHAPTER CIX.—THE KING OF FRANCE GIVES THE COUNTY OF GUISNES TO THE LORD DE CROY.—THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES QUITS HIS ATTACHMENT TO THE HOUSE OF BURGUNDY.—OTHER EVENTS.

During this year of 1463, king Louis of France made a progress through his kingdom, to examine into the state of it. On his return to Paris, he caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that he had given to the lord de Croy the county and lordship of Guisnes, having before this made him grand-master of his household. The lord de Croy had at this time left the house of Burgundy and resided with the king, which seemed to many very strange,—for the lord de Croy had been brought up and educated by the duke and his family, and had been better provided for than any others, being first chamberlain and principal minister to the duke, and had acquired by his services from forty to fifty thousand francs of landed rent, besides the advancement of all his friends, so that there was none like to him in that whole country. If he had been in the good graces of the duke, he enjoyed

* Simon de Lalain, lord of Montigny, who died in 1478, was the father of Jodocus, lord of Lalain and Montigny, governor of Holland, who was killed at the siege of Utrecht in 1483.

the same favour with the king, who refused him nothing that he asked for himself or his friends. The common report was, that he was so much beloved by the king because he had drawn up the plan for the repurchase of the lands and towns on the Somme, from the duke of Burgundy, for four hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and because he had induced the duke to accede to this bargain,—for he listened to him in council more than to any others. The lord de Croy having made some stay at the court of France, returned to that of Burgundy, and exercised his charges the same as before.

During the king's progress through Guienne and the Bordelois, he made up the quarrel between the king of Spain and the count de Foix, which had risen to a great height, although they had married two sisters, daughters to the king of Navarre*.

At this time, John of Burgundy, count d'Estampes, quitted the house of Burgundy, and attached himself to the king of France,—to which he was instigated, according to report, by his being in disgrace with the duke, and still more with the count de Charolois, on account of those waxen images before mentioned; for it was said the count de Charolois was suspicious of being in his company, for fear of sorcery,—and he now kept the count de St. Pol constantly with him, and gave him the principal management of himself and his household. Some said, that this was the reason why the count d'Estampes and the lord de Croy had quitted the noble house of Burgundy,—for it was well known that the count de St. Pol loved neither of them.

About this time, the queen of France, Isabella of Savoy, came to the king at Senlis, with but few attendants; for the king was then as saving as possible, in order to amass a

* By the terms of the marriage contract between John of Arragon and Blanche queen of Navarre, Charles prince of Viana, the eldest son of that marriage, ought to have succeeded to the kingdom immediately on the death of his mother. This was, however, delayed from time to time, and at last effectually prevented through the intrigues of Johanna Henriques the second wife of king John. A civil war was the consequence of these acts of injustice, and the prince sought the protection of a stronger power by an alliance with Isabella sister of Henry IV. of Castile. This treaty also was rendered abortive by the intrigues of his step-mother. He was then inveigled to Lerida under colour of a pacification, and treacherously made prisoner. Being at last liberated from his confinement to appease the dangerous indignation of his adherents, he ended his life in a few days, being, as some say, poisoned while in prison, but more probably from the effects of ill-treatment and sorrow.

Meanwhile, Blanche, his eldest sister, was divorced by her husband Henry IV., for no fault of her own; and the count of Foix (the husband of Leonora her sister) in order to possess himself of her right to the crown of Navarre, gained possession of her person, and is reported, by connivance with his own wife, to have put an end to her days. After this, he turned his views toward the protection of France, which he hoped to secure by the marriage of his son Gaston to Magdalen, daughter of Charles the VII., and by a further union of interests between the crowns of France and Arragon. The advantage of these skilful manœuvres soon displayed itself, when the Catalans, enraged at the death of the prince of Viana, which they attributed whether justly or unjustly to the king his father, revolted, and their example was followed by almost all the states of Arragon. King John, upon this, mortgaged the counties of Cerdagne and Roussillon to France, in order to obtain supplies to carry on the war, and the count de Foix obtained the principal command in the conduct of it. The rebels finding themselves too weak, naturally applied for assistance to Castille, and the war soon assumed a new face, the principals on each side being the king of Arragon and the count of Foix, and the king of Castille. The treaty here alluded to, at which the king of France assisted, was made in an island of the river Bidassoa, which separates France from Spain. Its articles were such as to offend all parties concerned, and in particular to sow the seeds of future dissension between the French and Spanish nations. Those historians, however, may be thought rather too refined who attribute to this celebrated interview the foundation for that enmity between the two countries for which they have been remarkable in modern times. The connexion between the different crowns of Spain, and succession to the crown of Navarre, will be best seen from the following table :—

John, king of Arragon and Navarre, died 1479. = 1st wife, Blanche, daughter and heir to Charles III. king of Navarre, died 1441. = 2nd wife, Johanna, daughter of the admiral of Castile.

Children of John and Blanche:

1. Charles, prince of Viana, died s. p. l. 1461, in the life of his father.
2. Blanche married Henry IV. king of Castile, d. s. p.
3. Eleanor married Gaston IV. count of Foix.

Child of John and Johanna: Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon by descent, of Castile by marriage, and of Navarre by conquest.

Children of Eleanor and Gaston IV.:

1. Gaston, prince of Viana, died 1470. = Magdalen, daughter of Charles VII.
2. John, viscount of Narbonne, and count of Estampes, who, by his marriage with Mary of Orleans, had issue, Gaston de Foix, the famous general under Francis I. and Germaine de Foix, the second wife of Ferdinand the Catholic.

Children of Gaston and Magdalen:

Francis Phœbus, d. s. p. 1483.

Catherine married John, lord of Albret.

sufficient sum for the repayment of the money for which the towns on the Somme had been pledged. His expenses were chiefly for his amusements of hunting and hawking, of which he was immoderately fond,—and he was liberal enough to huntsmen and falconers, but to none others. He was very careless in his dress, and was generally clothed meanly, in second-priced cloth and fustian pourpoints, much unbecoming a person of his rank,—and he was pleased that all who came to him on business should be plainly dressed. He did not diminish any of the taxes, but, on the contrary, added to them, which greatly oppressed his people.

On the 6th of September, the parliament pronounced sentence on sir Anthony de Chabannes, lord de Dammartin, who, after the death of king Charles, had fled for fear of his successor; but a year afterward he had sought the king's mercy, and put himself into his hands. The king sent him prisoner to the Conciergerie of the palace, and ordered the parliament to bring him to trial; which being done, he was convicted of high treason against king Louis, and sentenced to death, and his effects confiscated to the crown *. The king, nevertheless, granted him a pardon, on condition that he would transport himself to the island of Rhodes, and remain there for his life; but he was to give security for the performing of this, which not being able to do, he was confined in the bastile of St. Anthony.

At this time, king Louis, from his will and pleasure, ordered all nets and engines to take and destroy the game to be burnt throughout the Isle of France. No one was spared, whether of noble or peasant, except in some warrens that belonged to the princes. It was said that he did this that no one might hawk or hunt but himself, and that there might be a greater plenty of game,—for his whole delight was in hunting and hawking.

CHAPTER CX.—THE KING OF FRANCE REPURCHASES THE TOWNS AND LANDS ON THE RIVER SOMME THAT HAD BEEN PLEDGED TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—HE MEETS THE DUKE AT HEDIN.—OTHER MATTERS.

The king of France, having determined to repurchase the towns on the Somme from the duke of Burgundy, made such diligence that he collected a sufficiency of cash; for there was not an abbey or canonry, or any rich merchant in France, who did not lend or give him some sums of money. When he had amassed the amount, he sent it as far as Abbeville to the duke, who had it transported thence to Hêdin, where he then resided. Shortly after, the king came to Hêdin,—and the duke went out to meet him, received him most honourably, as he well knew how to do, and lodged him in his own proper apartments in his castle. The king then promised the duke, that he would punctually fulfil all the articles of the treaty of Arras, which promise he did not so punctually perform. While the king and the duke were at the castle of Hêdin, a grand embassy arrived there from England,—the chief of which was a bishop †, brother to the earl of Warwick, and from three to four hundred horsemen handsomely dressed and equipped.

Before they departed from Hêdin, the duke had sent repeated messages to his son, the count de Charolois, then in Holland, for him to come and pay his respects to the king,—but he refused, saying, that so long as the count d'Estampes and the lord de Croy were with the king (as they then were), he would never appear before him. He knew in what great favour they were with the king; and it was currently reported, that it had been through the counsels of the lord de Croy that the duke had consented to the reimbursement for the towns on the Somme, which was contrary to the will of the count de Charolois, and

* The principal crime of this nobleman, in the eyes of Louis, was his high favour with Charles VII. He afterwards escaped from prison during the War of the Public Good, and was at last restored to his offices about the court, and taken into the peculiar confidence of the king. One act of justice resulted from his temporary disgrace, the restoration to the heirs of Jacques Cœur of great part of the plunder made from the wreck of that unfortunate merchant's affairs. The count de Dammartin is said to have been one of the seven persons whom Louis excepted out of the amnesty which he granted to the duke of Burgundy's intercession on ascending the throne. Others were, as is reported, the mareschal de Brézé, the lords de Lohéac, and de Chatillon, and the chancellor des Ursins. Duclos.

† A bishop. George Neville, bishop of Exeter, and afterwards archbishop of York.

very prejudicial to his future interests. It was also said, that the king, during his residence at the castle of Hêdin, had well considered its situation and strength, as the key of the county of Artois, and had demanded it from the duke, offering in exchange the towns of Tournay and Mortagne *, with some other places; but the duke would not listen to it, thinking such offers were made more to his hurt than otherwise.

When the king departed from Hêdin, on the 19th of October, the duke attended him to a considerable distance; and it was said that the duke, on quitting him, made several requests, and, among others, entreated that he would not turn out his officers from the places to which he had appointed them, in the several towns that were now become the king's,—all of which the king granted, but did not fulfil; for he instantly removed some of the officers in Abbeville, and made the inhabitants and gentlemen in the neighbourhood renew their oaths to him, although many of them had served the duke of Burgundy from their youth; but the king made them swear to serve him against all other men whatever. He deprived the lord de Saveuses of his government of the cities and towns of Amiens, Arras, and Dourlens, and gave it to the lord de Lannoy, nephew to the lord de Croy, who was then governor, for the duke of Burgundy, of Lille, Douay, and Orchies. The king also gave him the government of Mortagne, dismissing from it the lord de Hautbourdin, bastard de St. Pol, and made him bailiff of Amiens, instead of the lord de Crevecœur. In addition to all these places, the king settled on him a yearly pension of two thousand livres. All these favours heaped on the lord de Lannoy astonished every one; for he had commenced his career of fortune under the house of Burgundy, and had never done any services to king Louis of France.

CHAPTER CXI.—THE DEATH OF THE DOWAGER QUEEN OF FRANCE.—THE KING SUMMONS THE COUNT DE SAINT POL AND THE LORD DE GENLY TO APPEAR PERSONALLY BEFORE HIM.—THE MARRIAGE OF THE SON OF THE DUKE OF GUELDRES.—THE ABOLITION OF THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION.

About this time, the lady Mary of Anjou, queen of France, mother to king Louis now on the throne, departed this life. She was renowned for being a very good and devout lady, very charitable, and full of patience.

The king of France had now summoned the count de St. Pol and the lord de Genly to appear in person before him, on the 15th day of November ensuing, wherever he might then be. The reason of this was currently said to be the different journeys the lord de Genly had been remarked to make to the duke of Brittany, to conclude certain treaties between that duke and the count de Charolois, to oppose the king of France should he attempt hostilities against them; for they were in his ill favour, as was apparent from the duke of Brittany having all his places fortified, and his army ready prepared to resist an invasion of his country. It was likewise said, that the duke of Bourbon and some other princes of France were in alliance with them against the king, on account of the strange manner in which he had treated them.

On the 15th of October a blaze of light was seen in the heavens; and it seemed that the clouds opened to show this blaze, for the space of time in which an Ave-Maria could be repeated, and then closed again: it ended with a long flaming tail before it vanished.

The bishop of Tournay returned at this period from the embassy on which the duke of Burgundy had sent him to pope Pius at Rome. He reported to the duke, that the pontiff depended on having forty thousand combatants to march against the Turk, which he would lead in person, and put on the cross against the Infidels, in case the duke would accompany him with six thousand fighting men, and act under him as his general. The duke was much rejoiced at this intelligence, and despatched his letters to all those who had made the vow of going to Turkey, and to all his knights and vassals, to prepare themselves and assemble at Bruges on the ensuing 15th day of December. On their arrival at Bruges, he had them informed that it was his intention to march in person against the Turks and Infidels, and to

* Mortagne,—in Flanders, on the conflux of the Scarpe and Scheldt, three leagues from Tournay.

be at Aiguesmortes about the middle of next May to embark for the East; but that he would assemble them again before his departure, to inform them in what manner he should settle the government of his country during his absence on this expedition.

On the 18th of December in this year, the marriage of the eldest son of the duke of Gueldres with a princess of Bourbon, sister to the countess of Charolois, was celebrated in the city of Bruges. They were both equally related to the duke of Burgundy: the bridegroom was the son of a daughter of the duke's sister, the duchess of Cleves, who had deceased about two months before,—and the bride a daughter of his sister, the duchess of Bourbon. Many lords of the court tilted after the wedding dinner; among whom the lord de Renty tilted with a young esquire of Picardy, called John, only son to David de Fremessent, who met with a sad misfortune; for he was hit by a splinter of a lance so severely on the head that he died. On the same day two other men lost their lives, from the great crowding at this tournament, which must be attributed to their own folly in not taking more care.

About this period, Godfrey, bishop of Alby and cardinal of Arras *, waited on the king of France, whom, some little time before, it was said the king did not love: nevertheless, he now received him most handsomely. It was he who, a short time prior to this, had persuaded the king to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction, which had been established in France by the council of Basil. In return for this, the cardinal had promised the king certain things,—which, however, he failed to perform; and it is not known how he pacified the king. He had promised that the pope should send a legate to France to dispose of the benefices when vacant; that the money for fees should not be sent to Rome, nor carried out of the kingdom; but when the pope had gotten possession of the act for the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, he never thought more of sending a legate to France. The pope had this act of abolition dragged through the streets of Rome, to please the Romans, and published everywhere that the Pragmatic was done away.

The report was, that the bishop of Alby had the red hat given him, and had been created cardinal for the pains he had taken to procure this abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, which, in truth, was very detrimental to poor clerks and scholars; for it gave rise to numberless questions and examinations before any benefice could be obtained; and the rich gained benefices, from their being able to support the expenses of the suits, which the poorer clerks lost, whatever nominations they might have obtained.

CHAPTER CXII. — A COOLNESS TAKES PLACE BETWEEN THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND HIS SON THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS. — THE COUNT MAKES HEAVY COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE LORD DE CROY TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE THREE ESTATES ASSEMBLED BY THE DUKE HIS FATHER.

The duke of Burgundy now resided at Bruges, and summoned the three estates of his country to assemble there, in his presence, on the 9th day of January. The count de Charolois was at this time in disgrace with his father; and he summoned the estates to meet him at Antwerp, on the 3d of the same month, to lay before them the reasons of his father's anger, that they might employ their means to bring about a reconciliation †. But the duke hearing of this, forbade any of the members of the estates to go near his son: however,

* Jean Joffrédy; not bishop of Alby and cardinal of Arras, but cardinal of Arras and bishop of Alby. He was the son of a merchant at Luxeuil in Franche Comté. His ecclesiastical ambition displayed itself very early in life, and pushed him on to the episcopal dignity through the patronage of the duke of Burgundy. He then found means to persuade his sovereign, that it was for his dignity to have one of his own subjects promoted to a cardinal's hat, and appointed papal legate in his dominions. Solicitations were accordingly made at Rome both by the duke, and by Louis, (then dauphin,) to have this high honour conferred upon Joffrédy; and when Louis succeeded to the crown, Joffrédy was given to understand that there would be no difficulty in his attaining the dignity, provided he would use his best endeavours with the king for the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction. Joffrédy readily undertook the pious office enjoined him, and was rewarded with the red hat very shortly after. Duclos.

† Ever since the war with the people of Ghent in 1452, the count de Charolois had seldom resided at the court of his father, and was chiefly at the castle of Gorcum, which he had fortified so as to render it almost impregnable, and ornamented for his residence at a great expense and with royal magnificence.—*See Heuterus.*

some were already gone to him; but others, who were on their road to Antwerp, did not go thither.

On the 9th day of January there was a grand assembly of the estates at Bruges, consisting of three bishops, sixty abbots, a great number of nobles, and deputies from all the principal towns. When they appeared before the duke, he returned them his thanks for their diligence and obedience, by the mouth of the bishop of Tournay; adding, that he had received such intelligence concerning his son, that he was too much troubled to say more to them at that time. The duke, nevertheless, could not help telling them that he was angered against his son because he suffered himself to be governed by persons whom the duke did not approve of, and because he would not obey his will. He then gave a paper to one of his secretaries, ordering him to read it to the assembly, saying that it was what his son had written to him, and it was proper they all should hear it. The paper contained in substance, that the count de Charolois was in the utmost sorrow that his lord and father was angered against him, and entreated that he would no longer be displeased that he had not come when he had sent for him, and would hold him excused for disobeying his orders; for he could not appear before him so long as he was surrounded by those whom he suspected of intending to poison him, and who were daily seeking his death, of which he had received certain knowledge.

The count thought that the anger of his father had its origin in three things: first, because the count did not love the lord de Croy, for reasons which he had before declared to the duke his father, in the presence of the said lord de Croy; and that he had now less cause to love him than before; for through him and his friends he had procured that the king of France should regain the country and towns that had been mortgaged on the Somme, to the great prejudice of himself and his heirs after him; which, besides, ought not to have been done, as the king had not fulfilled various articles of the treaty of Arras. The second reason might, perhaps, be his having retained in his household the archdeacon of Avalon *, after he had left the service of the count d'Estampes, which ought not to have troubled his father if he were acquainted with the cause, which he was ready to tell him whenever he should be pleased to hear it. The third was, as the count imagined, because when the duke's archers had been sent into Holland to seek master Anthony Michel, he had him rescued out of their hands, but without the knowledge of the said count, who, if he knew where the said master Anthony was, would send him a prisoner to the duke.

The three estates having listened to the above, the duke gave them permission to retire home until he should summon them again, which would be very shortly after. The greater part returned home; but several remained in Bruges to attempt the bringing about a reconciliation between the father and the son; and in this number was a very noble clerk, who was exceedingly anxious to succeed in it, the abbot of Citeaux †.

On the re-assembling of the estates at Bruges, the count de Charolois came to Ghent, and was soon after waited on by a deputation from them, with the bishop of Tournay, and other counsellors of the duke. The abbot of Citeaux addressed him as the spokesman of the deputation; and having quoted many texts from the Scriptures to prove the obedience a son owes a father, supplicated him to submit in all humility to his father's will, and to dismiss certain persons from his service, the better to please him. When the abbot had ceased speaking, the bishop of Tournay cast himself on his knees before the count, and eloquently pressed him to comply with the proposals of the abbot,—saying, that he was not come to him as the servant of his father, but as bishop of Tournay, to bring about a reconciliation, if possible, and to prevent the many and grievous evils that might arise from their discord. The count here interrupted him, and said, that if he had not been the servant of the lord his father, he would never have risen to his present rank. Then turning to the deputies, he told them, that in their propositions they had only touched on master Anthony Michel, but now they were changing their ground; and he did not believe that the abbot de Citeaux had been commissioned by them to make him such requests. But the deputies avowed what the abbot had said; declaring he had been so charged by them, and that in obedience

* Avalon,—a town in Burgundy, eleven leagues from Auxerre.

† Citeaux,—an abbey in the diocese of Châlons-sur-Saone, near Nuits.

to his pleasure they were thus come to the town of Ghent. The count then pulled off his cap, bowed to them, and said he was very happy they were come, and thanked them, as his most faithful friends, for the pain, trouble, and affection they had thus shown him, which he should never forget, but would loudly acknowledge it in all the countries whence the deputies were come.

In return for the warm affection they had shown him, he would not conceal his mind from them, but truly inform them of all the crimes and artifices that had been committed and practised by the lord de Croy and his adherents. In the first place, he said, that when he was last with the lord his father (the countess of Charolois, his lady, being then very ill), the lord de Croy had said, that if he were not afraid of vexing her, he would make him his prisoner, and place him in such security, that he should be disabled from doing him or any one else mischief.

Item, the lord de Croy had told a worthy gentleman of the name of Pius, that he cared not for him (the count de Charolois), for that he had nine hundred knights and esquires who had sworn to serve him until death.—Item, the lord de Croy had said publicly, on seeing the count return to court, "Here is this great devil coming! so long as he lives we shall not succeed at court."—Item, the lord de Croy had declared, on his (the count's) retreat to Holland, that he was much afraid of him,—but that, when he should be inclined to hurt him, he would not be safer in Holland than elsewhere, for that he was like a gaufre between two irons.—Item, the lord de Croy had boasted, that, should a struggle arise between him and the count, he was sure of being assisted by all in Artois, as the whole country was at his command,—adding, "What does my lord de Charolois mean to do? Whence does he expect aid? Does he expect it from the Flemings, or the Brabanters? if he does, he will find himself mistaken,—for they will abandon him as they have before abandoned their lord." "This I do not believe," said the count, "for I consider them as my true and loyal friends; nor have I the least doubt of the affections of those in Artois and Picardy."

Item, that the lord de Croy had sent to the provost of Watten* the horoscope of his nativity, and that the provost, on examination, had given it as his opinion that the person to whom it belonged would be miserably unfortunate, and that the greatest misfortunes would befal him; all of which he had related to the duke his father, to incense him more against him.—Item, he had also desired the provost of Watten to manage so that the duke his father might always hate him, and keep at a distance from his person.—Item, that he had sufficient evidence that the lord de Croy sought his death by sorcery and other wicked means; that he had caused to be made six images,—three in the form of men and three in the form of women,—on which were written the name of the devil called Belial, and the name of him whom they were pointed at, with some other names: these images were to serve three purposes; first, to obtain favour from him to whom the image was addressed; secondly, to cause him to be hated by whomsoever they should please; and thirdly, to keep the person addressed in a languishing state of health so long as they chose: that these images had been baptised by a bishop, prior of Morocq † in Burgundy; and that the makers of these images had been two or three servants of the count d'Estampes,—one of whom was his physician, whom the count d'Estampes had sent prisoner to him, as his justification, and to exculpate himself. Then the count concluded by saying to the deputies, "My friends, do not think that I have any distrust of you if I name not all the accomplices of those who have sought my death: I abstain from doing so merely to save their honours, and from the horror you would feel were I to name them. I again thank you for your diligent affection, and beg that you would consult together and advise me how to act; for I am sure you would be displeased should any misfortune happen unto me by my throwing myself into the hands of my enemies. By them I will not be governed, but by good and faithful servants. I entreat, therefore, that you will deliberate maturely on what I have said, for I will not depart hence until I shall have had your answer. May God grant that it may be as satisfactory as I have confidence in you!"

* Watten,—a town in Flanders, near St. Omer.

† Morocq. Q.

CHAPTER CXIII.—THE ANSWER OF THE DEPUTIES OF THE ESTATES OF FLANDERS TO THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS.—PEACE RESTORED BETWEEN HIM AND HIS FATHER THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE KING OF FRANCE COMES TO ARRAS AND TOURNAY.

When the count de Charolois had thus spoken to the deputies from the three estates, they retired together into a chamber apart, and there concluded on the answer they should make him. They then returned to his presence, and cast themselves on their knees, but he made them instantly arise; and the abbot de Citeaux spoke for the rest, and said, that they had fully considered all he had stated to them, and were unanimously of opinion to request him most humbly to regain the good graces and favour of his lord and father, by returning instantly to him, to avoid the evils that would ensue upon their discords. With regard to those he thought his enemies, God had hitherto preserved him from their snares, and would still do so, in consequence of the earnest prayers that all his future subjects would offer up to him for the purpose; and that when his father should see him return his joy would be so great that he would sufficiently guard him against them. They entreated that, at this time, he would leave certain of his attendants behind, without formally dismissing them, which they thought would be an effectual method of regaining his father's good opinion; they offered, likewise, to exert their utmost power to obtain this desirable end. The count, in reply, thanked them all, and said, that from love to God, to my lord his father, and themselves, he would comply with their request, and follow their advice,—desiring them, at the same time, to accompany him when he presented himself to his father, and that they would entreat him to restore his servants to his favour. This they willingly promised.

On the Monday following, the count de Charolois, accompanied by a great number of knights, esquires, and these deputies, set out from Ghent for Bruges,—and the principal persons of the duke's household, together with the magistracy of the town and burghers, came out to meet him. He dismounted at the palace of the duke, and advanced to the presence-chamber, where, on seeing the duke, he made three genuflexions, and, at the third, said, "My most redoubted lord and father, I have been told that you are displeased with me for three things (and then stated these as he had done to the deputies, and made similar excuses): however, if in any of these things I have vexed or angered you, I crave your pardon." The duke answered, "Of all your excuses I know full well the grounds: say no more on the subject; but, since you are come to seek our mercy, be a good son and I will be a good father:" he then took him by the hand, and granted him his full pardon. The deputies now retired, greatly rejoiced at the reconciliation that had taken place; and the duke then dismissed them, with orders to re-assemble on the 8th of the ensuing March. On the day of this reconciliation, the lord de Croy set out very early in the morning from Bruges for Tournay, where king Louis of France then resided.

In this and the following year, corn and all other grain were so cheap in the country of Artois that the oldest persons never remembered them at such low prices.

On the 24th of January, king Louis of France came to the city of Arras*, where he was most honourably received by the clergy and inhabitants. He dismounted at the gate, and walked on foot to the church of Our Lady, where he paid his devotions, and then took up his lodgings at the house of the official, which was a good but small house, and refused to go to the bishop's palace, although large and convenient; but it was the king's custom to prefer small lodgings to greater. There were with the king his brother the duke of Berry †, the count of Eu, the prince of Piedmont, and some few other nobles. He would not permit any of them to lodge in the town, because the inhabitants would not suffer his harbingers to mark any lodgings until all the inns were filled,—and these inns could hold from four to five thousand horse,—which behaviour was displeasing to the king; and he remained in the city from the Monday to Saturday, without entering the town of Arras until he had seen and had examined the privileges of this town of Arras.

* Arras is divided into two parts: the Cité being the older, and la Ville the new town. (*See Martiniere's Dictionary.*)

† Charles, duke of Berry, afterwards of Normandy and of Guienne, the only brother of the king then alive.

When he entered the town on the Saturday, he found at the gate great numbers of people who had been banished thence, who requested that he would restore them to their rights, on his joyous arrival; but he replied, "Children, you require from me a grace that is not usual for the kings of France to grant, and therefore do not depend on my doing it; for I will not invade the privileges of our fair uncle of Burgundy." This was all they could obtain from him. He proceeded to hear high mass at the church of St. Vaast, which being over, he returned to dinner in the city. On the next day, Sunday, the king of France again visited the town of Arras, and examined, at his leisure, the abbey of St. Vaast and all its buildings. He thence went to the market-place; and as he was returning by the church of St. Guy, where the white bell and the town-clock were, a locksmith, who had the care of this bell, made it sound on the king's approach, and descended from the steeple in armour, when he seized the king's horse, like a clown as he was, and demanded money to drink. The king, seeing an armed man thus seize his horse, was somewhat startled at first: nevertheless, he ordered money to be given him, and forgave his misbehaviour to him. Had not the king pardoned him, he would probably have paid the forfeit of his life for his folly. While this man was descending from the steeple, some children striking the bell too hardly broke it, which was a great loss to the town,—for it was the largest and handsomest bell that could be seen: it weighed from seventeen to eighteen thousand pounds of metal!

The king went into the plain to see the spot where the king his grandfather was encamped when he besieged Arras, in the year 1414. Thence he returned to the city; and on the morrow departed suddenly, according to his custom, and was followed by his attendants to Tournay, where he was most honourably received,—for upward of three thousand men came out to meet him dressed in white, with a border of flowers-de-luce round their robes.

At the gate was a model, in paper, of a castle, similar to the fortifications of Tournay, which was presented to the king with the keys of the town. From the top of the gate, a virgin (the handsomest girl in the town) descended by machinery, and after saluting the king, threw aside the robe from her breast, and displayed a well-made heart, which burst open, and there came out a golden flower-de-luce, of great value, which she gave to the king, in the name of the town, saying, "Sire, I am a virgin, and so is this town,—for it has never been taken, nor has it ever turned from its allegiance to the kings of France,—for all the inhabitants thereof have a flower-de-luce in their hearts." The king saw many pageants and histories represented in the streets he passed through, and he took his lodgings at the house of a canon. From Tournay he went to Lille, where he arrived the 18th of February, then the fourth day of Lent.

The duke of Burgundy came to Lille on the eve of the first Sunday in Lent, to wait on the king; and from that day to the Friday following there were splendid tiltings and other amusements. During their residence at Lille, the king remonstrated personally, and by the means of others, so effectually with the duke, on his intended expedition, that he postponed it for one whole year; when the king promised to give him ten thousand combatants, paid for four months, to attend him whither he should be then pleased to go. It was also said, that the king of England would aid him with a great body of archers. By this means was the expedition to Turkey broken off, to the displeasure of the duke of Burgundy, whose whole desire was to go there for once.

When this was settled, the king departed from Lille on his return to France, and found at St. Cloud the duke of Savoy, quite debilitated with the gout, and his eldest son, who were there waiting for him. It was rumoured that they were very unpopular in Savoy, by reason of their not conducting themselves according to the wishes of their people; and that they had chosen the duke's third son, Philip, for their lord, who was reported to be wise, subtle, and valiant in arms*.

* The unpopularity of the old duke of Savoy, and Amadeus, his eldest son, was principally owing to their unwarlike and devotional temper, so adverse to the notions and habits of a martial nobility. Lewis, the second son, had married the heiress of Cyprus after the death of her first husband, the duke of Coimbra; and possibly the adventurous spirit of the times anticipated the glory of an expedition for the recovery of a kingdom which had been snatched from a female sovereign by an illegitimate usurper, aided by the forces of the infidels. Another and more just ground of discontent was the manifest subjection in which both father and son held themselves enthralled

CHAPTER CXIV.—OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE BASTARD OF BURGUNDY.—THE KING OF FRANCE DETAINS PRISONER PHILIP OF SAVOY, NOTWITHSTANDING HE HAD GIVEN HIM A SAFE-CONDUCT.—THE COUNT DE ST. POL PACIFIES THE KING OF FRANCE.—A BATTLE SHORTLY NOTICED TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN ENGLAND.—OTHER MATTERS.

[A. D. 1464.]

On the 18th day of March, in the year 1463, the duke of Burgundy, dissatisfied that the king had prevailed on him to retard his expedition to Turkey, assembled the three estates of his country at Lille, and there told them, that the king of France had induced him to delay going to the East for one year; but that in order that the pope, and the other Christian princes, might be satisfied with him, he had the intention of sending thither his bastard Anthony, with two thousand combatants, accompanied by Baldwin his other bastard *, then about eighteen years old; and that, should it please God, that he be neither dead nor ill, he would be in person in Turkey by St. John's day, in the year 1465, with the largest army he could possibly assemble.

The king of France, at this time, sent a third summons for the count de St. Pol to appear in person before him, or take the consequences, and sent him a passport. The count, fearing he should be banished if he further disobeyed, determined to go to the king; and on his arrival, he met with so many zealous friends at court, that the king received him with much pleasure, and his peace was made,—and he did homage for the lands he held under the king. It was said at the time, that king Louis required that he would no longer serve the count de Charolois; but that he had replied in excuse, that it was impossible for him to comply with this requisition, as he was under obligations, by faith and oath, to the count de Charolois, and could not break them.

Soon after Easter, in the year 1464, at the command of the king of France, Philip of Savoy, third son to the duke of Savoy, set out to wait on him. The king had sent to him his first equerry, with credential letters, to desire that he would accompany him to France. These letters were signed by the king himself, and displayed by the equerry, who assured him, in the king's name, that he should come and return in perfect safety. Notwithstanding this, on his near approach to the king, he was arrested, and carried prisoner to the castle of Loches, in Touraine, a very strong castle, wherein he remained confined two whole years. I know not the cause of this, if it were not that the king was envious that he had greater command in Savoy than the duke †, and that the people more willingly obeyed him than the duke. However, at the end of two years, the king, of his own accord, had him set at liberty.

At this time, Charles count de Nevers departed this life, without leaving male heirs, and was therefore succeeded in his counties of Nevers, Rethel, and other places, by his brother John ‡.

The 20th of May, being Whitsunday, Anthony bastard of Burgundy, with other knights and esquires of the duke of Burgundy's household, put on the cross previous to their expedition against the infidels; and on the morrow they embarked at Sluys, in the presence of the duke. They were, in the whole, two thousand combatants; and the duke gave sir Anthony this day, to defray the expenses of his voyage, one hundred thousand golden crowns, besides the county of La Roche and other lands. On occasion of this crusade,

to the pleasure of the king of France. On the other hand, Philip, count of Bresse, (a younger son of the duke of Savoy, not the third as here stated, but the eighth of his numerous male issue) was a prince of the greatest promise, of high military spirit, and a commanding person; and the duke his father (who, in the course of his religious exercises, had probably paid great attention to the history of David and Absalom) was so afraid of the popularity which these endowments ensured him, that he actually abandoned his dominions to seek the protection of Louis XI. against this imaginary danger. He was at this time very infirm in body; and Amadeus, his eldest son, who followed the steps of his father in all things, was no less so from his cradle.

* Baldwin, the eighth son of this numerous family of bastards, was lord of Falaise and Somergheim, and had several children by his marriage with a lady of the house of la Cerda.

† The historians of Savoy relate that this act of violence and injustice was committed at the suit of the duke of Savoy his father. He was not released till after the old duke's death, in 1465.

‡ Before called the count of Estampes. His only daughter and heir conveyed the counties of Nevers, &c., into the house of Cleves, by marriage with John duke of Cleves.

numbers of young persons in different parts of Christendom had put on the cross, to march against the Turks, and had taken their road to Rome. But as they went without any order or leader, some ten, some twenty at a time, their intentions failed, and they returned home, although they would have made a respectable figure from their numbers, had they been in one body; but God would not, for this time, permit it.

In this same month of May, another battle* was fought in England, between the army of king Edward, under the command of the earl of Warwick, and that of king Henry, commanded by the duke of Somerset, in the hopes of recovering the kingdom for king Henry, although in breach of his treaty with king Edward, who had pardoned him, and restored his lands and honours; but ill-fortune attended him, for he lost the battle, and his men were either killed or taken: he himself was made prisoner, and brought to Edward, who instantly ordered him to be beheaded.

On the 2d day of June, the count de Charolois came to Lille, grandly attended by the nobles of the country, to wait on the duke his father, who was then displeased with him; but the lord de Saveuses interfered with the duke, so that he spoke to his son, and forgave him. It was said that the count addressed himself to the lord de Croy, and said that when he should behave to him in the manner he ought, he would be a good lord to him. He could not, however, at this moment, regain the pension he was wont to receive from his father. The 20th day of June, Pierre Louvain, one of the king's captains, and under his protection, was murdered by sir Raoul de Flavy, lord of Rubencourt, in revenge for the death of his brother William de Flavy, who had been put to death by his wife, with the knowledge, it was said, of Pierre Louvain: but no harm whatever was done to those that were in company with the said Pierre Louvain at the time of his death.

The wife of William de Flavy, who was of a noble family, caused her husband's throat to be cut by his barber while he was shaving him; but as he did not cut the throat quite through, she seized the same razor, and completed it; which was an extraordinary circumstance, as she had had a fine son by him. In excuse for this her strange conduct, it must be said, that he was harsh and rough in his behaviour to her, and kept women of bad fame in the house, with whom he lay, to the neglect of his wife, who was young and handsome: he had also imprisoned her father, and kept him so long in confinement that he died in prison.

On the 15th of June, in this year, an extraordinary event happened at the Palace at Paris, during the pleading of a cause between the bishop of Angers and a rich burgher of that town. The bishop had accused him of heresy and usury, and maintained that he had said, in the presence of many persons of honour, that he did not believe there was a God, a devil, a paradise, or a hell. It happened, that while the bishop's advocate was repeating the above words, as having been said by the burgher, the hall they were pleading in shook very much, and a large stone fell down in the midst, but without hurting any one. However, all the persons present were exceedingly frightened, and left the hall, as the cause had been deferred to the next day: but when the pleading recommenced, the room shook as before, and one of the beams slipt out of the mortise, and sunk two feet without falling entirely down, which caused so great an alarm lest the whole roof should fall and crush them, that they ran out in such haste that some left behind them their caps, others their hoods and shoes; and there were no more pleadings held in this chamber until it had been completely repaired and strengthened!

CHAPTER CXV.—THE KING OF FRANCE COMES TO HEDIN A SECOND TIME.—WHAT PASSED AT THE MEETING BETWEEN HIM AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE DEATH OF POPE PIUS II.

The king of France came again to Amiens in the month of June in this year, and went thence to St. Pol, where he met the duke of Burgundy. After the count had grandly feasted them, they went together to Hêdin, where the duke entertained them nobly. During their stay

* The battle of Hexham

at Hêdin, an ambassador arrived from king Edward, to whom the duke gave a handsome reception. The common rumour was, that, at this meeting, the king of France required of the duke that he should restore to him the castlewicks of Lille, Douay, and Orchies, in consideration of two hundred thousand livres in cash, and ten thousand livres a-year that he would pay him,—for which sums they had been pledged by a king of France to an earl of Flanders. The duke replied, that when his grandfather duke Philip of Burgundy, son to king John of France, married the lady Margaret, heiress to the earl of Flanders, these castlewicks were given him by the king of France, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs-male for ever; but that, should there be no male heirs, these castlewicks were to be restored to the crown, on payment of the above sums to the earl of Flanders. The king, as was said, made other requests to the duke, who granted none of them, as he thought them unreasonable.

The duke, on his part, made three requests to the king: first, that he would have in his good graces the count de Charolois, having heard that the king was displeased with him. Secondly, that he would desist from constraining such of the nobility as held fiefs under the crown from taking any other but the usual oaths: for some of the nobles had been forced to make oath to serve him against all other men whatever. Thirdly, that he would finish and fulfil all that he had promised and sworn to respecting various articles of the treaty of Arras, at the time he made his payment for the recovery of the towns on the Somme. To all which requests the king evaded giving any positive answer, and the next day departed from Hêdin, for Abbeville and Rouen. Shortly after, namely about the end of July, the king returned to Nouvion, a village near the forest of Cressy, where he staid some time; but though the duke was still at Hêdin, they no longer visited each other,—but the lord de Croy went often to talk with the king, and then returned to Hêdin.

While the duke was at Hêdin, he hanged on a gibbet a gentleman called Jean de l'Esquerre, for many heavy crimes of which he had been guilty, notwithstanding that he was one of the most valiant men in the county of Artois, and that his friends made urgent requests to save him; but all they could obtain was liberty to take his body from the gibbet, and inter it in the church of the Cordeliers at Hêdin.

On the 15th of August, this year, died pope Pius *; and on the day of his decease the lightning struck many places in the neighbourhood of Rome, and did great damage: of this event, people spoke differently. After the death of pope Pius II. pope Paul II.† was elected in his room.

CHAPTER CXVI.—THE BASTARD DE REUBEMPRÉ IS SENT TO HOLLAND TO ATTEMPT TO TAKE THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS.—HE IS ARRESTED HIMSELF.

During the king of France's stay at Hêdin, the bastard de Reubempré was ordered, by I know not whom, to embark on board a vessel of war, called a ballenier‡, at Crotoy, with forty picked men, of good courage, and to sail for Holland, where the count de Charolois then resided. None of the crew knew whither the bastard intended to carry them, nor what orders he was charged with, except that they were told they must follow him wherever he should choose to lead them, and implicitly obey his commands. The bastard, on his arrival at a port in Holland, left his vessel at anchor, and taking with him three or four of his most trusty companions, advanced within a league of the town in which the count de Charolois was. But notwithstanding the great care he took to proceed as secretly as possible, he was nevertheless discovered while drinking at an alehouse, and the count informed thereof, who caused him and his companions to be arrested and put into prison. The companions were soon after set at liberty, and the bastard remained alone in confinement. The count despatched

* This was the celebrated Æneas Sylvius, perhaps the most able as well as the most learned in the catalogue of Roman pontiffs. The object which he had principally at heart was the expulsion of the Turks from Europe by a coalition of the princes of Christendom; and, had he lived, it is not improbable that he might have seen the accomplishment of his wishes, by the gradual operation of his influence over the European governments. He earnestly recommended the prosecution of the enterprise to the cardinals who attended him, even with his latest breath. He died of a fever at Ancona, where he had resided for some months, in order to inspect the equipment of the fleet and armies destined for this important expedition.

† Paul II. Pietro Barbo, a Venetian.

‡ Ballenier,—a corsair—privateer. Du Cange *Gloss.*

officers to seize the vessel and crew; but they had heard of their captain's ill-luck, and had put to sea instantly to return to Crotoy.

It was currently reported at the time, that the king of France had ordered the bastard de Reubempré, by letters written with his own hand, and signed by him, to seize the count de Charolois, and bring him to him dead or alive. This plan was laid while the king was at Hêdin, and while he had a powerful army on the Somme; and had it succeeded, he would have made prisoner good duke Philip, who was far from suspecting anything of the kind, and would have had him led about in his train, like to the duke of Savoy, his brother-in-law, until he should have married the only child of the count de Charolois (a damsel not more than seven or eight years old) to whomsoever he pleased, and should have divided the territories of the duke,—namely, the duchy of Brabant to the count de Nevers, and the rest among his favourites at his pleasure. But God, who knows the hearts of men, would not permit so great ruin to fall on the noble house of Burgundy, which is the fairest, firmest, and strongest pillar of the French crown! May God, of his especial grace, always keep the two noble houses of France and Burgundy in peace and good harmony! Although I have now written down what was the common report of the time, I can never believe the king of France capable of imagining such schemes of wickedness against the illustrious house of Burgundy, considering the great honours and services he had received so lately from the heads of it.

As soon as the bastard de Reubempré was arrested, and had confessed his guilt to the count de St. Pol, then in Holland, he was put under close confinement; and the count de Charolois sent information of what had passed to his father, then at Hêdin, where he had grandly entertained the queen of France, who had come to visit him from Abbeville and Nouvion. At this time, the duke of Bourbon waited on the king at Abbeville, in whose good graces he was not, from a report that he, the duke of Brittany, and the count de Charolois had formed a triple alliance, and had mutually sworn to assist each other with the utmost of their power, should the king make any attempts on their persons or property.

Soon afterward, namely, on the 10th of October, the duke of Burgundy received letters from the king, to say, that he would come and see him at Hêdin on the following day. This same day, while at dinner, he had the information from his son of the imprisonment and confession of the bastard de Reubempré, and also a warning that he was not safe at Hêdin. On hearing this, as soon as he had dined, he instantly mounted his horse, and rode off suddenly from Hêdin to St. Pol, where he lay. His attendants followed him thither, leaving for the defence of the town and castle of Hêdin sir Adolphus of Cleves and the lord de Crequy*. The duke, nevertheless, ordered them, if the king came thither, to throw open the gates of the town and castle to him. But the king no sooner learned that the duke had so suddenly quitted Hêdin than he departed from Abbeville; and the duke of Bourbon came to Lille, to the duke his uncle, passing through Hêdin. From Lille he waited on the count de Charolois at Ghent, and was nobly entertained at Lille and Ghent, by the father and son.

CHAPTER CXVII.—THE KING OF FRANCE SUMMONS DEPUTIES FROM THE TOWNS ON THE SOMME, AND FROM OTHER PLACES, TO COME BEFORE HIM.—HIS HARANGUES TO THEM.—HE APPOINTS THE COUNT DE NEVERS GOVERNOR OF PICARDY,—AND SENDS AN EMBASSY TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AT LILLE.

The king, on his arrival at Rouen, summoned those of Tournay, and of all the towns regained on the Somme, to appear before him; and all of them sent deputies, excepting Cambray. He harangued them, by the mouth of his chancellor, on the reports that were current everywhere, through the territories of Burgundy, and which had vexed him exceedingly, that he had sent the bastard de Reubempré to Holland, to seize the count de Charolois

* John V., lord of Crequy, who died very old in 1474, leaving John VI. his son and successor, who married Frances de Rubempré daughter of the lord of Bievres. His other sons were, James lord of Pontdormi, killed at the battle of Nanci, Francis lord of Doariers, &c.

and bring him to him, for which there was not any foundation. True it was, that the duke of Brittany was not so obedient to him as he ought to have been, and had sent his vice-chancellor to England to form an alliance with his ancient enemies the English, which he should not have done without his permission; and for this reason he had sent the bastard de Reubempré into Holland, to seize the vice-chancellor of Brittany (if it could be done) as he was returning from England through Holland. He added, that a preacher had publicly declared from the pulpit at Bruges, where Christians assemble from all parts of the world, that he had purposely sent the said bastard to lay hands on the said count; a thing he had never once thought of, and it was his intention to punish most severely all who should spread tales so disgraceful to his honour.

The chancellor concluded by telling them, that the king had thus called them together to inform them that he had appointed the count de Nevers his lieutenant and captain-general of all the lately regained countries, as far as the river Loire, to oppose his ancient enemies, should they make any attempts to invade his kingdom, commanding them at the same time to yield obedience to the count de Nevers, as to his own proper person. After this harangue the deputies returned home again.

The count de Charolois, accompanied by four-score or a hundred knights and gentlemen, and fully six hundred horse, arrived at Lille on the 4th of November, which caused great joy throughout that town, and the children sang carols in all the streets. On dismounting, he waited on his father, who received him with much pleasure. The next day came to Lille the count d'Eu, the chancellor of France, and the archbishop of Narbonne, as ambassadors from the king of France, with a noble company of attendants*.

The day following they had an audience of the duke, to whom, in the presence of the count de Charolois, the chancellor displayed their commission from the king, to remonstrate with the duke on three subjects:

First, the king demanded to have the bastard de Reubempré, then a prisoner in Holland, given up to him. Secondly, the king demanded satisfaction for the words that had been uttered to his dishonour, as to the cause of the imprisonment of the said bastard. Thirdly, that the duke of Burgundy should send to the king a gentleman of the household of the count de Charolois, called Olivier de la Marche, by whom the words aforesaid were first published, and also the preacher who had uttered the same from his pulpit at Bruges, for him to inflict on them such punishments as their crimes were deserving of.

The chancellor, by way of excusing the king of France for sending the said bastard to Holland, declared that it was done to arrest the vice-chancellor of Brittany on his return from England; and added, that the count de Charolois had greatly offended the king by imprisoning the said bastard, and thus preventing him from fulfilling his orders. At these words, the count de Charolois fell on his knees before the duke, and besought him to permit him to answer what had been just said, for that it greatly affected his honour; observing, that if it pleased God to keep him in his (the duke's) good favour, there was not a man on earth he feared but him, who was his father and lord, and that he marvelled much why the king was thus pressing him. The chancellor of France then said, that they were not charged by the king to make any reply to the count de Charolois; and the duke told his son to desist from saying more until another time. This command the count obeyed, like a good son, but sore against his will. The chancellor, continuing his harangue, said, that the king had been greatly surprised that the duke so suddenly left Hêdin, as he had said he would not depart thence until he had spoken with the king, nor without his leave,—and he was wont to be punctual to his word.

The duke allowed the chancellor to finish all he had to say, without further interruption, and then replied, article by article: first, then, as to what was said of his son being sus-

* This embassy consisted of the count d'Eu, Charles d'Artois, a prince of the blood, who had been twenty-three years prisoner of war in England, Pierre de Morvillier, chancellor of France, and Anthony du Bec-Crespin, archbishop of Narbonne.

The count de Charolois was only restrained by the presence of his father from using severe language; but when the ambassadors took their leave, he said to the archbishop, who went out the last, "Recommend me most humbly to the good graces of the king, and tell him that he has had me well dressed by his chancellor,—but that, before a year pass, he shall repent of it!"

It was probably from these intemperate speeches of the chancellor that the *war of the public good* had its origin.

picious, he said that if he was suspicious he had it not from him, for he had never in his life been doubtful of man or prince whatever; and if he had that character, he had it from his mother, who was ever jealous lest he should love any other woman but her. With regard to giving up the bastard of Reubempré, he would not do it, as he was arrested in Holland, of which he, the duke, was sovereign by sea and land, without acknowledging other lord but God, and in or on that country the king had not the smallest right or claim. The bastard had been imprisoned there for crimes which would be judged in that country, and punished according to its laws. He had been always esteemed of a wicked and loose character, and guilty of murder and other crimes.

Respecting Olivier de la Marche, whom the king would have sent to him, for having first uttered the words the king complains of, and the preacher who published them from the pulpit at Bruges,—the duke replied, that the preacher was a churchman whom he would not touch, as it was unbecoming him so to do; and that there be preachers who are neither wise nor prudent, and who go from place to place, so that no one knows where to find them; "but for my part," he continued, "I do not believe that any preacher has preached such language. As to Olivier de la Marche, he is of the household of my son; and I do not think that he has done anything but what he ought to have done or said: should it be otherwise, I shall make proper inquiries, and punish him according to his deserts. With regard to not keeping my word, I will that all the world know that I have never promised anything by my mouth to any one alive, but what I have kept to the very utmost of my power." This he said rather in a passion; and then, smiling, he said, "I never failed in my promises but to the ladies, and wish that you may know it; and tell my lord your king, that when I last took leave of him, I indeed said, that if affairs, or any other matters, did not require my presence elsewhere, I should not quit Hêdin until I saw him again if he wished it; this, and nothing else, did I promise him. Now at the moment of my setting out, news was brought me of the arrest of the bastard de Reubempré, and of other affairs, that made my departure necessary; but I made no very great haste,—for I only travelled four leagues a-day until I came to Lille."

The chancellor of France then said, that considering the great respect and affection he had always borne to the crown of France, and the marked attention the king had shown by selecting for this embassy his relative, the count d'Eu, and himself, who was chancellor of France, he hoped the bastard of Reubempré would be given up, and begged of the duke to weigh this in his mind. The duke instantly replied, that, in truth, he had ever exerted himself to pay the king every honour and love; "but of all the things I have asked," added he, "he has not only never granted one, but he has failed to keep the promises he made me. Of the lands which he has regained, he promised me the enjoyment during my life; but no sooner were the payments made than he forgot what he had promised, and deprived me of the enjoyment of them, for which I am not the better."

At these words, master Pierre de Goux, knight and doctor of laws, advanced, and said aloud to the ambassadors, that all might hear him, "My lords, the duke, my lord, does not hold all his territories from the king of France: he holds from him, indeed, the duchy of Burgundy, the counties of Flanders and of Artois; but he has many fine dominions out of the kingdom of France,—such as the duchies of Brabant, of Luxembourg, of Limbourg, of Austria, together with the counties of Burgundy, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Namur, and other countries, which he holds from God alone, although he be not a king." The duke interrupted him, and said, "I will that all who hear may know, that if I had wished it, I might have been a king!" without declaring how, or by what means, and then simply added, that before three days were passed, he would give a more ample answer to the ambassadors. They then departed to their lodgings; but on this day, the duke wrote a letter to the king, and sent it by a pursuivant, who delivered it in person, and brought the duke an answer from the king. The pursuivant was not more than ten days in going and returning,—but what the contents of these letters were I am ignorant.

CHAPTER CXVIII.—THE ANSWER OF THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS TO THE AMBASSADORS FROM FRANCE.—THE KING OF FRANCE ORDERS CREVECŒUR, NEAR CAMBRAY, TO BE TAKEN POSSESSION OF.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS AN EMBASSY TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

On the 8th day of November, the French ambassadors were summoned to come into the presence of the duke of Burgundy,—when the count de Charolois, before a great company, coolly replied to the different charges that had been made against him, article by article, without showing the smallest sign of passion or trouble, to the great astonishment of all who heard him,—more particularly to the surprise of the duke, who, on the assembly's breaking up, said to some of his confidential attendants, that he did not imagine his son was so able and so prudent. The ambassadors returned to France, without having obtained any of the articles they had demanded. They passed through Tournay, Arras, and Amiens,—and in these and all the other towns on their road, they assembled the magistracy, and told them, that the king was much angered at the rumours which had been spread abroad of his intending to seize the count de Charolois, which they affirmed the king had never even thought of, and would have disdained to do it, and that he had assured them of this from his own mouth. If, therefore, those who had industriously circulated such reports should continue their calumnies, the ambassadors ordered the magistrates to lay hands on them, that they might be punished according to the pleasure of the king.

The lords de Torcy * and de Moy came, on the 15th November, to Crevecœur, near Cambray, and took possession of the town and castle, by virtue of letters-patent which they produced from king Louis, although, a short time before, he had given it and its dependencies to Sir Anthony of Burgundy, as an inheritance for himself and his heirs. The captain of the castle made some show of resistance, and collected from sixteen to twenty soldiers; but he was so talked to by one and the other, that he agreed to surrender it. He was, however, carried away a prisoner to the king, and, for some time, was in danger of his life, but at length he was sent back safe.

About the festival of Christmas, the duke of Burgundy sent a notable embassy to the king of France, consisting of the bishop of Tournay, the lord de Crequy, and other nobles, who waited on the king at Tours in Touraine, where he had assembled the princes and great lords of his realm: the principal of them were the king of Sicily duke of Anjou, the duke of Orleans, the counts de Nevers and de St. Pol, with numbers of others. When they were all met in the king's presence, the king addressed them himself, and said, that he had not assembled them to hurt or distress the duke of Burgundy, which many persons had affected to believe; for he was under greater obligations to the duke than he could express, and so far from doing him any harm, he wished him all happiness and honour. He had called them to his presence to consider of the conduct of the duke of Brittany, who had told, or written, to the count de Charolois, to the duke of Orleans, to the duke of Bourbon, to the king of Sicily, and to other princes of his realm, that the reason why he, the king, remained so much in Picardy, was to conclude a peace with his ancient enemies the English; and to obtain this he had promised to give them the duchies of Normandy and Guienne, that by their assistance he might conquer and destroy the country of Burgundy, of Brittany, of the Bourbonnois, of the Orleannois, and the other territories of the princes of his blood and of his kingdom.

The king affirmed on his oath, that he never thought of such things, and that if he had he was unworthy to wear a crown, or to be a king. The reason of his remaining in Picardy was because the duke of Burgundy had an intention to undertake an expedition against the Turk; and on that account he had indeed attempted to conclude a peace with England, that the duke's territories, during his absence, might continue in peace. The king then demanded of the princes present, if they believed what the duke of Brittany had written to them; when they unanimously replied, they did not. He then demanded, that they would all

* John d'Estouteville, master of the cross-bows, captain of Rouen, and knight of St. Michel.

assist him with their services against the duke of Brittany, who had so grossly injured him; and they assured him they would do so to the utmost of their power.

On the 3d of January, in this year 1464, died Charles duke of Orleans, about seventy years old, who left a son about three years of age, and a daughter of seven or eight years old. He it was who commenced the civil war in France against John duke of Burgundy, in revenge for the murder of his father, which lasted upward of thirty years, to such great loss and destruction of the kingdom that it would be pitiless to relate it, as it may be seen in the Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet.* This duke of Orleans was made prisoner at the battle of Agincourt, and carried to England, where he remained twenty-five years; and it is supposed that he would never have obtained his liberty, if duke Philip of Burgundy had not ransomed him; he also gave him in marriage his niece, a daughter to the duke of Cleves, by whom he had the two children above mentioned. On his return to France, he led an exemplary and devout life; and on every Friday throughout the year, he gave thirteen poor persons their dinner, in honour of God; he served them in person at table, before he ate anything himself, and then washed their feet, in imitation of our Saviour, who washed the feet of his disciples on the day of the Passover.

CHAPTER CXIX.—THE MARRIAGE OF KING EDWARD OF ENGLAND, AND THE ALLIANCE HE WISHES TO FORM WITH FRANCE.—THE BASTARDS OF BURGUNDY RETURN FROM THEIR EXPEDITION.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY DANGEROUSLY ILL.—THE FAMILY OF CROY ARE DISMISSED FROM THEIR PLACES.

In this year, between Christmas and Easter, Edward king of England, surnamed Long Shanks, one of the handsomest knights of his kingdom, took to wife the daughter of lord Rivers, an English knight of middling rank, who, in his youth, had been sent to France to serve the duchess of Bedford. The duke of Bedford was then regent of France for his nephew king Henry VI. an infant; and his duchess was his second wife, and sister to the count Louis de St. Pol, an exceedingly handsome lady. After the death of the duke, his widow, following her own inclinations, which were contrary to the wishes of her family, particularly to those of her uncle, the cardinal of Rouen, married the said lord Rivers, reputed the handsomest man that could be seen, who shortly after carried her to England, and never after could return to France for fear of the relatives of this lady. She had several children by lord Rivers, and among them was a daughter of prodigious beauty, who, by her charms, so captivated king Edward that he married her, to the great discontent of several of the higher nobility, who would, if possible, have prevented the marriage from taking place. But, to satisfy them that the lady's birth was not inferior to theirs, king Edward sent letters to the count de Charolois, to entreat that he would send him some lord of the family of the lady to be present at her wedding. The count sent him sir James de St. Pol, her uncle, grandly accompanied by knights and gentlemen, to the number of more than one hundred horse, who, on their arrival at London, put an end to the murmurings on this marriage, and gave great satisfaction to the king. After the feasts, when they were about to return home, the king presented sir James de St. Pol with three hundred nobles; and to each knight and gentleman of his company he gave fifty nobles, besides most handsome entertainment.

It was commonly said at the time, that the count de Charolois had sent so handsome a company of nobles to England to please king Edward, and gain him over to his interests, knowing that the king of France was anxious to form an alliance with Edward to his prejudice, and that the lord de Launoy had been sent by Louis to negotiate a treaty with England. King Edward, however, would not listen to it, and even sent the letters which the lord de Launoy had brought from the king of France to the duke of Burgundy, for his perusal, and likewise wrote to him everything the lord de Launoy had told him from Louis,

* "Il semble par là que Monstrelet nie son auteur de la plûpart de ce qui est contenue au 3me volume."—*MS. note in M. du Cange's copy.*—See the note at the end of the second book.

which greatly astonished the duke, who from that time became suspicious of the king of France's designs, and of those by whom he was surrounded. It was also said that king Edward had charged sir James de St. Pol to tell the count de Charolois, that if he wanted men-at-arms, he would send him as many as he pleased.

In this year, the frost was so severe that wine was not only frozen in the cellars but at table: even some wells were frozen, and this weather lasted from the 10th of December to the 15th of February. The frost was so sharp for seven or eight days that many persons died in the fields; and the old people said that there had not be so very severe a winter since the year 1407. Much snow also fell; and the rivers Seine and Oise were frozen so that waggons passed over them.

Toward the end of February, sir Anthony and sir Baldwin, bastards of Burgundy, returned from their intended expedition to Turkey. Though there were more than two thousand combatants embarked at Sluys, from four to five hundred died at sea of an epidemical distemper that raged in the fleet. They left their fleet and arms at Marseilles, and travelled through Avignon to Burgundy, and thence to Brussels. At this time, also, the bishop of Tournay and the other ambassadors returned from their embassy to France. It was then said, that had they not gone thither, the king was determined to invade the territories of the duke of Burgundy, thinking to have the support of the count de St. Pol and the duke of Brittany, but in which he failed.

The duke of Burgundy was now attacked by so severe an illness that every one despaired of his life. The count de Charolois was then at Brussels, but without hope of his father's recovery; and knowing that the lord de Croy and his friends had in their hands the government of the country, and of all its strongest places, and that the lord de Croy had been absent fifteen days with the king of France, he suddenly sent his most confidential friends to Luxembourg, Namur, the Boulonois, Beaumont, Hainault, and other parts, to take instant possession of them, and appoint other governors on whom he could depend. As the physicians gave no hope of the duke's amendment, his son sent orders to all the abbeys and monasteries dependent on him, to offer up their most devout prayers for his restoration to health; and he was so much beloved by his people that their prayers were heard, and he recovered his health. On his recovery, he made his son governor of all his dominions, who instantly dismissed the lord de Quievrain, the duke's second chamberlain, the lord d'Auxi being the first, and appointed the lord d'Aymeries in his room, which displeased the duke so much that he immediately revoked the appointment he had given to his son.

The count de Charolois, upon this, called together the great lords of the court, namely, the count de St. Pol, sir Anthony his bastard brother, and the majority of the duke's council, and said to them, "I will not hide my mind from you, but wish to tell you now what I had intended doing before, that you and all my other friends may know that I consider the lord de Croy, his friends and allies, as my mortal enemies." He then declared his reasons for this opinion, and had the same published throughout all the towns under his father's subjection, by letters, the contents of which shall be hereafter related. The count, having thus explained himself to his friends, instantly sent three or four knights of his household to the lord de Quievrain, who was first chamberlain in the absence of his uncle, the lord de Croy, ordering him to quit the service of the duke his father as quietly as he could, that his father might not hear of it, nor be troubled thereat. The lord de Quievrain, perplexed at such orders, unwilling to quit so good a situation, and fearing to offend the count de Charolois, followed his own counsel, and went on the morrow morning to the duke, and, throwing himself on his knees, thanked him for all his bounties for the trifling services he had done, and requested his permission to depart, for that the count his son had ordered him to leave the court, and he was afraid he would not be contented until he was put to death.

The duke, hearing these words, was in a mighty passion, and forbade him to quit his service: then, snatching up a club, he sallied out of his apartment in the greatest rage, saying to his attendants, that he would go and see whether his son would put to death any of his servants. Some of them, however, dreading the consequences of his passion, had the doors closed, and the porter hidden with the keys, so that the duke could not go out, but was

forced to wait until the porter was found. At this moment, his sister, the duchess of Bourbon, accompanied by sir Anthony of Burgundy, and many ladies and damsels, came to him, and remonstrated with him so prudently, that they moderated his anger, and he returned to his apartments. In the mean time, the lord de Quievrain left his house, with only one attendant, as secretly as he could.

The count de Charolois, hearing of his father's anger against him, held daily councils with the duke's chief ministers, to seek the means of appeasing it; and it was concluded, that the count should write letters to all the great towns under the duke's dominion, stating to them his grievances, and the reasons he had for dismissing the lord de Croy and his friends from all the places they had holden under the duke. Similar letters were likewise despatched to the principal nobles, and they were ordered to be publicly read, that everyone might know the true state of the matter.

CHAPTER CXX.—A COPY OF THE LETTERS WHICH THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS SENT TO THE NOBLES AND PRINCIPAL TOWNS UNDER THE DOMINION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, TO EXPLAIN THE REASONS WHY HE HAD DISMISSED THE LORD DE CROY AND HIS FRIENDS FROM HIS FATHER'S SERVICE.

"Very dear and well beloved, you know, thanks to God, how long and grandly our lord and father, by the noble virtues inherent in his nature, has exalted the house of Burgundy, of which he is the head, in a much higher degree than it ever was in the memory of man. And although from his great age he has of late been afflicted with illness, to the weakening of his faculties, he has, nevertheless, always endeavoured to preserve his possessions untouched,—to maintain his subjects in peace,—and to rule them with equity and justice; and we have seen nothing to counteract such happy effects but the fraud and damnable deceptions of the lord de Croy and his friends, who, through an inordinate ambition and insatiable avarice, have attempted to gain to themselves the whole government and the possession of all the strong places so long as our said lord and father should live, and, like ungrateful people, after his decease, to ruin and destroy the country, from hatred to us; for ever since we have arrived at years of discretion, they have laboured, to the utmost of their power, by false and wicked reports, that we might incur the anger of our said lord and father, as you and the three estates have been before duly informed, knowing that by such means alone they could succeed in their attempts. They have, likewise, sought other means of destroying us, had it been in their power, for while my lord the king, when dauphin, was in this country, they endeavoured to lay hands on us, and make us their prisoner. This we have been told by the king's own mouth since his coronation, from his love to us; for which singular affection we hold ourself, and ever shall hold ourself, under the greatest obligations to him.

"Since his majesty's coronation, they have been so much vexed at the favour the king showed us, that they have never ceased to intrigue until they had found means to deprive us of his majesty's good graces, and to keep us at a distance from him. By their machinations, the French ambassadors lately, in the presence of our lord and father, made heavy and public accusations against us in the town of Lille, as you may have heard; and the said de Croys have offered their services to the king after the decease of our lord and father, in case he should intend making war on us, which I cannot believe his majesty will do,—for we have not done anything, nor, please God, will we do anything, that may induce him to it.

"They have boasted that they would make war on us from the strong places of Boulogne, Namur, Luxembourg, and others in their hands, and that they would deliver them up to the power of others than the said duke our father or ourself. These de Croys have, beside, by wicked reports to our great prejudice, incited the king to repurchase the towns and country our said lord had in pledge; and because our said lord made some difficulty in acceding to this plan, because the king required an acquittance for a very large sum, which ought to have been paid at the time of this repurchase, the lord de Croy told him, and caused him to be told, as from the king, that, notwithstanding the repurchase of these said lands, he should

remain in the enjoyment of them during his life, which the lord de Croy knew at the same time to be void of foundation, and notoriously contrary to truth.

"The lord de Croy, still further to do mischief to the territories of our said lord and father, has, by himself and friends, strongly aided and supported the pretensions of the count de Nevers, our cousin, against us; and in consequence, the said count has boasted that the king had promised to assist him with four hundred lances, in conjunction with the men of Liege, to invade Brabant after the decease of our said lord and father, and to deprive us of our rights therein. To be enabled to do greater harm to us, by giving the count de Nevers further powers, the lord de Croy had made an exchange of the government of the regained country and towns, which had been given him by the king as a reward for his services in that business with our said cousin of Nevers, for a barony in the Rethelois, called Rosay; and it is said that they and their friends had mutually promised, on oath, to assist each other against whoever intended to injure them. Notwithstanding that, very lately, some persons attached to the service of our said lord and father, anxious to make up all the differences between us and the lord de Croy, had waited on us to this purpose, whom we, from our reverence to God our Creator and Author of all peace, and respect to our said lord and father, condescended to grant their desires, without remembering the many injuries and persecutions we had suffered from the said lord de Croy and his friends, and gave them a paper, signed by our own hand, containing in substance, that when the lord de Croy should do us any services, we would hold them for agreeable, and not be ungrateful to him for them,—and that, if, in the performance of such services, he should incur any loss or inconvenience, we would support him against all, in so far as we should be bounden in reason and justice to do,—the lord de Croy, however, paid not any attention to this said paper, but has acted in regard to us from badly to worse; and when it has been remonstrated to him, that he ought to act differently from what he has done towards us, and that the places he holds under our said lord and father were not his inheritance, he has boldly replied, that they were given to him by my said lord and father, not only for his life, but for the life of his children after him; and it was his intention that they should enjoy them after his decease, even the governments of Namur, Boulogne, and Luxembourg. In fact, he had done all in his power to obtain from our said lord and father a gift of these places, and would have succeeded, had not some of our said father's more faithful counsellors remonstrated with him on the impropriety of such a gift.

"The said lord de Croy, further to trouble the dominions of our said lord and father, has lately attempted to introduce into the castle of Namur a large body of men-at-arms, under the pretence of defending the place against the men of Liege; but, thanks to God, he failed, —for the good people of Namur, knowing his real intentions, would not suffer it to be done. On finding such opposition to his designs, he went thence to Beaumont in Hainault, where he attempted the same; but the inhabitants behaved in the same loyal manner, and would not permit it to take place. On the other hand, he had, a little time before, instigated duke Louis of Bavaria, the count de Valence his son-in-law, and other dependants of the said duke, to appear before the town of Luxembourg with a great army, with a view of becoming masters of that town and castle, and would have succeeded had not proper precautions been taken before their arrival.

"In short, the lord de Croy and his family, forgetful of, and ungrateful for, all the extraordinary honours and wealth they have received from our said lord and father, their lord and sovereign, have done everything in their power, and still continue their intrigues, to ruin and destroy his country, by causing it and its peaceful and loyal inhabitants to be involved in the calamities of war.

"Having considered all these wicked machinations, and having a sincere love for the loyal people of our said lord, we have provided the surest remedy against the future attempts of the lord de Croy and his family, by taking possession of the towns and castles of Namur, Luxembourg, and Boulogne, which we have intrusted to the guard of valiant and faithful captains, in the name of our said lord, and solely to preserve the poorer ranks from the miseries of war, and for no other purpose whatever. We have, for some days past, supplicated, with the utmost humility, an audience of our said lord and father, that we might

declare the aforesaid matters to him, and assure him of our upright intentions in what we have done; but as we have not hitherto been able to obtain an audience, we have assembled before us those of his blood, the knights, esquires, and members of his council, of his household, and of our own, that are at present in this town, to whom we have most fully detailed the matters above-mentioned, and our determination to provide, with the aid of God, such remedies as the various cases may require, so that our said lord may enjoy in peace the whole of his dominions, and that they may descend to us unimpaired after his decease. For the preservation of which we are willing to expose our life and fortune, and remain his most loyal and obedient subject, without taking any greater part in the government of his country than he shall be willing to allow us.

"We declared also to this assembly, that to enable us the better to serve our said lord and father as an obedient son should, it was our intention to remain at his palace, and near to his person, without permitting the lord de Croy or any of his family, whom we hold and repute our enemies, to have any longer the government of his household or country, which they have formerly enjoyed: that in regard to the other loyal officers, counsellors, and subjects of our said lord, we consider them as our true and trusty friends, and cherish them as such; and we hope that as they have for some time past displayed their loyal services, they will continue so to do, both in regard to our said lord and father, and to the welfare of his dominions,—and on our part, we intend steadily, and with all our heart, to obey and execute whatsoever our said lord and father shall, after due consideration and counsel, command us, for the good of his country, without, in future, showing any favours to the lord de Croy or to his family, whom, as I have before said, we repute our mortal enemies; and we further requested the said assembly to assist us in the preservation and defence of the dominions of our said lord from the smallest depredation or infringement; which request the whole assembly liberally and unanimously complied with and granted. Since these things took place, the lord de Quievrain, nephew to the lord de Croy, has quitted this town, which has much displeased our said lord and father, and greatly angered him against us; but by the good pleasure of God, and the prudent remonstrances of his good and loyal counsellors, we hope that his anger will soon be appeased.

"Of all these matters, very dear and well beloved, we inform you by these presents, as our true and loyal friends, to whom we wish to lay open the secrets of our heart; and that you may be truly informed how things have happened, most earnestly requesting of you that you do not afford any assistance to, or receive, the said lord de Croy, his family, or friends, but treat them as the enemies of our said lord and father and of ourself. We beg that you will not give ear to reports or letters that may be made or delivered contrary to the above statement, for we are most desirous of serving, honouring, and obeying, with our whole heart, our said lord and father, in every possible way, as we are bounden to do, and as we have hitherto done,—nor shall he ever have, if it so please God, any cause of reasonable complaint against us. Therefore, without the smallest attempt against his person, or to encroach on his government, we shall employ our whole life, honour, and fortune, for his safety, security, and prosperity, and for the welfare of his country and subjects, against all who shall, at any time, presume to molest, or any way aggrieve, him or them. We therefore entreat and request you most cordially to join in aiding and supporting us in these measures, should there be occasion, for we have the fullest confidence in you. Very dear and well beloved, may the Holy Spirit have you in his good keeping.

"Written at Brussels the 22d day of March, in the year 1464," and signed "CHAROLOIS."

The superscription on these letters was, "By order of the count de Charolois, lord of Château Belin and of Bethune."

CHAPTER CXXI.—THE DUKE OF BERRY, ONLY BROTHER TO THE KING OF FRANCE, WITHDRAWS HIMSELF FROM THE COURT OF FRANCE, AND TAKES REFUGE WITH THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.—THE COUNT DE DAMMARTIN ESCAPES FROM PRISON.—LETTERS FROM THE DUKE OF BERRY TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

In the beginning of March, in the year 1464, Charles duke of Berry, only brother to the king, and about twenty-eight years old, whom the king kept near his person in a simpler estate than he wished, and much inferior to what he had enjoyed during the life of their father, pretended one day to go to hunt, while his brother was absent on a pilgrimage near Poitiers: instead of which, the duke rose very early in the morning, and, attended by only nine or ten persons, set out with all possible speed to seek an asylum with the duke of Brittany. They broke down all the bridges they crossed, that, if they should be pursued, they might not be overtaken. It was said at the time, that the two dukes of Berry and Brittany had formed an alliance with the dukes of Bourbon and Calabria, the count de Charolois, and other princes of France, against the king, should he attempt to molest any of them,—for the king was obstinately bent upon executing his own designs, which appeared to many strange and unreasonable.

The king was extremely mortified to find that his brother had so suddenly departed, and sent in haste to all the principal towns and castles, to put them on their guard, and commanding them to keep a good look-out. In addition to this, he took off certain tolls and taxes which the regained towns on the Somme were accustomed to pay, the more effectually to obtain their loves and services.

In this week, which was the first of March, the count de Dammartin, whom the king detained prisoner in the Bastile at Paris, found means to make a hole in the wall of one of the towers, through which he escaped to a boat that was waiting for him in the moat, and rowed to the opposite bank, where were horses ready, and, having instantly mounted, made all possible haste to escape into Brittany. In this same week, the lord de Roubais, by orders from the count de Charolois, went with a body of men-at-arms to seize the town and castle of Launoy, thinking to take the lord thereof at the same time. The lord de Launoy was then governor of Lille, bailiff of Amiens, and nephew to the lord de Croy; but they neither found him, nor his wife or children,—for having had information of what was intended, he had quitted the place with his family and most valuable effects, and saved himself in the city of Tournay, two leagues distant from his house. At the same time, the abbot of Havons was arrested, by orders from the count de Charolois, together with one called Pierrechon, the servant and master of the wardrobe to the lord de Croy, and one in whom he had the greatest confidence: they were detained prisoners a long time.

Soon afterward, the count de Charolois made a present of the town and castle of Launoy to James de St. Pol, brother to the count de St. Pol: in which castle were provisions for the garrison, consisting of six-score salted bacons, great abundance of flour, corn and oats, and also a new mill for the grinding of them.

In the month of March, the duke of Berry sent a letter from Nantes to the duke of Burgundy, dated the 15th of that month, of the following tenour:—"Very dear and most beloved uncle, I commend myself to you by all possible means; and may it please you to know that, for some time past, I have, with sorrow, heard the clamours of the greater part of the princes of our blood, and of the nobles of the kingdom, on the wretched state of the government of France, owing to the advice and counsels of those wicked persons by whom my lord and sovereign is surrounded, who, for their own profit, and disorderly ambition, have not only caused a hatred and coolness between my lord and you and me, but also have estranged him from the friendship of the kings of Scotland and Castille, whose alliance with the crown of France has been of so long a date, as is well known to every one.

"I shall not here mention how the affairs of the church, and of justice, have been administered, nor how the nobles have been maintained in their rights and usages, or the poorer ranks guarded from oppression, as I know that you are well informed as to such matters, and as they are so very disagreeable for me to dwell upon, from the nearness of my

connexion with my said lord. Wishing, however, to profit from your counsel, and that of those other princes and nobles who have offered me their fullest support in providing a remedy for such crying abuses, and also to escape from personal danger, for I had daily heard such conversations between my lord and his ministers as gave me cause of suspicion, I departed from my lord's court, and have taken refuge with my fair cousin of Brittany, who has given me a reception for which I never can enough praise him, and has promised to support me personally, and with all his powers, for the welfare of the kingdom, and the public good.

"It is, therefore, very dear and beloved uncle, my intention to act with you and the other lords my relatives, whose counsels I shall follow, and none others, for the restoring of this desolated kingdom; for I know you are one of the greatest of its princes,—and in its welfare you are more concerned, as the dean of the peerage, and a prince of such high renown, and who has been so highly displeased with the present disorders in the government. I wish, therefore, that you and my other relatives would assemble to consult on the surest means of bringing about a reformation of the abuses and grievances that exist in every branch of the government, to the relief of the poor people, who are unable longer to bear their burdens, and of restoring order in the better administration of justice and the finances, to the great happiness of the realm, and to the eternal honour of those who shall, with God's pleasure, so usefully employ themselves.

"I, therefore, very dear and beloved uncle, entreat, that, for so good a purpose, you would give me your support and assistance, and employ also my fair brother Charolois, your son, in my aid, as I have been always confident in your friendship,—and that we may speedily meet is my most earnest wish. It is my meaning shortly to enter France, and take the field accompanied by the other princes and nobles who have promised me their assistance: I shall, therefore, beg that you would, as speedily as may be, raise as large a force as possible to enter France on your side; and should you be unable personally to accompany it, I shall hope that you will send it under the command of the count de Charolois. At the same time, you will depute to me some of your most confidential counsellors, with whom I may advise, in conjunction with the other princes, as to what may be done for the public welfare, and by whom you may have information of my good and just intentions: for I am determined to regulate my conduct after the advice of yourself and the other princes and lords. Whatever the count de Charolois shall recommend, in your absence, for the general good, you may be assured that I will support him in, and maintain to my latest breath.

"Very dear and beloved, let me know at all times whatever you may wish to have done, and it shall be accomplished with my whole heart.—I pray God that he may grant you a long life, and accomplish all your desires.

"Written at Nantes, the 15th day of March." Signed, "Your nephew, Charles." The address was, "To my uncle the Duke of Burgundy."

About this time, James de St. Pol returned from England, whither he had been sent by the count de Charolois, as well to do honour to king Edward's marriage, as to negotiate for his assistance against the king of France, should there be occasion,—or at least to prevent him from being engaged against him: for the king of France had before sent the lord de Launoy to conclude a treaty with king Edward, to the prejudice of the count de Charolois. The king of England, however, would not listen to it, and had even transmitted to the duke of Burgundy the king of France's proposals, which greatly astonished the duke, as well in regard to their contents as that the lord de Launoy had been the bearer of them.

On the 8th day of April, in this year, was a conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, whence the learned foretold that great miseries would befal the world.

CHAPTER CXXII.—A CORRESPONDENCE TAKES PLACE BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE DUKE OF BOURBON.—THE KING PUBLISHES OTHER LETTERS THROUGHOUT HIS REALM,—AND THE COUNT DE NEVERS ISSUES PROCLAMATIONS IN ALL THE TOWNS WITHIN HIS LIEUTENANCY FOR THE KING OF FRANCE.

In the month of March of this year, the king of France sent letters, signed with his hand, to the duke of Bourbon, containing in substance, that his brother, the duke of Berry, had left him, and gone to Brittany without his consent or knowledge. He then added, that, all excuses being laid aside, he commanded him to come to his presence instantly after his letter had been read, and to put faith in whatever Josselin du Boys should tell him now on his part, and to collect immediately one hundred lances, ready to march at a moment's notice.

The duke of Bourbon, having read this letter, and heard what Josselin du Boys had to say, wrote an answer to the king, in which he repeated what the king had written to him, and thanked him for the great confidence he had placed in him. He then adverted to the grievances and unjust acts the princes of his blood had witnessed throughout the realm, concerning which the king had received many complaints and remonstrances, as they were nearly affected by them, but without obtaining any redress, by reason of the obstructions of those who surrounded his majesty. The princes, therefore, seeing that their complaints and remonstrances were not attended to, and that no remedy was thought of for the redress of grievances, had formed a strict alliance by oaths and written agreements, mutually exchanged with each other, to provide such a remedy for these grievances as had not taken place since his majesty's coming to the throne, so that it should redound to the honour of the crown, the utility of the public welfare, and to the eternal glory of them who undertook such wholesome measures. The duke added that, after what he had said, it was unnecessary for him to wait on him, as he was engaged, with the other princes of the blood, in promoting the redress of the grievances they had so repeatedly complained of, since he had neglected to do it himself,—begging to be held excused for not coming to him, and expressly declaring that he was of the union with the princes, for the welfare of his majesty and of his kingdom. He besought him, for the honour of God, that he would himself redress these grievances, to avoid the great evils that might otherwise ensue to his kingdom. He concluded by saying that this union had not been formed against his person, or against the good of the realm, but solely to restore the government to order, for his honour, the welfare of the kingdom, and for the relief of the poor people, which are objects of great praise, and which require immediate attention. This letter was dated Moulins, the 14th day of March.

When the king had received and read this letter, which fully explained the intentions of the confederated princes, he caused letters to be published throughout his realm, containing, in substance, that some persons, excited by wicked hopes and damnable purposes, and not having any regard to the honour of God, or the feelings of a loyal conscience, had formed a conspiracy against him and against the welfare of his realm, being desirous of interrupting the present peace and harmony. For this end they had incited and suborned his brother, the duke of Berry, who was but young in years, and not aware of their evil designs, to separate himself from his care and government; and, the better to succeed, they have most industriously spread abroad reports that he intended to lay hands on, and imprison, his said brother, even the thought of which had never entered his mind. They have formed an alliance under pretext of the public welfare, although they are endeavouring, by every sort of perjury and seduction, to throw the whole kingdom into confusion and trouble, and are to afford an opportunity for our ancient enemies the English to invade our realm, and recommence, by a ruinous warfare, mischiefs similar to those which we have so lately seen put an end to.

These rebels to the king and his crown suspecting that, from their outrageous acts, the king would never pardon them, although they have not required it, prepare for war to maintain their damnable projects by force of arms. The king, nevertheless, assures, by these presents, that all princes, prelates, nobles, or others forming part of this said confederation,

who shall quit the same, and return to the king within one month or six weeks from the date hereof, shall be most kindly received, and fully pardoned for all their offences; and their effects shall be restored to such as may, for the above cause, have had them confiscated. The king orders, by these presents, all his governors, judges, officers, and others, to cause this his gracious intention of pardon to be publicly proclaimed within their jurisdictions, and to receive all to favour who shall return and demand it within the aforesaid specified period of one month or six weeks from the date hereof. This letter was given at Thouars, under the great seal of the king, the 16th day of March in the year 1464.

On this same day, the count de Nevers, lieutenant for the king of all the country between the Somme and the Oise, issued a proclamation throughout those parts, containing the same in substance as the letter of the king, ordering them to keep up a good guard, as otherwise they would answer for it at their peril. He also assembled the vassals of the crown, and put them in a situation to serve the king, under arms, when called upon: he likewise caused proclamation to be made, that all persons who had usually borne arms should keep themselves in readiness for the king's service, when ordered, under the accustomed penalties. These proclamations were dated at Mezieres on the Meuse, the 16th day of March, in the year aforesaid.

The count de Charolois also wrote letters to the governor, mayor, and sheriffs of Arras, to say, that he had heard the lord de Croy and his friends were collecting a considerable force, and intended marching it away from the territories of the duke his father, and that they were united with his cousin, the count de Nevers, in their plans to invade and lay waste the said country: to both of which schemes he was determined to apply a remedy, and for this purpose now ordered them to have it publicly proclaimed within their districts, that no persons whatever should join or assist the said lord de Croy, or his said cousin of Nevers, without the express permission of himself, or of the said duke his father, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects. These letters were dated the 25th of March, in the above-mentioned year.

CHAPTER CXXIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY PARDONS HIS SON.—HE ORDERS A LARGE BODY OF MEN TO BE RAISED FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF THE DUKE OF BERRY AGAINST HIS BROTHER THE KING OF FRANCE.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED AT THAT TIME.

[A. D. 1465.]

On Good Friday, a learned friar preached an excellent sermon before the duke of Burgundy and his household, at Brussels, on the blessings of mercy and pity, in order to induce the duke to pardon his son, the count de Charolois, for having offended him, which hitherto he had not been inclined to do. When the sermon was ended, several knights of the Golden Fleece approached the duke, and humbly entreated him, that, in consequence of the able discourse and reasoning of the preacher, he would pardon his son for having offended him; so that on the morrow, Easter-eve, the count de Charolois came to his father about noon, and, falling on his knee, said in substance as follows: "My most redoubted lord and father, I beseech you, in honour of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you would be pleased to forgive my having displeased you. What I did was for the preservation of my life, and of your dominions, as I will more fully detail hereafter." Much more he said, to the edification and satisfaction of all who heard him.

The duke took hold of him by the elbow, and, looking him full in the face, said, "Charles, my son, for all that you may have done to displease me to this day, I freely forgive you: be my good son, and I will be to you a good father." In saying these words, the duke's eyes filled with tears; and those of the company present were in a like situation, notwithstanding that there were there hardy knights, lords, and others out of number.

When the feasts of Easter were over, which commenced the year 1465, the duke ordered the three estates of his country to assemble at Brussels the 24th of April; and when they were met, he bade the bishop of Tournay read to them the letter he had received from the duke of Berry. He then told them, that it was his intention to raise the largest army

he had ever done, to assist the duke of Berry, and that he should give the command of it to the count de Charolois, his son, who would require that it should be in readiness to march on the 8th day of May. This could not be done without a great expense; and for this purpose he demanded from the county of Artois eighteen thousand francs, and from his other territories sums in proportion to their abilities. The 12th day of May was fixed on for the payments, when the county of Artois granted the eighteen thousand francs, and the other countries each according to its extent and wealth.

Count Charolois taking leave of his father, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. Composed from contemporary authorities.

During this time, the count Louis de St. Pol, his three sons, James de St. Pol his brother, the lord de Ravenstein, nephew to the duke of Burgundy, the two bastards of Burgundy, sir Anthony de Baudoin *, and almost all the knights and nobles, vassals to the duke in Artois, the Boulonnois, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, Holland and Zealand, made their preparations to accompany the count de Charolois, and were in such numbers that they were estimated at four thousand combatants, consisting of fourteen hundred lances, eight thousand archers and cross-bowmen, carbineers, and other warriors, not including those who attended the baggage, who were very numerous, each being armed with a leaden mace. In this army were none from Burgundy, as they were to form a separate body until they joined the count. They amounted to upward of six hundred lances, and other troops under the command of the marshal of Burgundy, the prince of Orange, the lord d'Arqueil, the lords de Chargny, de Toulongeon †, and other great barons of that country.

While these preparations were making, John de Longueval, captain of the archers of Sir Anthony de Burgundy, having with him a body of troops, went and took possession of the

* Q. Anthony and Baldwyn? These were the names of the two bastards.

† John IV. lord of Toulongeon and Senecey, died in 1462, without issue. He was son of John III. Marshal of Burgundy, mentioned in a former volume. Upon his death, Claude de Toulongeon, lord of Trave, of a younger branch became head of the family, and it is he who is here mentioned. He died in 1495.

towns of Arleux and Crevecœur, which the king had formerly given to the bastard, but had since wrested from him. He summoned the governor of the castle of Crevecœur to surrender it amicably, or he would take it by storm; and the governor yielded it up, on having his life and fortune spared, and returned to his own country of Normandy. John de Longueval, having performed this exploit, left a sufficient garrison in each for its defence, and then returned to his other companions with the main army.

When the king of France was assured of this great force which the count de Charolois had raised, he despatched his chancellor to Amiens, and to Abbeville, where he met the counts d'Eu and de Nevers; and they issued a proclamation, in the king's name, for all who had been accustomed to bear arms to be in readiness to serve him; and every one was forbidden to bear arms, or to serve any other lord than the king, on pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects. Notwithstanding this, many of the knights and nobles of that country, who had always been attached to the house of Burgundy, joined the count de Charolois, leaving it to chance how they were to be treated for what they held under the king. There were others who served the king.

The count de Nevers, knowing that he was in the ill-graces of the count de Charolois, sent divers messengers to bring about a reconciliation, but to no effect, for they were not admitted to an audience; which caused many who served the count de Nevers, and were among the principal of his household, to abandon his service, and to withdraw themselves to the count de Charolois, to preserve his favour.

The count de Nevers, seeing himself thus abandoned, sent to entreat the lord de Saveuses to come and speak with him; but he would not comply, although he was requested by the count several times. But the count having received information that the lord de Saveuses was to pass through Bray-sur-Somme, went himself to Bray, where he met him, and entered into a long conversation, to prevail on him to think of some means of making up the quarrel between the count de Charolois and him. This good lord promised willingly to undertake the business, provided that he, the count de Nevers, would not bear arms for either of the parties, and that he would not introduce any men-at-arms, as a garrison, into Peronne: and this he promised to perform. Now it happened that while the count de Nevers was returning from Bray to Amiens, he received intimation from the inhabitants of Peronne, that the count de St. Pol had drawn up his forces before that town, and had summoned them to surrender the place to the duke of Burgundy, or to his son, and that they had demanded three days' delay to give their answer. On receiving this intelligence, the count instantly departed from Amiens, in company with Joachim Rohault, marshal of France. These two noblemen had with them one hundred lances and two hundred of the king's archers; and they entered Peronne, the 15th day of May, with five or six hundred horse.

It was the common report at that time, that the duke of Burgundy had given to his nephew, the count de Nevers, on his marriage, the lands and castlewicks of Peronne, Mondidier, and Roye, to enjoy during his life, or until they were redeemed for thirty-two thousand crowns of gold, or till he should have other lordships of equal value to these castlewicks. The count maintained, that he held them in perpetuity, by grants from the king and the duke of Burgundy, within a short time after he had entered upon them. But the count de Charolois said, that they now no longer belonged to the count de Nevers, he having since then received other and more valuable lordships, namely, the counties of Rethel and Nevers, with other lordships; from which he concluded that the duke, his father, was entitled to have the three before-mentioned castlewicks restored to him; since, moreover, when his father had given them to the count de Nevers, it was without his consent, who was his only son and heir. The duke of Burgundy maintained that he had only given these lands until they were redeemed, or until superior or equal lands should fall to the count de Nevers; and that, if the count had deeds containing different terms, they were drawn up without his signature or seal.

The lord de Saveuses had exerted himself so effectually with the count de Charolois, that it was generally believed that the quarrel between him and the count de Nevers would speedily be accommodated; but the intelligence that he had thrown into Peronne a large body of men-at-arms broke off the whole negotiation.

CHAPTER CXXIV.—THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS TAKES LEAVE OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AND MARCHES HIS ARMY AND ARTILLERY TOWARD FRANCE.—HE CROSSES THE RIVER SOMME, AND SUBJECTS TO HIS OBEDIENCE THE TOWNS OF NEELLE *, ROYE †, AND MONDIDIER ‡.—HE BESIEGES BEAULIEU §, AND CROSSES THE OISE.

On the 15th of May, the count de Charolois, hearing that his armies in Flanders and in Burgundy were quite ready to march, took leave of the duke his father at Brussels, who is reported to have thus addressed him: "My son, act well your part in the business you are going upon, and take care of your health: prefer death to flight; and should you be in danger, you shall not long remain therein, if one hundred thousand more warriors can relieve you." The count, on taking his leave, went to lie at Quênoy in Hainault, where two embassies were waiting for him: one from Brittany, and one from the king of France. Of this last, the bishop of Mans, brother to the count de St. Pol, was the chief; but they had not any great success, and that from Brittany was soon dismissed.

On the morrow, the count advanced to Honnecourt, between Crevecœur and St. Quentin, where he waited for his artillery, which was astonishingly numerous; for two hundred and twenty-six carriages had passed through Arras, from the castle of Lille, full of bombards, serpentines, crapaudeaux, mortars, and other artillery, besides other carriages with military stores from Brabant and Namur, that passed through Cambray. From Honnecourt, the count went to Roseil, two leagues from Peronne, where he staid some days, with all his army and artillery, from which conduct those in Peronne expected to be besieged; but he had formed different plans. On the 4th of June, the count moved with his army from Roseil toward Bray-sur-Somme, when the inhabitants came out to offer him the keys of their town. The count de St. Pol and the bastard of Burgundy then crossed the river with their men, and advanced to Neelle in the Vermandois, and made pretence of an instant assault, when it was surrendered, on condition that eight men-at-arms, who were within it, should depart in safety, with their horses and arms, and that the archers, amounting to about six score, should march away in their doublets or jackets, each with a wand in his hand. The lord de Neelle, however, who was found therein, was detained a prisoner.

The lord de Hautbourdin, bastard to the count de St. Pol, marched a body of men-at-arms and archers to the town of Roye, which they made a similar pretence of attacking; but the inhabitants, fearful of the event, surrendered the place to him for the count de Charolois. On their entrance, they found there the countess of Nevers, to whom they offered neither insult nor injury, but afforded her every facility to retire whither she pleased. A few days after, she went to Compiègne, under the escort of the lord de Ravenstein and five or six hundred combatants. Those of Mondidier surrendered their town, two or three days after, to the count de Charolois, in which was Hugh de Mailly lord de Boullencourt ||, a valiant and hardy knight, who had always been attached to the house of Burgundy, and he remained governor of the place with the approbation of the inhabitants; for this town had ever been of the Burgundy party.

While these towns were surrendering to the count de Charolois, the count de Nevers, fearing he should be besieged in Peronne, departed thence with Joachim Rohault marshal of France, the lord de Moy, and about two thousand combatants, thinking to enter the city of Noyon; but that was not so soon effected, nor until they had promised that their whole troop should not enter, and that they would not do or suffer any mischief to be done to the inhabitants. Nevertheless, they all entered, and did mischief enough. It happened that as some of the townsmen were lowering down the portcullis of the gate, it fell on a man-at-arms and killed him.

About the 15th of June, the count de Charolois left Roye, to besiege the castle of Beaulieu,

* Neelle,—a town of Picardy, three leagues from Roye.

† Roye,—a strong town, seven leagues from Peronne.

‡ Mondidier,—nine leagues from Amiens.

§ Beaulieu,—near Noyon, in Picardy.

|| Hué de Mailly, lord of Lorsignol and Bouillencourt, governor of Montdidier; fifth son of Colart de Mailly, celebrated for his crusade in Prussia, and brother of Colart de Mailly who was killed at Azincourt, together with his father.

a strong place belonging to the lord de Neelle. In the castle was a good garrison, who burnt the best part of the town round the castle, which was a pity, for the castle was afterward so battered by cannon that the garrison were glad to surrender on St. John Baptist's day, on having their lives and baggage spared. During this siege, the lord de Hautbourdin found means to cross the Oise with a body of men in boats, and entered the town of Pont St. Maixence before the inhabitants knew anything of his coming. This body was part of the van of the count's army, under the command of the count de St. Pol. The count de Charolois was with the main body, and the bastard of Burgundy commanded the rear.

CHAPTER CXXV.—THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS PASSES THE RIVER OISE, ADVANCES TO SAINT DENIS, AND DRAWS UP HIS ARMY IN BATTLE-ARRAY BEFORE PARIS.—THE COUNT DE SAINT POL GAINS POSSESSION OF THE BRIDGE OF SAINT CLOUD, AND CROSSES THE SEINE WITH HIS DIVISION OF THE COUNT'S ARMY.

When the count de Charolois heard that his van were in possession of Pont St. Maixence, he advanced the remainder of the army thither, in order to cross the Oise. The inhabitants paid him every obedience, as lieutenant-general to the duke of Berry; and the count had it proclaimed in the name of the duke of Berry, whose lieutenant-general he styled himself, that he abolished all taxes, impositions and subsidies whatever, as he had before done at Mondidier, and in the other towns he passed through, to the great joy of the people. The count entered the town of Pont St. Maixence on the feast-day of St. Peter and St. Paul, and remained there for some days. He thence marched to St. Denis, where he was joyfully received, as well in the name of the duke de Berry as in his own, for they could not make any resistance to him. He waited there, and between St. Denis and Paris, with his whole army, the remainder of the month of June, for the arrival of the dukes of Berry, of Brittany, of Calabria, of Nemours, of Bourbon, and the other lords, who had mutually promised each other to meet there. The count, finding that none came, and that the time was elapsed for the meeting, and that his Burgundians, whom he daily expected, had not joined him, because the king's army kept them constantly in check, on the 8th day of July assembled his army, and marched in battle-array so near to Paris that they were plainly seen from the walls. To say the truth, considering the smallness of their numbers, it was the proudest army that could be seen.

Joachim Rohault left Paris to examine it the nearer, having kept on its flanks all the way from Beaulieu and other parts, to make an attack if he should espy a favourable opportunity, but found them always so well prepared that he dared not venture to attack them; and he was now forced to make a hasty retreat, to escape the light troops of the count; for he would have been completely surrounded by them, had he not so speedily re-entered Paris. Instantly after his entrance, the count fired off two or three serpentines over the town, which exceedingly frightened the inhabitants. The count then, placing himself at the head of the three divisions of his army, halted near a windmill close by the town, which made those within Paris suppose an attack was about to commence; but it was not so, for, in like manner as he had done to other towns, he informed them, that his only object was the good of the kingdom; that he had come thither at the prayer and request of the duke of Berry, who had promised to join him very shortly, and that his speedy arrival showed his eagerness to serve him. He added, that whatever the duke of Berry should do would be solely for the general welfare, and then summoned them to surrender to him as lieutenant-general to the duke of Berry; but they would no way comply.

When Joachim Rohault had entered Paris, he met in the streets a canon from Amiens, called Jacques de Villiers, who, having finished his business there, was desirous to return. Joachim asked him whence he came, and whither he wanted to go: he replied, that he was from Amiens, and wanted to go back. Joachim then made him swear, that he would tell the count de Charolois, that he, Joachim, had lately received letters from the king of France, to signify to him for certain, that within four days the king would be returned to Paris, and would advance to meet the count, when it would be seen which was the stronger.

The canon kept his promise, and told the count, word for word, what Joachim had ordered him, while he halted at the windmill. The count replied that he put no faith in what Joachim said, for before this he had told him things that were untrue.

Having displayed his force before Paris, the count marched his army to where the fair of the Lendit had been held, the booths of which were still standing, and had it surrounded by his baggage-waggons, of which he had an immense number, as well for the service of his artillery as that belonging to the other lords who had accompanied him. While the army was thus posted, the count de St. Pol, commander of the van, saw a large boat-full of hay going to Paris, which having taken, and emptied of the hay, he entered it, with the whole of his men, and passed over to gain possession of the bridge of St. Cloud, which was surrendered by those who guarded it, on having their lives and fortunes spared.

The count de Charolois, on hearing this, ordered the whole of his army to advance thither, cross the Seine, and march for Estampes, in the hope of meeting there the dukes of Berry and of Brittany, who could not pass the Seine by reason of the king's army that was following them. The count crossed the Seine on the 15th of July; and, this same day, the count de St. Pol advanced the whole of the van to Montlehery, where he fixed his quarters. Montlehery had a good castle, in which were a party of the royal army; but neither party seemed inclined to attack the other. The count de Charolois remained with his, that night, within one league of Montlehery; and the bastard of Burgundy, who had the command of the rear division, was quartered in the rear of the count, two leagues from Montlehery.

The count de St. Pol sent off scouts from Montlehery, as far as Chastres, three leagues on the road to Estampes, who met messengers from the king to the Parisians, ordering them to be prepared on the morrow to assist him in battle against the count de Charolois. These messengers were brought to the count de St. Pol, and assured him that the king and his whole army were at this hour (eleven o'clock at night) at or near to Chastres. On hearing this, the count dislodged from Montlehery, and posted his division lower down, in a valley more toward Paris, and sent information of what the messengers had related to the count de Charolois, that he might instantly advance, or send him orders how to act, for that the king would certainly give him battle the next morning at daybreak. The count, having called a council, immediately after decamped to join the count de St. Pol, and sent orders for Sir Anthony of Burgundy to hasten the advance of the rear as much as possible, which he did, so that the count de Charolois, and his brother the bastard of Burgundy, formed a junction with the count de St. Pol on the 16th day of July, in the valley below Montlehery, by sunrise, and there drew up in battle array, to wait the arrival of the king of France.

The king, who had been engaged in the Bourbonnois, where he had taken several places, and destroyed much of the country, was informed, while there, of the conduct of the princes in raising forces, and held an army in readiness to oppose them. He was fearful lest the army from Brittany should join that of Burgundy, and thus become too strong and dangerous to combat; in consequence, he called the principal captains of his army to a council of war, to ask their opinion, whether he should first offer battle to his brother and the Bretons, or to the count de Charolois. Although their opinions were divided, the majority were for fighting the count de Charolois first; for if he succeeded in overpowering his army, he could with ease conquer his brother and the Bretons at any time, and even all the other lords of the confederacy; and it was the more advisable to fight now before the count was joined by the Burgundian army, that had been kept in check, by a detached force from the army of the king. Notwithstanding the majority were for fighting the count de Charolois, the lord de Varennes, séneschal of Normandy, declared loudly against it. He said that he was of a contrary opinion, because he knew that the count de Charolois was not of a character to retreat, nor give up any point; and that he was so much beloved by the Picards, and the others who formed his army, and who had been accustomed to war, that they would never desert him while they were alive: he was, therefore, for fighting the duke of Berry first, because he had with him some of the great captains who had served the late king Charles VII., and who, when they saw the king advancing in person, would not have the heart to combat against him, but most probably would

turn to his side, and the remainder would be at his mercy. The seneschal was told, that his advice was the effect of fear; but he replied, that it was not; and he would show plainly, if a battle took place, that he was not afraid, and that what he had said was purely from loyalty in advising the king to the best of his abilities.

CHAPTER CXXVI.—THE KING DETERMINES TO COMBAT THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS.—A BATTLE TAKES PLACE BELOW MONTLEHERY.—THE EVENT OF IT.

When the king had heard the opinions of his commanders, although they were various, he eagerly determined to combat the count de Charolois, and ordered all, under pain of death, to follow him. He made such diligence that, on the 14th of July, he marched his army, as well by day as by night, twenty-four leagues, and lay at Estampes. On the morrow, he advanced to Chastres, three leagues from Montlehery. On his march, he passed within seven or eight leagues of the army of the dukes of Berry and of Brittany, ignorant that his messengers, whom he had sent to Paris, were made prisoners, or that the count de Charolois was so near him. The king dislodged from Chastres on the 16th, before sunrise, and soon arrived near to Montlehery, whence he saw the enemy drawn up in battle-array below in the valley. The king instantly formed his army into three divisions: the van was given to the command of the seneschal of Normandy, the son of the lord de Norenton, the lord de Barbasan, Malortie, Flocquet, Salazar *, and other captains: the main body was commanded by the king in person, attended by many of his great lords: and the rear division, consisting of seven or eight hundred men at arms, was given to the count du Maine: so that the king had in his three divisions, as was commonly reported, two thousand two hundred men-at-arms, or lances, the best appointed that ever men-at-arms were, for they consisted of the flower of the king of France's forces. There were also great bodies of archers and infantry, besides many that were ill-mounted, and on foot, who had remained behind, but who always followed the train of the king.

The count de Charolois, observing the manner in which the royal army had been drawn up, formed his own into three divisions also. The first was under the count de St. Pol; the second he reserved to himself; and the bastard, his brother, commanded the third: but he ordered them all into the line, closing his rear with the baggage-waggons, and pointing his artillery in their front. He ordered his archers to plant a sharp stake before them, to check the charge of the cavalry, if they should attempt to break their line; and in this state they waited the attack of the king. This was not, however, the case; for the two armies remained, without moving, in their different positions for four hours, excepting some slight skirmishes of the light troops, who were within cross-bow shot of each other. As part of the count's army was too distant from the artillery, it was proposed by some to make their horses fall back, keeping their fronts to the enemy; but the lord de Hautbourdin disapproved of this manœuvre, and said, that were he to retire one step from the place where he was, it would be dangerous and disgraceful to him, and give the enemy courage to advance. In the meantime, different pieces of artillery were played off on both sides, to the destruction of numbers.

At length the count de Charolois, fearful of the Parisians suddenly appearing to aid the king, and, by falling on his rear, attack him on all sides, and that if he delayed the combat, his men would be starved from want of provision, consulted his principal officers, and resolved to begin the attack. They began their march in excellent order: one division by the side of a wood, the other by the village, and the centre having the wood on its rear. The French, seeing this movement, made part of their army advance also, in front of the count's division, and crossed a ditch near the village; but the count's archers attacked them

* Robert Floquet was bailiff of Evreux. John de Salazar, surnamed "le grand chevalier," lord of St. Just, &c., chamberlain to Charles VII., and further recompensed for his great services by the lordship of Issoudun, died in 1479, at Troyes, in Champagne. He married Margaret de la Tremouille, daughter of George, count of Guisnes, and had by her Hector, lord of St. Just; Galeas, lord of Lez; Lancelot, lord of Marcilly, all celebrated warriors, and Tristan, bishop of Meaux, who in 1471 was promoted to the archbishopric of Sens.

so fiercely with their arrows that they were glad to recross it, the count pursuing them into the village for some distance, having his banner beside him, which was borne that day by the lord du Boys.

While this was passing, and the count had appointed a large body of archers, with a certain number of men-at-arms to defend them, and to guard the passage against three or four hundred fresh lances, who were stationed at a breach waiting for an opportunity to break through the archers and attack the count's artillery, it happened that the men-at-arms, observing the French were repulsed, and that the count was pursuing them even into the village, left their guard and galloped after the count, when the French seeing the archers without any to support them, and neglectful of their stakes, charged them like lightning, and killed or wounded the greater part, which was the severest loss the count suffered on that day. Having routed these archers, the French advanced toward the baggage and artillery, and killed some more, and also made several prisoners; but those who guarded the baggage, armed with leaden mallets, rallied as soon as they could, and turning the carriages round, inclosed these French within them, so that they could not issue out; and the greater part were knocked on the head with these leaden mallets. Those that did escape having made for the village, met the count and his men returning from it, who instantly charged them, and put the remainder to death; so that all these French were slain, either by the baggage-guard or by the count's party, notwithstanding that a body of French had followed the count and had gallantly fought with him.

At his return from the village, Philippe d'Oignies * was slain by the side of the count, who was wounded himself in the face, and in great danger of having his throat cut in the confusion of the fight; for when the count had driven the French through the village, the whole rear-guard of the king's army, under the command of the count du Maine and the admiral of France, fled, together with others, to the amount of seven or eight hundred lances; and they had fled with such haste that they left behind them baggage and armour, although no one was pursuing them. The lord du Boys, observing this, had eagerly advanced with the count's banner, beyond the village, thinking that he was following him, and was made prisoner; for the count had returned, as has been said, from the village. On the other hand, when those from Busse had overcome the count's archers, more than a fourth part of his army took to their heels, namely, the lord de Haplaincourt, the lord d'Aymeries, the lord d'Inchy, the lord de Robodenghes, and several more; but when this last had fled about two leagues, he met a herald, who told him that the count had the best of the battle; upon which he returned, and made a great many others do the same, who joined the count very opportunely, for he was incessantly rallying his men, and fighting more valiantly than any other knight in the field, encouraging his people by telling them that he would conquer or die; so that, by his valour and exhortations, the van of the king's army was routed and the rear put to flight.

In this conflict, and at its very commencement, were slain on the king's side, the high seneschal of Normandy, Flocquet, Geoffroy La Hire, and other valiant men-at-arms, to the number of three or four hundred lances. On the part of the count were slain, the lord de Hames, sir Philip de Lalain, and a few more men-at-arms, but very many archers; and there were prisoners made on each side. The king encouraged his men to the utmost of his power, and showed great personal courage; but when he saw his men repulsed, he retreated to the village, while the count remained on the field, rallying his men, and forming them in proper array, for he was expecting every moment that the king would renew the combat. But this he did not do, and remained in the village from eight o'clock, when the battle ended, until sunset, more vexed than can well be imagined, making inquiries after such as had remained with him, and after those who had run off; when, on summing up their numbers, he found that those who had fled greatly exceeded those who had staid with him.

Very many of the count's men had hidden themselves in the hedges and wood, but

* Philippe d'Oignies. "Some call him Gilles. He was lord of Brouay and of Chaunes, son to Anthony and Jane de Brimeu, and grandson to Baudouin d'Oignies governor of Lille, Douay and Orchies, and of Peronne. He married Antoinette de Beaufort, by whom he had Philippe d'Oignies, father to Louis, knight of the king's orders, and count de Charnes."—*Godefroy.*

returned by two and three at a time, and joined their army, which had kept together, expecting the battle would be renewed. In truth, this battle was very hazardous to both parties, and we must allow that it was through the mercy of God that the count de Charolois obtained the victory *, for his army was not nearly so numerous as that of the king; and had none ran away on either side, the event would have been more disastrous and mortal; but God, of his goodness, would not suffer it, for which may his name be praised!

In a very melancholy state did the king of France remain in the village until sunset, and thence went for Corbeil, six leagues distant, and arrived there at ten o'clock at night with few attendants, for the greater part of them had fled; and although no pursuit was made after them, many fled as far as Amboise, saying, in every place through which they passed, that the king was killed, and his army totally defeated.

CHAPTER CXXVII.—THE CONDUCT OF THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS AFTER THE VICTORY HE HAD GAINED OVER THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE CONSEQUENCES OF IT IN DIVERS PLACES.

The count de Charolois remained with his army all night on the field of battle, thinking the king was in Montlehery, and that he would renew the battle the ensuing day. It was not until sunrise that he heard of the king's departure, when he entered the village with his army, and found the cellars filled with dead bodies, which the royalists had thrown therein, that the numbers of their dead might not be known.

Before the commencement of the battle, the king had sent three heralds to Paris, who, on their arrival there about mid-day, summoned the people to arms throughout the city; and ordered every person capable of bearing arms to march without delay to Montlehery to assist the king, who was engaged in battle with the count de Charolois. Notwithstanding this proclamation, very few marched out but Joachim Rohault, marshal of France, who was then in Paris, with five or six hundred men-at-arms. They indeed sallied out on horseback, and advanced to St. Cloud, which they found defenceless; for those who had been posted there by the count de Charolois had fled on seeing the lords de Haplaincourt and d'Aymeries, with others in great numbers, who told them that the count had been defeated. The marshal, therefore, took possession of the place without resistance, and made prisoners all who fled that way from the battle, and carried them to Paris. The Burgundian lords above mentioned thought to have crossed the Oise at the Pont de St. Maixence; but they found there the lord de Mouy, governor of Compiègne, with the garrisons of Creil, Senlis, Clermont, Crespy, and other places, in great numbers, who had assembled there on hearing that the king had gained the victory, and had besieged the bridge on the side leading to Montlehery.

The inhabitants of Pont St. Maixence firmly believing that the king was victorious, from the flight of the above-named lords who had gained the town, surrendered, on having their lives spared, at the very first attack. The lords d'Aymeries, d'Inchy, and several more, were taken in the town: the lord de Haplaincourt was made prisoner in the open country, and carried to Paris,—and no man of note who had fled escaped death or imprisonment: only some poor adventurers were so lucky as to get off without either happening to them, but in very miserable conditions. Of those that were carried to Paris, several were executed, or drowned in the Seine. At the attack on St. Maixence, a gentleman of the king's party,

* There has seldom been a battle fought with so much loss on both sides, and so indecisive in the result. The count de Charolois was so far from carrying off the undisputed honours of victory, that many writers of the time ascribe it to the king; and even between the relations of two who were present during the engagement, and both in the count's army, there is so wide a difference in this respect, as would be unaccountable were it not for the peculiar circumstances that attended this engagement. The cause of this uncertainty and contradiction is to be found in the frequent changes of fortune which took place during the important struggle. Victory had no sooner appeared to declare herself in one part of the field, but in another part all was terror, dismay, and rout on the victorious side. "Both parties believed or affected to believe that the victory rested with them, but disorder and confusion reigned on every side; and this is the reason of the difference to be found in the various relations of the affair." However, as the bnsiness turned out ultimately to be of some advantage to the king's affairs, and the count could not possibly lay claim to any benefit whatever from the event of the day, the former seems, upon the whole, to have had the best right to boast of success.—*See Du Clos.*

called Jeannet de Grouches, whose brother was with the count de Charolois, was killed by a ball from a cannon.

When the count de Charolois was assured that the king had retreated to Corbeil, he caused proclamation to be made, by sound of trumpet, that if any one required a renewal of the battle, he was ready to accommodate him; he then had the dead buried,—and had the bodies of sir Philip de Lalain, the lord de Hames, the lord de Varennes, and others, interred in a chapel near to Montlehery; but, soon afterward, some persons came from Paris with passports, to demand of the count the body of the lord de Varennes, and, with his permission, carried it to Paris, where it was handsomely interred in the church of the Franciscans. He was very much lamented by all who were acquainted with his many excellent qualities.

After the king had remained a day or two at Corbeil, he went to Paris on the 18th of July,—and he came thither by the side of the river, near to St. Denis, attended by a small company, not consisting of more than about one hundred horse; but soon after, and daily, there came to him, in Paris, the count du Maine*, admiral of France, and his other captains, with men-at-arms in such abundance that the town and the fields on the river side were full of them. The count de Nevers came to the king at Paris, but staid a very short time, and then returned to Peronne.

When the king had sojourned some time in Paris, he sent the bishop of Paris, a wise and prudent prelate, to the count de Charolois, to negotiate a peace between the king and the princes. On the bishop's appearing before the count he said, that the king had sent to know what had moved him to enter his kingdom with so large an army; and that the king informed him, that when he went into the countries of his father, he was not accompanied by a great army, but by very few attendants. The count instantly replied to the bishop, and said, that two things had moved him thus to enter the kingdom; first, to keep the engagement made under his seal with the other princes of the blood-royal, namely, to meet together with their forces near Paris, for the general welfare of the kingdom, on St. John Baptist's day last past. Secondly, to secure the bodies of two men who were supported in the kingdom,—and that he had brought so large an army with him for the safety of his person, which, in his proper country, as heir to his father, had been attempted by poison, by the sword, and by endeavouring to carry him off to a foreign country: he therefore had determined to come with a sufficient guard for his safety. In answer to what the king had said, that, when he visited his father, he did not come with a large army, he replied, that at that time he had not the power to come with such a force; and that he had been received nobly, magnificently, and peaceably, in those countries, where no attempts had been permitted to be made against his life or personal liberty, although such had been intended.

The count added, that he had not entered France with any design of mischief, but for its general welfare, and had strictly enjoined his men to pay for whatever they might want, without aggrieving any one. "In regard," continued he, "to the force I have brought with me, I wish it to be known to all, that I am a man able and desirous to punish my enemies, and to assist my friends." The bishop, having received this answer, returned to the king at Paris.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.—THE DUKES OF BERRY AND OF BRITTANY MEET THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS AT ESTAMPES, WHERE THEY ARE ALSO JOINED BY THE DUKES OF BOURBON, OF CALABRIA, AND OF NEMOURS, WITH THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC AND OTHERS OF THEIR CONFEDERATION.—THE KING OF FRANCE LEAVES PARIS FOR ROUEN.

The count de Charolois, having remained on the field of battle, and in Montlehery, so long as he pleased, marched his army toward Estampes, to wait for the dukes of Berry and of Brittany, who arrived there the 21st of July, with ten thousand combatants and others

* The count du Maine was never Admiral of France. It should be thus :—"The count du Maine, the Admiral of France, and his other captains." Upon the death of Pregent de Coetivy, in 1450, John de Bueil, count of Sancerre, was advanced to this dignity. After the accession of Louis XI., he was displaced, and John, lord of Montauban and Landall, appointed to succeed him. This is the nobleman here mentioned. He died in 1466, much regretted by the king, and was succeeded in his high office by Louis, bastard of Bourbon, count of Roussillon.

well appointed. The count de Charolois advanced to meet them, and great joy was there on this event. They afterward entered Estampes together.

While these things were passing, the count de Charny*, who had left Burgundy with fifty lances to aid the count de Charolois, would not put himself under the orders of the marshal of Burgundy, commander-in-chief of that army, and took a route for himself. He was watched by a detachment from the king's army, and made prisoner,—but his men escaped, and saved themselves as well as they could.

About eight days after the arrival of the dukes of Berry and Brittany at Estampes, the dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, with the count d'Armagnac, came thither with a fine army; and were soon after followed by the duke of Calabria with a handsome company, among whom were some Suisses, unarmed, but bold and enterprising. At length the marshal of Burgundy arrived with six hundred Burgundian lances, many dagger-men, but few archers. All these lords would have come sooner, had they been able; but they were so closely followed by the king's army that they were afraid to hazard the event: it must likewise be supposed that they were now more emboldened to attempt a junction, as the count de Charolois had opened a passage for them. They now took the road towards the provinces of Beauce and Gâtinois, for the more easy procuring forage,—and all the towns through which they passed opened their gates to the duke of Berry. On the other hand, the king went from Paris to Rouen, to recruit his army, and to put under arms all his vassals, and every sort of person capable of assisting him against the rebellious princes.

After the confederates had refreshed themselves in Beauce and in Gâtinois, they were daily hoping the king would advance and offer them battle; but finding that he was gone to Rouen, they made a bridge at Moret†, and crossed the Seine,—then, marching through Brie, passed the Marne by the bridge of Charenton, and quartered themselves near to Paris. The dukes of Berry and Brittany were lodged at Charenton; the count de Charolois in the castle of the count de St. Pol at Conflans; and the van division was posted between Conflans and Paris, while the bastard of Burgundy was quartered with the rear division between Conflans and Charenton. The dukes of Berry and Brittany afterwards moved their quarters from Charenton to St. Maur and Beauté, and round the wood of Vincennes, on the side next the river. The duke of Calabria, with the others, namely, the Burgundians, the Armagnacs, and the Nemours‡, remained in Brie, on the opposite side of the river,—and they might amount to about five thousand combatants.

During these movements the count de Charolois regained possession of the bridge of St. Cloud, which the royalists had abandoned immediately after the battle of Montlehery. He then caused Lagny-sur-Marne to be taken, and bridges thrown over the river, for the more easy communication of the two divisions of the army, and to besiege Paris, in which was the count du Maine and other captains; but their men were so numerous that they were quartered in the villages on the other side of the Seine, and in blockhouses and small forts which they had erected for quarters. On these bridges being completed, a detachment of the prince's army crossed the river, and advanced so near to Paris that there was but a ditch between them and the royalists, when frequent skirmishes took place, in which many on each side were often killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Among others was slain the son of sir Simon de Lalain §, much regretted by the count de Charolois' army.

One day, the princes summoned the town of Paris to surrender, and open its gates to the duke of Berry, regent of France, otherwise they would destroy all their vineyards, houses, and villages, round about, and then attack the town with their whole force. The Parisians

* Peter de Bauffremont, count de Charny.

† Moret,—a town of Gâtinois, on the river Loing, about a league from the Seine.

‡ James, son of Bernard d'Armagnac, count of La Marche, Castries, Pardiac, &c. a younger son of the constable, was, soon after the accession of Louis XI., rewarded for his services in the wars of Spain, by advancement to the dignity of duke and peer of France. This was at that time, an unprecedented mark of the royal favour, and greatly offended the princes of the blood, as well as the noblemen of the same rank with himself. The policy of Louis was evidently two-fold; first to lessen the supposed dignity of those of his own family by extending it to the families of vassals unconnected with the blood-royal; secondly, to divide the interests of the powerful house of Armagnac, by exciting a subject of jealousy between the elder and the younger branch.

§ Not, I believe, the lord of Montigny, mentioned before, but another, Simon de Lalain, lord of Chevrain and Descaussins.

required a short delay to give their answer; during which, they sent off intelligence of this summons to the king at Rouen, and to signify to him, that, unless he would come to their relief, they would be obliged to surrender.

The king, on receiving this news, collected as many men as he hastily could, and made such diligence that he entered Paris the 28th of August. Three days after, he sent the bishop of Paris, with others of his council, and great lords, to the princes, who procured from them a truce for some days; during which, a place was appointed between Paris and Conflans to hold a conference,—and a handsome tent was there pitched for the reception of the deputies on each side, that they might consider on the best means to bring forward a treaty to the satisfaction of all parties.

CHAPTER CXXIX.—THE VARIOUS ACCOUNTS OF THE SUCCESS OF THE BATTLE OF MONTLEHERY THAT WERE REPORTED IN DIVERS PLACES.

Of those who fled from the battle of Montlehery at the beginning of the engagement, and could not know the event, some crossed the river Oise, and proclaimed that the count de Charolois had been totally routed: others passed by Compiègne, one of whom told the count de Nevers, that indeed the van of the royal army had been thrown into confusion at the beginning, but that the king was victorious; and that the count de St. Pol and the lord de Hautbourdin were slain. He said, that he was ignorant whether the count de Charolois or his brother, the bastard, were killed or taken.

This news was immediately written to the duke of Burgundy by the governor of Mondidier; and as the messenger passed through Arras, the intelligence of the count's defeat was soon spread all over the country, which caused much sorrow and lamentation, for they were ignorant how to act.

When the lord de Saveuses heard it at Corbie, he set out for Bray-sur-somme, and told the lord de Roubais, the governor, to guard it well; and, if he had not a sufficient garrison, he would send him men enough. He then departed for Bapaumes, attended by about twenty archers; but at first he was refused admittance, which so irritated him that he said, if they did not instantly open the gate, he would enter by force. On hearing this, they admitted him. This refusal surprised many, for Bapaumes legally belonged to the duke of Burgundy, as part of the county of Artois. From Bapaumes, the lord de Saveuses went to Arras, where he assembled the inhabitants, and remonstrated with them on the necessity there was for the well guarding the town, and to raise men for the defence of the country, and succour their lord with the utmost possible diligence; offering, that if they would lend him twenty thousand francs on the security of his lands, he would immediately employ them to subsidize troops for the assistance of the count de Charolois, and for the security of the country. Notwithstanding this generous offer, he could not find any one that would lend him money on these or on other terms: he, however, assembled as many men as he could, so that they amounted to four or five hundred, horse and foot, well equipped.

For these exertions, the duke of Burgundy sent him letters-patent, appointing him governor-general of all Artois, and ordered the whole of the towns within the castlewick of Lille to send to him every man capable of bearing arms; by which means, in less than fifteen days, he had with him more than two thousand combatants, but the greater part were infantry. The lords de Roubais, de Fosseux, and others, who had the guard of Bray, having heard of the proceedings of the lord de Saveuses, abandoned Bray, and joined him, who blamed them much for having quitted their garrison, so that several of them returned thither in less than eight days, when different intelligence was brought them.

The governor of Compiègne no sooner heard of the defeat of the count de Charolois than he assembled a body of troops, and took the town of Sainte Maixence, and thence went to attack Roye; but the lord du Fay, the governor, defended it so valiantly that they made no impression, and lost many of their men; but, on their marching off, they said they would soon return again with a larger force. This caused the garrisons of Roye and of Mondidier

to send in haste to the duke of Burgundy for succour, when the lord de Saveuses sent them as many men as he could spare, having detachments at Bray and elsewhere.

While these things were passing, the rivers Seine and Oise were so strictly guarded by the French that no one could cross them with letters or baggage without being stopped and plundered by them, so that by this means no true intelligence of the battle of Montlehery was known until some Carmelite monks and preaching friars had passed these rivers in a boat, and brought the real history of the event of this engagement, by publishing that the count de Charolois had gained the honour and victory!

CHAPTER CXXX.—THE KING OF FRANCE FORMS AN ALLIANCE WITH THE LIEGEOIS, TO MAKE WAR ON THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS.—THEY BESIEGE THE TOWN OF LUXEMBOURG.

A little before the battle of Montlehery, namely, in the month of June, the king of France sent an embassy to the Liegeois, the ancient enemies of the house of Burgundy, to conclude an alliance with them, that they might make war on the duke of Burgundy and on his son the count de Charolois. The terms of this treaty were, that, between the feasts of Saint James and Saint Christopher, the Liegeois were to enter the countries of Brabant and Namur, belonging to the duke of Burgundy, and to do all the mischief they possibly could, as in times of war. The king, on his part, was to assist them with two hundred men-at-arms, each having three horses at the least, and invade Hainault; promising them, at the same time, never to make peace with the duke or his allies without their assent, and without their being comprehended in the treaty: for the fulfilment of this, it was commonly reported that the king had given his engagement under his hand and seal.

Of all these negotiations the duke of Burgundy was fully informed; and about the 22nd day of August, as the duke was mounting his horse in the city of Brussels to go a hunting, a herald delivered to him letters from the Liegeois, containing, in substance, that they defied his son the count de Charolois with fire and sword, and waited an answer. The duke, after perusing the letters, gave them back to the messenger, and bade him carry them to his son. Hearing this answer, the herald returned to Liege, and, shortly after, came back with defiances from the Liegeois to the duke and to all his allies. They were not long before they marched from Liege and entered the duke's territories, committing every sort of mischief, and advanced to lay siege to the town of Luxembourg. The duke, when informed of these proceedings, sent in haste to his friends and allies, namely, the dukes of Cleves and of Gueldres, his nephews, the count of Nassau, the marquis of Rothelin*, the count of Horne†, and to others bordering on the territories of Liege, who raised a large army, and the duke himself would have gone personally to command it; but when the Liegeois saw the power of the duke so great, notwithstanding the army his son had in France, and that the king had failed in his engagement to send two hundred lances to invade Hainault, they broke up their siege, and marched back to Liege.

During this time, the duchess of Cleves, daughter to the count de Nevers, came to the duke of Burgundy at Brussels, but three days passed before he would see her. She was then admitted to his presence, and, falling on her knees, with tears, most humbly implored him to take pity on her father and on herself; for that, if her father was ruined, she must also suffer, as well as her three fine sons, by the duke of Cleves; acknowledging, at the same

* The marquis de Rothelin is said by Comines, however, to have been with the confederated princes in the army of the duke of Calabria. Rodolph IV. marquis of Hockberg-Rotelin and count of Neufchâtel in Switzerland, died in 1486, leaving his son and successor Philip; upon whose death in 1503 without issue male, the county of Neufchâtel passed by marriage into the house of Dunois. Longueville and the marquisate of Hockberg-Rotelin reverted (by virtue of a prior contract, to the house of Baden.

† James I. son of William IX. lord of Hornes, was advanced to the dignity of count of the empire by Frederic III. He died a monk in 1488. His son James II. succeeded him, whose son John II. dying without issue, bequeathed the county of Hornes to Philip de Montmorency, lord of Neville, son of his wife by a former marriage. Floris, the son of Philip, was the count of Hornes so celebrated in the history of the Netherlands, who, together with the count of Egmont, perished on the scaffold in 1570.

time, that everything her father and herself possessed came from his bounty, who had educated and raised them so high that it was notorious to every one. The duke was so much affected by this speech that his eyes were filled with tears; but he replied, "Your father has ungratefully repaid what he has received from this house. I sent to tell him to depart from Peronne, and to go into his county of Nevers, or into the Rethelois, and there remain until I should have induced my son to be satisfied with him; but he has done neither, and has armed himself against my lord of Berry, and against my son, doing everything in his power to oppose them. He keeps possession of my inheritances of Peronne, Mondidier, and Roye, as if they were absolutely his own; but it is not so, for he holds them for a sum of money, the repayment of which was offered him, but he would not accept it. I know not if he intends seizing my other inheritances in the same way, but he shall not have them; for, if it please God, I will guard them well." On saying this, he left the lady.

Three or four days afterward, the duke of Cleves came to Brussels, to speak with the duke, having left his troops in garrison on the borders of Liege. He had not been with the duke for some time, on account of these family quarrels. The good duke received him most kindly, and entertained him handsomely, as he well knew how to do; for he had with him the duchesses of Bourbon, of Cleves, of Gueldres, and other ladies.

In the month of June of this year, about six score houses were burnt in the town of Ardres; and it was commonly said, that it had been done through the wickedness of persons sent thither by the chancellor or others of the party of the king of France, and who were to attempt the like throughout the dominions of the duke of Burgundy. Some of these incendiaries were taken at St. Omer, but the rest escaped out of the country.

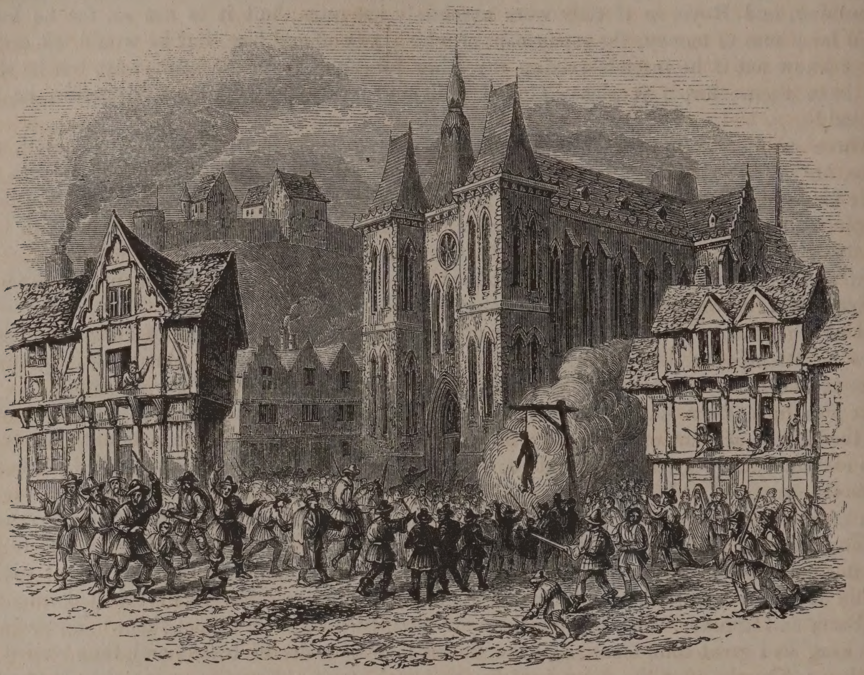
It was full fifteen days after the battle of Montlehery, before the duke of Burgundy received a true account of the event; for no one dared to mention the reports until the event was certainly known, lest he should have a relapse of his late illness, from which he was not perfectly recovered. When, therefore, he was fully ascertained of the truth, he sent a large sum of money to his son for the pay of his troops, under the escort of the lord de Saveuses, accompanied by all his men, as well cavalry as infantry. He brought it very safe to the count at Conflans, in company with the lord de Hautbourdin, who had been sent with a strong force, for greater security, to meet him at Mondidier,—for the French had intended to attack and plunder him; but on their junction, they durst not meet them. The lord de Saveuses, on approaching Conflans, drew up his men in order of battle, and thus waited on the count, who received him most joyfully, and took great pleasure in seeing the old warrior so well and so handsomely armed,—telling him, that he would have given forty thousand crowns if he had been with him at the battle of Montlehery.

CHAPTER CXXXI.—THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF DINANT * INSULT THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS WITH MOCKERIES.—THE KING OF FRANCE MEETS THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS AT CONFLANS.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON TAKES THE TOWN OF ROUEN.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Dinant, mortally hating the duke of Burgundy and his son, trusting to the strength of their town, and to their riches, and calling to remembrance that, although they had been besieged seventeen times by kings and emperors, the place had never been taken, but that they had for a long time pillaged and robbed their neighbours, more particularly the subjects of the duke of Burgundy, and had increased their wealth daily by the riches they brought into the town; foolishly believing in the first news brought them of the defeat of the count de Charolois, determined in their folly to show their old envenomed hatred to the house of Burgundy, by dressing up a resemblance of the count de Charolois in his armour, and carrying it to the town of Bovines hard by, which belonged to the duke of Burgundy as parcel of the county of Namur. They were in great numbers, and in arms, and when they were near to the walls of Bovines, they erected a gibbet, and hung thereon this

* Dinant,—a town of the bishopric of Liege, on the Maes, sixteen leagues from Liege.

figure of the count de Charolois, shouting out to those in the town, "See here, the son of your duke! that false traitor the count de Charolois, whom the king of France will have hanged as you see his representative hanging here. He called himself the son of your duke: he lied,—for he was a mean bastard, changed in his infancy for the son of our bishop, the lord de Haisenberghe*, who thought to conquer the king of France." Many other villanous expressions did they use against the duke of Burgundy and his son, menacing their countries with fire and sword.



Dinant.—Hanging the Count de Charolois in effigy.—Composed from contemporary authorities.—The principal building is a Church, and the Civic Houses illustrate the architecture of the period.

By this outrageous and childish conduct, they greatly offended the good duchess of Burgundy, mother to the count de Charolois, who was always reputed to be the most modest and chaste woman that was in the land of Portugal. When, therefore, these things were told to the duke and the count de Charolois, they were much angered; and the son swore, that he would make them dearly pay for it, as indeed happened very shortly after.

While the confederated princes were surrounding Paris, the king left the city in a boat, accompanied by about twenty persons, and rowed down to Conflans, where the count de Charolois was posted. The count, on hearing of the king's approach, went to meet him, when they embraced each other like old and loving friends. A conversation ensued between them: but I know not what passed, except that, shortly after, the count wrote to his father, to say that the king had been to see him, and had used very kind expressions in conversation. The king, on his departure, told the count, that if he would come to Paris he would give him a handsome reception; but the count replied, that he had made a vow not to enter any great town until he was on his march home. He then escorted the king back, attended by his archers, to whom the king gave fifty golden crowns to drink together. During this

* John de Hynsberg, or Heinsberg, the fifty-second bishop of Liege, who had some years before been compelled to resign his bishopric in favour of Louis de Bourbon, nephew of the duke of Burgundy.

truce, the lord de Croy and his friends were at Paris, and laboured most diligently to make their peace with the count de Charolois: even the king exerted himself greatly in their favour; but the count would not listen to nor talk of it, as the lord de Croy had once accompanied the king to Conflans; but the count de Charolois ordered him not to come thither again. The king made frequent visits there; and several secret conversations passed between him and the count, to whom the king showed the greatest appearance of affection and regard, which the truest friend could show another, frequently sending back to Paris his guards, and remaining with the count with few attendants, saying that he thought himself fully as safe when in his company as if he were in the city of Paris.

While these things were passing, it happened that the governor of the castle of Boulogne-sur-mer, in conjunction with a serjeant, sold this castle to the English of Calais and Guines, and was to give them possession thereof on the 28th day of August, while they set fire to the lower town, and during the confusion the English were to be admitted. The serjeant, however, told their plan to a companion of his, who betrayed them, and they were both instantly arrested, and, on the fact being proved, were beheaded, the 2d day of September following, and their bodies hung on a gibbet. It was these two who had found means to displace the son of the lord de Croy from his command in the castle, and replace him with those attached to the count de Charolois, who, on this account, had given them all the effects of the said de Croy that were in the castle. He had also promised them other great favours; nevertheless they had betrayed him also.

In the month of August, in this year, king Henry VI. of England was taken prisoner by a party of king Edward's. He was mounted on a small pony, and thus led through the streets of London, when, according to the orders of Edward, no one saluted or did him the least honour; for it had been forbidden, under pain of death. He was carried to the Tower of London, in the front of which was a tree, after the manner of a pillory, round which he was led three times, and then confined in the Tower. This proceeding troubled many of the citizens of London; but they dared not show any signs of it, ncr open their mouths on the subject.

Toward the end of September, the Bretons took the town of Pontoise, during the night, by means of the governor and other accomplices. The duke of Bourbon also entered the castle of Rouen with a body of men-at-arms, under pretence, and in the name of the duke of Berry. He placed therein the widow of the late lord de Varennes, in whom, however, the king had great confidence; and the principal persons in the town had advised her going thither. Shortly after the duke went to the town-house, where the commonalty waited on him, and submitted themselves to his obedience, on behalf of the duke of Berry, as their lord and duke of Normandy. The duke then went to the other towns in the duchy, as far as Caen, who all surrendered to him for the duke of Berry.

During this time, a destructive warfare was going forward in the countries of the duke of Burgundy and Liege, which were alternately overrun and plundered, more especially by those of Dinant; so that it was a pity to see the great mischiefs that ensued. Those from Dinant were one day met by a party of Burgundians, who put them to the rout, with great slaughter, and some little loss on their side. Those that escaped made all haste back to Dinant, and on their return thither to revenge themselves ran to the town prison, in which were three Burgundian prisoners, whom they led out, to hang them on the first tree they should find without the town. One of them offered his vows to St. James the apostle, when the cord broke, and he escaped unhurt! Instead of him they seized a youth from Arras, the son of Martin Corneille, as he was returning from his studies; and if some among them had not remonstrated, that instead of hanging him they might force his father to pay a large sum for his safety, he would infallibly have been put to death.

CHAPTER CXXXII.—THE DEATH OF THE COUNTESS DE CHAROLOIS.—THE COUNT DE NEVERS IS MADE PRISONER IN THE CASTLE OF PERONNE.—THE LIEGEOIS ARE DISCOMFITED AT MONTENAC *.—THE TREATY OF CONFLANS, BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE CONFEDERATED PRINCES.

On the 25th day of September, in this year, the countess de Charolois departed this life in the town of Brussels. She was the daughter of the late duke of Bourbon, and a good and devout lady. She left behind only one child, a daughter named Mary, and had always the grace to be humble, benignant, and full of the best qualities a lady could have, and was never out of humour. The duchesses of Burgundy and Bourbon were present at her decease, and were in great grief for her loss.

A Burgundy gentleman, named Arkembarc, had made frequent visits to the count de Nevers, in Peronne, for the space of a month, having passports from the lord de Saveuses and from the king: he had likewise been with the count de Charolois and the duke of Burgundy, to find means for the count de Nevers to surrender Peronne. It is to be supposed that there was some secret treaty entered into between them; for on the 3d day of October, at four o'clock in the morning, the said Arkembarc accompanied by the lords de Roubaix and de Frommeles, and from five to six hundred combatants, advanced to Peronne as secretly as they could. When he came near the town, he left his companions, and, attended by only twelve persons, approached the bulwark on the outside of the castle, which he entered by scaling-ladders, and making prisoners those within, by their means entered the tower and dungeon of the castle. They there found the count de Nevers, the lord de Sally, and some others in bed, whom they laid hands on as day broke; but the count and his companions began shouting so loud that they were heard in the town, and the garrison hastily advanced in arms to enter the castle; but before this, from sixty to four-score of the duke's men had followed their companions into the castle, and mounting the battlements, harangued those below, declaring they were the duke of Burgundy's men, who had sent them thither, and they now summoned them to surrender the town to the duke. The garrison and townsmen retired apart, to confer together, and toward the evening answered, that they were willing to obey the duke, and opened their gates to the lord de Roubaix and all his men.

Thus was the town of Peronne taken, and restored to the obedience of the duke of Burgundy. It was currently reported, that the count de Nevers had wished it to be thus managed, that it might appear to the king, to whom he had sworn allegiance, that it had been won without his consent: it was also added, that it was upon this condition he had made up the disagreements between him, the duke of Burgundy, and the count de Charolois. Whatever truth may have been in these rumours, the count de Nevers was carried a prisoner to Bethune, and Arkembarc remained governor of the town and castle of Peronne.

The 15th of this month of October, about five in the morning, the heavens seemed to open, and the brightest light appeared, resembling a bar of burning iron, of the length of a lance, which turned round, and the end that was at first very thick became suddenly thin, and then disappeared. This was seen, for more than a quarter of an hour, from the town of Arras.

On the 19th of the same month, about eighteen hundred combatants, on the part of the duke of Burgundy, entered the territories of Liege, under the command of the count de Nassau, the seneschal of Hainault, the lords de Groothuse and de Gasebecque †, Sir John de Rubempré grand bailiff of Hainault ‡, and other knights and esquires. They burned and destroyed the whole line of their march until they came near to the large village of Montenac, situated five leagues from the city of Liege, and which the Liegeois had fortified and garrisoned with a force of four thousand men, then within it. These Liegeois, observing the

* Montenac, a village about four leagues distant from Liege.

† Philip de Hornes, lord of Gaesbeck and Baussignies, grand-chamberlain to the duke of Burgundy, died in 1488, leaving issue Arnold lord of Gaesbeck, and John lord of Baussignies.

‡ John, son of Anthony de Rubempré and Jacqueline de Croy dame de Bievres. He was a great favourite of duke Charles, and fell by his side at the battle of Nancy. His son was Charles lord of Rivières.

Burgundians march so near without making any attempt on the place because it was fortified, sallied out, and posted themselves where the duke's men must pass, with the intent to offer them combat. They surrounded themselves on all sides, except the front, with their baggage-waggons; and there they drew up their artillery in a very orderly manner. The duke's men observing their enemies thus posted and ready for battle, held a council, and determined to attempt drawing them from their strong position, and, in consequence, pretended to retreat from fear. The Liegeois seeing this manœuvre, and mistaking it for fear of them, instantly quitted their post and began to pursue them. But matters turned out differently from what they had thought; for the duke's men wheeled about, and instantly attacked them with such vigour that they were immediately discomfited and put to flight, leaving dead on the field more than twenty-two hundred men; and as the duke's party lost but one archer, it was a splendid victory to them.

During this time, the king of France remained in Paris, and the confederate princes around it, while the negotiators on each side were busily employed in establishing a treaty of peace between them. This was at length accomplished, in manner following, which I shall relate as briefly as I have been able to collect the articles.

First, it was ordered, that to remedy the grievances of the realm, and to ease the people from the heavy exactions they had borne, the king should appoint thirty-six of the most able and discreet persons of his realm, namely, twelve prelates, twelve knights, and twelve counsellors, well informed as to law and justice, who should have full powers and authority to inquire into the causes of the grievances complained of, and to apply a sufficient and permanent remedy to prevent such in future; and the king promised, on the word of a king, that he would put into execution all that they should recommend on this subject. They were to commence their examinations on the 15th day of the ensuing December, and to finish the whole within forty days afterwards.—Item, all divisions were now to be at an end, and no one was to be reproached for the part he had taken on either side, nor was any one to suffer for his late conduct. Each person was to have restored to him whatever had belonged to him before open hostilities commenced, notwithstanding any acts to the contrary.—Item, the count de Dunois was to be repossessed of all the lands the king had taken from him.—Item, the count de Dammartin was to have again his county of Dammartin, and all other his lands which the king might have given away as confiscated.—Item, the count d'Armagnac was to have again the lands the king had seized.—Item, the duke of Bourbon was to have all his towns, castles, and lands, which the king had conquered, restored to him; and he was, besides, to receive an annual pension of thirty-six thousand francs, on account of his marriage with the king's sister, and to be appointed captain of the gens-d'armes on the king's establishment.

Item, in consideration of the king having failed in his engagements with the duke of Calabria, respecting the conquest of Naples, he was to receive the sum of two hundred thousand golden crowns, and to have the command of three hundred lances of the gens-d'armes on the king's establishment.—Item, the duke de Nemours was also to have the command of two hundred of the said lances, and to be appointed governor of the Isle de France.—Item, the count de St. Pol was constituted constable of France; and the king invested him with his sword of office, with his own hand, publicly in the palace at Paris.—Item, the duke of Berry, only brother to the king, was to have given him, as his appanage, the duchy of Normandy, for him and the heirs-male of his body, to hold in the same free manner as the dukes of Normandy had anciently held the same from the kings of France; that is to say, by fealty and homage; and thenceforward the dukes of Brittany and Alençon should hold their duchies from the duke of Normandy, as they had done in times past.—Item, the count de Charolois should have restored to him all the lands which had been repurchased by the king from the duke his father, together with the county of Guines, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs-male, in the manner as shall hereafter be expressed.

Item, the king promises, by this treaty, never to constrain any of the said princes to appear personally before him, whatever summons he may issue, saving on such services as they owe to the king on their fidelity, and for the defence and evident welfare of the kingdom.—Item, all such towns, castles, and forts, as may have been taken during these said

divisions, on either side, shall be instantly restored to their right owners, with all or any effects that may have been taken from them.

When these matters had been fully settled, each of the princes received letters-patent from the king, confirming all the articles that concerned each personally.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.—A ROYAL EDICT RESPECTING WHAT THE KING OF FRANCE HAD CONCEDED TO THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS BY THE TREATY OF CONFLANS.

"Louis, &c. Whereas, by the advice and deliberation of our said brother of Normandy, and of our very dear and well-beloved cousins the dukes of Brittany, Calabria, Bourbon, Nemours,—the counts du Maine, du Perche, and d'Armagnac,—the presidents of our court of parliament, and other able and well-informed persons of our realm, we have given, conceded and yielded up, and by these presents do give, concede and yield up to our said brother and cousin the count de Charolois, in consideration and in recompence of what has been before stated, and also because our said cousin has liberally and fully supported, as far as lay in his power, our said brother, and the other princes of our blood, in the settlement of the late divisions, and for the restoration of peace, for him and his heirs, males and females, legally descended from him, to enjoy for ever the cities, towns, fortresses, lands, and lordships, appertaining to us on and upon each side of the river Somme,—namely, Amiens, St. Quentin, Corbie, Abbeville, together with the county of Ponthieu, lying on both sides of the river Somme, Dourlens, St. Ricquier, Crevecoeur, Arleux, Montreuil, Crotoy, Mortaigne, with all their dependencies whatever, and all others that may have belonged to us in right of our crown, from the said river Somme inclusively, stretching on the side of Artois, Flanders, and Hainault, as well within our kingdom as within the limits of the empire,—all of which our said uncle of Burgundy lately held and was in the possession of, by virtue of the treaty of Arras, prior to the repurchase we made of them,—comprehending also, in regard to the towns seated on the Somme on the side nearest our kingdom, the bailiwicks and sheriffdoms of these said towns in the same form and manner as our said uncle was possessed of them, to be enjoyed by our said brother and cousin, and by their legal heirs, males and females, descending in a direct line from them, together with all the revenues, domains, and taxes, in the same manner as enjoyed by our said uncle, without retaining to ourself anything, excepting the faith, homage, and sovereignty, as lord paramount of the same.

"This mortgage we have made, and do make, in consideration of the repayment of the sum of two hundred thousand golden crowns of full weight, and of the current coin, and which neither we nor our successors shall be enabled to recover again, by repayment of the said two hundred thousand crowns, from our said brother and cousin during their natural lives; but it may be lawful for us, or our successors, to recover these lands from the direct heirs of our said brother and cousin, or from their heirs descending in a direct line, who may be in the possession of them, on paying back the said sum of two hundred thousand crowns. For the security of our being enabled to make such repurchase, our said brother and cousin shall deliver to us letters-patent, in due form, for the better confirmation of the same; and we will and understand that our said brother and cousin, and their legal heirs, that may be in the possession of these territories, shall have full powers to nominate and appoint, at their pleasure, all and every officer that shall be necessary for the government and regulation of these said towns and countries; and that such officers as shall be necessary for the collecting of all royal taxes, aids, or impositions, shall be nominated by us, at the recommendation of our said brother and cousin, and their heirs, as was done during the time our said uncle of Burgundy held these towns and countries.

"Whereas, by the treaty of Arras, it was agreed, among other articles, that the county of Boulogne should remain to our uncle of Burgundy, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, and whereas our late lord and father bound himself to recompense all who claimed any right to it, we, for the causes and considerations before mentioned, and without derogating from the treaty of Arras, confirm the above article respecting the county of Boulogne,

and declare that our said brother and cousin, their heirs, male or female, lawfully begotten by them, shall hold, during their lives only, the said county of Boulogne, in the form and manner specified in the treaty of Arras, and that they may reap the same advantages from it, as if it were their own proper inheritance. And we engage to make those consent to the same, who may claim any right to the said county, and give them such compensation as we shall judge proper, so that our said brother, cousin, and their heirs, shall have peaceable possession of the same. We have also promised, and by these presents do promise, our said brother and cousin, that we will cause to be frankly and freely delivered up, as far as in us lies, and we restore, from this instant, the castles, towns, castlewicks and provostships, of Peronne, Mondidier and Roye, with all their dependencies, discharged of whatever debts or mortgages may have attached to them, in the same full manner as they were given to our said uncle by our father, in consequence of the treaty of Arras, to enjoy the same in like manner as they were enjoyed before, according to that article in the said treaty; and we will procure that our very dear and well-beloved cousin the count de Nevers shall surrender to our said brother and cousin the right he lays claim to respecting these towns, castles, &c. and that he shall give possession of the same into the hands of our said brother and cousin, or to any commissioners appointed by them. In addition, we have likewise conveyed to our said brother and cousin the county of Guines, as a perpetual inheritance for them, their heirs and successors, to hold and enjoy all rights, taxes, and other emoluments within the same, as and in like manner with the preceding. In respect to any claim on this county made by the lord de Croy, or others who may pretend to such, we engage to satisfy the said lord de Croy and the others, on this head, and to assure to our said brother and cousin the possession of the said county, free from all let or hindrance on the part of the lord de Croy and all others.

"All the above articles we have promised, and do now promise, punctually to perform, on our royal word," &c.

This ordinance was published at Paris, on the 5th of October, in the year 1465, under the great seal of France, and registered by the parliament on the 11th of the same month.

At the end of this ordinance, the king commands all his judges and other officers to see that these engagements and conveyances are carried into full and speedy effect,—and at the beginning of it were stated the causes and reasons which had moved the king to make such concessions to the count de Charolois.

First, to recompense him for the very great expenses he had been at to raise so great an army to join his brother, the duke of Berry, for the welfare of the kingdom. Secondly, to appease the discords and divisions then existing between the king and the princes of his realm, in which the count de Charolois had greatly exerted himself. Thirdly, because, in consequence of these divisions, the Liegeois had raised a considerable force, and had invaded the dominions of the duke of Burgundy, and had done great mischiefs. Fourthly, respecting the repurchase of the towns and lands on the Somme, that had been mortgaged to the duke of Burgundy, who considered himself entitled to the enjoyment of this country, notwithstanding the repurchase, and that the king had taken immediate possession of the same. And, lastly, to recompense the count de Charolois for the pension of thirty-six thousand francs, which the king had given him and afterward taken from him.

From all these considerations, the king had made such great concessions to the count de Charolois by the treaty of Conflans; and, in addition, at the request of the said count, the king had increased the jurisdictions of the provostships of Vimeu, of Beauvoisis, and of Fouilloy*, to avoid any disputes that might arise between the king's officers and those of the count, as these provostships are included within the bailiwick of Amiens, for the count and his heirs to enjoy on similar terms with those before specified, by letters under the great seal, dated Paris, the 14th day of the same month of October, and enregistered by the parliament on the 16th.

Thus were the quarrels between the king and the princes appeased†.

* Fouilloy,—a village in Picardy, near Corbie.

† When Louis XI. was asked how he could make such concessions, and sign a treaty so prejudicial to the interest of the crown, he replied, "that it was in consideration of the youth of my brother of Berry, of the prudence of my fair cousin of Calabria, of the sense of my brother-in-law

CHAPTER CXXXIV.—THE KING IS PRESENT AT A REVIEW OF THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS' ARMY.—THE COUNT TAKES LEAVE OF THE KING, AND MARCHES HIS ARMY AGAINST THE LIEGEOIS.—THE DUKE OF BERRY DOES HOMAGE TO THE KING FOR THE DUCHY OF NORMANDY.

When this treaty was concluded betweeen the king and the princes of France, they one day assembled together in the castle of Vincennes, wherein the lord de Saveuses was, for that day, lodged by orders from the count de Charolois, when Charles, the newly-created duke of Normandy, did homage to the king for that duchy; after which the other princes did homage for what each had individually obtained from him in lands or honours,—after which they took their leave of the king, and of each other, to return to their homes.

When these ceremonies were over, the count de Charolois made a review of his men-at-arms and other troops, as the king wished to see them,—and for this purpose they were drawn up between Conflans* and Paris. The king, on seeing them, was astonished, and could not refrain from saying, that he did not imagine the count de Charolois had been so powerful, or had such handsome and well-appointed men-at-arms. The review being over, the count took leave of the king and the other princes, and departed from Conflans, the last day of October, with his whole army; but the king would accompany him, in spite of his entreaties to return, as far as Villiers-le-bel†. The king had very few attendants; but what was more, they remained together in this village three or four days, making good cheer, and discoursing secretly on their private affairs. The king showed the utmost possible affection for the count, and it was with difficulty that he parted from him.

At length the king returned, and the count proceeded to Senlis, wherein he was most honourably received, and thence to Compiègne and Noyon, where, and in all the other towns of France he passed through, the same honours were shown him,—for such had been the king's orders, and he was to be admitted with whatever company he pleased. He did enter with such a large body that he was superior to any of their garrisons; but his men paid regularly for everything they wanted, without doing the smallest damage,—for such were the count's commands, on pain of death to all who should act to the contrary.

While the count de Charolois was at Conflans, he received several letters from the duke of Burgundy, to send him five or six thousand combatants to join those whom he was collecting to march against the Liegeois; for that his intention was to command them in person, and offer the Liegeois battle, which made the count the more anxious to leave France, to assist his father and revenge himself on those of Dinant, who had insulted him so grossly, as has been before-mentioned. In consequence of the treaty of Conflans, several of the lords of his army had left him and disbanded their men; but he issued his summons throughout the dominions of his father the duke, for those who had been with him in France, and all others accustomed to bear arms, to join him at Mezieres, on the Meuse‡, the 15th day of November next, in arms, and as well-mounted as possible, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects, whither the count marched with the remainder of those who had accompanied him to France. On the day appointed, the gens-d'armes of the states of the duke of Burgundy appeared round Mezieres; but several came thither much against their wills, for they had been badly paid for their expedition to France: of the twenty-two weeks they had there served, they were only paid for seventeen; but they dared not complain, so much was the count redoubted and feared.

There was now in and about Mezieres a larger and better appointed army than had ever been in France; for the large towns under the dependence of the duke sent thither archers and cross-bowmen,—and there repaired thither several knights and esquires of those

of Bourbon, of the malice of the count d'Armagnac, of the great pride of my fair cousin of Brittany, and of the invincible army of my fair brother of Charolois."—*Proofs to Comines, No.* 65.

The chamber of accounts protested against this treaty of Conflans. There are many very curious papers respecting the history of this period in the proofs to the Mémoires de Comines.

* Conflans,—is on the Seine, six leagues from Paris.

† Villiers-le-bel. Q. Villiers-le-basele? in the Isle of France, near Paris.

‡ Mezieres, on the Meuse,—a strong city in Champagne, five leagues from Charleville.

countries that had been redeemed from the crown of France, and other warriors who had not been of the late expedition, and even some who had been in the late quarrels of the king's party against the count de Charolois.

CHAPTER CXXXV.—THE ENTRY OF THE DUKE OF BERRY INTO ROUEN.—THE KING OF FRANCE GOES INTO NORMANDY AND RETAKES POSSESSION OF THAT DUCHY.—HE CAUSES SOME OF THE LORDS OF THAT COUNTRY, WHO HAD SUPPORTED HIS BROTHER, TO BE EXECUTED AND DROWNED.

When the confederated princes had separated at Conflans, Charles the new duke of Normandy, accompanied by the duke of Brittany, the count de Dunois, and other lords, set out to visit his duchy of Normandy, and went first to Mont St. Catherine, above Rouen; for the whole of the country, as has been said, had submitted to his obedience. He was advised to make his public entry into Rouen on the feast of St. Catherine,—and the inhabitants had made great preparations for his reception. The duke of Brittany, however, for some private reasons, had the entry deferred, which much displeased the inhabitants of that town; and finding that the duke had not given any orders for so doing, they assembled in arms, and went to their new duke in a numerous body, to request that he would instantly make his entry into their town. The count de Harcourt*, then his principal adviser and favourite, urged him to comply with their request without farther delay; which he assented to, whether the duke of Brittany would or not, and followed the townsmen into Rouen, where he was grandly feasted, to the great vexation of the duke of Brittany, who could not at that time prevent it,—for he had not then his men-at-arms with him, and was forced to dissemble. He was so much enraged that he departed for Brittany with those he had with him; and, on going away, they carried off the bedding and sheets of the good people where they had been lodged, as if they had been in an enemy's country. They seized also some of the towns in Normandy, wherein the duke left a party of his men to guard them,—and among others, he took possession of the town and castle of Caen, where he placed a larger force to guard and defend the castle.

On these things coming to the king's knowledge, he hastily assembled as many men as he could, and marched first to Caen, which was surrendered to him by the duke of Brittany; and shortly after all the other towns in Normandy surrendered to the king, excepting Rouen, Louviers, Pont de l'Arche, and some castles. The new duke resided at Rouen, where those who had received him as their lord had promised to stand by him until death; but the duke perceived clearly that they would not long keep their promises; and for that reason he quitted the town of Rouen, and sought an asylum with the duke of Brittany, who received him with kindness. Soon after the departure of the duke, those of Rouen surrendered to the king,—and their example was followed by Pont de l'Arche and Louviers; so that the whole of the duchy of Normandy was repossessed by the king, notwithstanding the promises he had made to his brother in the treaty of Conflans.

The king recalled to his person the duke of Bourbon, and attended more to his opinion than to that of any other prince. As soon as he found himself master of Normandy, he began to persecute such as had been of the party of his brother, and had supported him: among others was the lord d'Esternay, whom he caused to be arrested and drowned. This lord had been, during the late reign, general of Normandy, and was exceedingly beloved for his wisdom and moderation,—and he had not his equal in the whole country for devotion. Many other lords the king caused to be executed or drowned, so that several quitted their country, abandoning their houses and estates for fear of his tyranny, and the king was greatly blamed for these measures by all who heard of them.

* John V. de Rieux, son of Francis, and grandson of John III. lord of Rieux, who acquired the county of Harcourt by marriage with Joan, daughter and heir of John VII. last count de Harcourt of the original line. He was made mareschal of Bretagne by Francis II., and advanced to the dignity of a mareschal of France in 1504. But Anthony count de Vaudemont laid claim also to the county of Harcourt in right of his wife Mary, another daughter of John VII., who brought the county of Aumale into his house; and John of Lorraine, his second son, bore the title of Count de Harcourt. From a subsequent passage it seems probable that it is this nobleman, and not the lord of Rieux, who is here mentioned.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.—THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS ENTERS THE COUNTRY OF LIEGE WITH HIS ARMY.—THE LIEGEOIS DEMAND AND OBTAIN A TRUCE,—BUT, ALTHOUGH A PEACE IS MADE, IT DOES NOT LAST LONG.

The Liegeois, hearing of the peace concluded between king Louis and the count de Charolois, imagined that they were included in the treaty; but when they learned the contrary, and that the count was marching an immense army against them, they sent a grand embassy to the duke of Burgundy at Brussels, offering to make great reparations for what they had done. They supplicated, in all humility, for peace with him and the count de Charolois, and were so urgent that they obtained from the good duke a truce for fifteen days.

At this moment, the count de Charolois was at St. Tron,* a large town belonging to Liege, which surrendered to him as soon as he came before it. On receiving information of this truce, he caused proclamation to be made throughout his army, that no one should do any damage to the territories of Liege, on pain of death, notwithstanding that his men had not received their pay: they were, therefore, obliged to forage the country of the duke of Burgundy that lay nearest at hand, and it suffered very much from it. They even spread as far as Lorraine and other distant countries, to seek provisions,—for so large an army could not otherwise have existed without money. On the expiration of the fifteen days, the truce was prolonged for eight more, then for another eight days, and at last to the 12th day of January: which caused the adjoining country to be sorely pillaged and devoured, for it was daily overrun for so long a space of time. The count de Charolois, perceiving that the Liegeois were only seeking delays, and did not perform what they had promised, collected his army, and entered the territory of Liege, and wrote to the duke his father to send him as many reinforcements as he could, for that he now intended to combat the Liegeois.

The duke instantly sent back to him the lord de Saveuses with all his men, and wrote him word, that he would shortly join him in person, and that he desired he would not give battle until he should arrive. As the duke was preparing to set out for the army, notwithstanding the severe illness from which he had scarcely recovered, his son wrote him word that the Liegeois had come to him with a treaty, such as he approved of, sealed with their city-seal,—that they implored his mercy, and begged he would be satisfied with them,—that he had accepted the treaty, provided it were his good pleasure to ratify it. The duke, on receiving this news, remained quiet at Brussels.

On the 20th day of January, the Liegeois, knowing that the count de Charolois had entered their country with his army, and that his van, under the command of the count de St. Pol, was far advanced, sent from four-score to a hundred of the principal persons of the country to wait on the count de Charolois, well mounted and well armed for fear of several who had been banished their city, and other evil-disposed persons, who only wished for war, and hindered the completion of a peace. They met the count between St. Tron and Tongres†, two good towns belonging to the Liegeois, and presented to him the treaty such as had been agreed to by the city of Liege, and sealed with their seal: the deputation offered, at the same time, to answer with their lives for the consent of the other towns in this treaty. The terms of this treaty were precisely what the duke of Burgundy and his son had insisted upon,—and the deputies, on their knees, besought the count's mercy and pardon, promising that henceforward the inhabitants of the whole country would be his faithful servants and good neighbours.

The count, having examined the treaty, accepted it on consideration of the great sums they were to pay by way of recompensing the damages done, and forgave them. The sum for damages was six hundred thousand florins of the Rhine, which they were to pay the duke in the course of six years; and the duke of Brabant and all future dukes of Brabant were to be their mainbrugs, or governors of the whole country of Liege, with a yearly salary of two thousand florins of the Rhine. The Liegeois were not in future to undertake any measures

* St. Tron,—on the lower Meuse, fourteen miles north-west from Liege, the capital of the country of Hasbain.

† Tongres,—in the bishopric of Liege, on the lower Meuse.

of weight, without having first obtained the consent of their mainbrug. Many other articles were inserted in the treaty, which I omit for the sake of brevity; but, notwithstanding, they soon after broke this treaty, without keeping any one article of it.

The count de Charolois having acceded to the requests of the deputies, peace was proclaimed throughout his army,—and the whole was ordered to appear before him, on the morrow, near to Tongres. This was done that the deputation might see his army in battle-array, to inspire them with fear of his power, and thereby check any future rebellion. The army, when drawn up on the following day, delighted and astonished the ambassadors and those who had come from St. Tron, Tongres, and other towns to see it,—for they never could have imagined that the count would have been able to raise such a force at once. In truth, according to common report, this army consisted of upwards of twenty-eight thousand horse, not including the infantry, which was very numerous, although many had returned home with leave, and without leave, in default of being regularly paid.

When the army was thus drawn up, the count rode along the line, thanking most courteously all the captains and men-at-arms, begging they would hold him excused for having so badly paid them, for that he could not now have avoided it,—but he would make them full amends at another time by more regular payments, so that every one should be satisfied. Addressing himself to the poorer cavaliers, he asked if any of them had been banished the countries of the duke his father, and desired such to come to him at Brussels, when he would make representations of their case to his father, and they should be allowed to return. Saying this, he took his leave of them, and went from St. Tron to Hasbain,—and the troops were dismissed to their several homes.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.—AFTER THE TREATY CONCLUDED AT SAINT TRON, THE INHABITANTS ATTEMPT TO MURDER THE MEN OF THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS, BUT ARE OVERPOWERED.—THE COUNT RETURNS TO HIS FATHER AT BRUSSELS.—THE KING OF FRANCE RAISES A LARGE ARMY, IN CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH, THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS PUTS HIMSELF ON HIS GUARD.

One Sunday after peace had been made with the Liegeois, and while the count de Charolois was in St. Tron, detachments of his army were passing through that town on their road homewards; when the inhabitants, thinking the whole were passed, sought a quarrel with a body of the men-at-arms attached to the bastard of Burgundy, and killed two of them. Having done this, they closed the gate by which these detachments entered from Tongres, and guarded the others. This conduct seemed as if they intended to put to death all of those who were in the town; but the gens-d'armes forced the gate, and marched straight to the market-place, where they formed themselves in order, to resist the mob of the town, who had there assembled with a great noise. They soon drove this mob before them, who fled for safety; not, however, without having had nineteen or twenty of their companions killed. Had not the count been timely informed of what was passing, and given proper orders for checking his men, they would probably have destroyed all the inhabitants, and plundered the town; for they were then beginning to break down doors and windows, and enter the houses: however, they lodged themselves wherever they pleased, and took whatever provisions they found within them. Some of the townsmen, who had begun this riot, had retreated into a kind of fortified house, wherein they were besieged, and at length taken, when the riot ceased. This happened on the 22nd day of January, in the year 1465.

The count de Charolois, on leaving St. Tron, went straight to Brussels, where he was received by the duke his father with as much joy as ever father received a son. When they had remained some days together, the count set out on a pilgrimage to Boulogne, which he had vowed to perform on foot; and on his return to Brussels, he went to Ghent, Bruges, and Saint Omer, and in all of these towns he was received with the greatest honours. While he was at St. Omer, the count de Nevers came to him, and asked his pardon for whatever he might have done to offend him, which was fully granted; and they remained together

some time, when the count de Nevers was so much restored to the count's good graces that, on his departure, the count de Charolois wrote to the officers of the different towns he was to pass through, to show him the same honours and attention as if he had come himself in person; and this was done in all the towns he came to.

From St. Omer, the count de Charolois went to Boulogne, and thence to Rue, to Abbeville, to Amiens, to Corbie, and to Peronne, in all which places he was most honourably received, although several of these towns were dissatisfied that they no longer belonged to the king of France. During the stay he made at Peronne, he was informed that the king was raising a greater army than he had ever done, and that it was marvellous the quantity of artillery he had cast: he had even taken the bells from some steeples to have them cast into serpentines and other artillery. At the same time, the king was writing the most affectionate letters to the count, as to his dearest friend; but the count did not put too much confidence in these appearances, always suspecting the changeful temper of the king. In consequence, he had it proclaimed through his father's dominions, that every one that had been accustomed to bear arms should be ready to join the king on the 15th day of June, in Normandy, to oppose the landing of the English, who would then attempt it with a considerable army.

This was the report the king had caused to be spread over the realm, and that the English were making great preparations to invade the duchy of Normandy the ensuing summer, although he knew to the contrary; but his projects were pointed at other objects than what was generally imagined. He had sent the bastard of Bourbon to England some time before, and, by means of a large sum of money given to the English, had obtained a truce between the two nations for twelve months. The count, nevertheless, had a conference with the English at St. Omer, whither he sent his bastard-brother of Burgundy, as his representative, to meet the earl of Warwick and other lords from England, to obtain the alliance of the king of England and the English nation, should the king of France make war upon him, as, from his preparations, was too apparent.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.—THE LIEGEOIS IN DINANT BREAK THE PEACE, AND RECOMMENCE THE WAR AGAINST THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—DINANT IS BESIEGED AND BATTERED WITH CANNON.

[A. D. 1466.]

Between Easter and the middle of August, in this year, so many marriages took place in the county of Artois, and the adjoining countries, that the like was not heard of in the memory of man.

Early in this year, those of Dinant, tired of the peace which they had obtained by their humble solicitations from the duke of Burgundy, and having their courage puffed up by those more inclined to war than peace, suffered many evil-disposed persons, that had been banished, to return to their town, who were eager for all kinds of mischief. They soon after sallied out of Dinant, and overrun and pillaged many villages in Hainault and Namur, which they afterward burned, violated churches and monasteries, committing, in short, every wickedness. The duke of Burgundy, on hearing this, instantly ordered a greater assembly of men-at-arms than he had ever before made, to be at Namur on the 28th day of July. But, notwithstanding the summons was so pressing, the men-at-arms delayed as much as possible to equip and prepare themselves; nor did they offer to assist in mounting their poorer brethren, being doubtful of the expense, and remembering, that in the preceding campaign, they had been badly paid. The duke was told of this backwardness while at table, the beginning of July, and was so much vexed that in his passion he kicked the table from him, saying, that he saw clearly how much he was governed, and that he was no longer the master; for that he had paid last year for the army upwards of two hundred thousand crowns from his treasury, and he knew not how they had been spent. The more he spoke, the more angry he grew, insomuch that, at last, he dropped to the ground, from rage and apoplexy. It was, for three days, thought that he could never recover, but it happened otherwise.

He then issued another summons, commanding all to obey it instantly, on pain of death. While this was passing, the count de Charolois was at Peronne, and had renewed the tax on salt, which he had abolished on his march to France, to the great joy of the people: but this renewal changed their joy to grief, and caused great discontents, because the count had ordered the arrears of this tax, during the year it had been abolished, to be collected. The duke of Burgundy was busily employed in his preparations to march the army against Liege, and had ordered copies of the sentence of excommunication which the pope had given against those of Dinant to be stuck against the doors of all the churches throughout his dominions.—This excommunication had been issued against those of Dinant, their allies, and accomplices, as a punishment for the numerous evils they were daily committing, contrary to the treaty of peace, and for their disobedience to the holy apostolical see.

Ceremony of FIXING A PAPAL BULL to the door of a Church. Designed from contemporary authorities.—The figures illustrate the general Ecclesiastical Costume of the period.

By this sentence, the pope gave permission to the duke of Burgundy and his allies to punish them, and force their obedience; for the doing of which, they would obtain a full pardon for their sins, as ministers of the church. In this sentence, the pope had forbidden divine service to be performed in the churches of Dinant. Nevertheless, those in Dinant, obstinate in their wills and opinions, and disobedient to the commands of the head of the church, constrained their priests to perform divine service, and to chaunt the mass as before; but, as some priests would not act contrary to the positive interdict of the pope, they drowned them.

Just as the duke's army was ready to march to Dinant, the bastard de St. Pol, lord de Hautbourdin, who, like the others, was fully prepared for this march, was suddenly taken ill, and the disorder became so serious that he died of it, which was a great pity and loss, for he was valiant and prudent, and one of the best warriors the duke had in his army, handsome above all others, and a knight of the Golden Fleece. Toward the beginning of August, the duke of Burgundy's army was ready to march to Namur, according to the orders

he had issued for all who loved him to follow him thither. This was the largest army that had been seen, for it was more than as numerous again as that which had marched to France: indeed, common report said, they were upwards of thirty thousand who received pay. The principal nobles in it were the count de Charolois, the count de St. Pol constable of France, the lord de Ravenstein, the three sons of the count de St. Pol, the two bastards of Burgundy, the count de Nassau, and so many barons, lords, knights and gentlemen, that it would be tiresome to name them all. The marshal of Burgundy was also there, but in his private capacity, for the army of Burgundy had remained at home. The duke of Burgundy would likewise be present, and went from Brussels to Namur on the 14th day of August.

The army soon marched from Namur toward Dinant, where a skirmish ensued in the suburbs of that town, between about three hundred of the Burgundians, commanded by the count de Charolois and the marshal of Burgundy, and the townsmen, who sallied out to the attack. This was renewed twice or thrice, but the townsmen were always repulsed. It was horrible to see the engines that were used in the town, although they killed none, and three or four of the townsmen were slain. The count de St. Pol, sir James his brother, with numbers of other lords, advanced on the other side of the Meuse in all diligence; while the lord de Saveuses was posted at Bovines, a tolerably good town in the county of Namur, about half a league from Dinant.

News was brought to the army, that the Liegeois had mustered their forces, which amounted to full forty thousand combatants, of whom they had sent four thousand to Dinant, and had boasted in Liege, that if Dinant were besieged, they would raise the siege or die in the attempt. On the 18th of August, the whole of the Burgundian army moved toward Dinant, having their baggage in the centre. The lord de Cohen* bore the standard of the bastard of Burgundy, who commanded the van, the count de Charolois having the main body under his orders, and the count de Marle, grandly attended, had charge of the rear battalion. On its near approach to Dinant, the garrison briskly played off their artillery, while a detachment made a sally, and set fire to a large farm-house above an abbey; but they were roughly treated on their return: they hastened to the town as quickly as they could, and abandoned their suburbs, so that the duke's men were near entering the town with them. In this manner were the suburbs of Dinant won, although inclosed by a ditch and good walls as strong as those of a town. In these suburbs was a handsome church of the Franciscans, a nunnery, a parish church, and beyond them an abbey of white monks.

In gaining this advantage, the count de Charolois lost not more than five or six men. When these suburbs had been won on the side toward Bovines, those in the town lost no time to set fire to those on the opposite side, before the count de St. Pol could advance thither, and made it impracticable for any lodgement to be made there. On the following night, the count de Charolois fixed his quarters in the abbey of white monks, and had a bombard pointed against the gate of the town; and within the inclosures of the Franciscans a large detachment was posted, who kept up a good guard during the night. This bombard battered the gate so well that it broke it down,—but the inhabitants lost no time in walling of it up with stones and bags of earth. In another quarter, the constable, who was quartered on the river side, below the mountain, battered down with his artillery a corner tower that terminated that side of the wall.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.—DINANT IS FORCED TO SURRENDER TO THE WILL OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE TREATMENT IT RECEIVES, FOR A PERPETUAL EXAMPLE TO OTHER TOWNS IN A LIKE SITUATION.

On the ensuing Tuesday, all the walls of the abbey of the Franciscans, and the other inclosures, were thrown down, to erect a battery against the town; and the artillery was briskly played on both sides. Four of the count de Charolois' men were killed by arrows from the walls, and among others the master-cannonier of the bombard, as he was picking

* John de Berghes, lord of Cohan.

up a rod from the ground. The Burgundian army now advanced nearer the walls, and the count de Charolois posted himself at the Cordeliers, only a stone's cast from the gate,—and this day the duke his father came from Namur to Bovines. Provision was now so dear in the army that a twopenny loaf sold for twelve pence, and other food in proportion,—and they were forced to go three or four leagues to seek forage for their horses.

The batteries having been completed, the town was summoned to surrender to the duke of Burgundy; but they within replied, that they had no such intention, continuing their abusive language against the duke and his son even more than before. Speaking of the duke, they said, "What has put it in the head of that old dotard, your duke, to come hither to die? Has he lived long enough to come and die here miserably! and your count, little Charley, what! he is come to lay his bones here also? Let him return to Montlehery and combat the king of France, who will come to our succour: do not think that he will fail in the promise he has made us.—Charley is come hither in an unlucky hour: he has too yellow a beak; aud the Liegeois will soon make him dislodge with shame." With such villanous language did the Dinanters address the duke and his son,—and they made use of many other expressions tiresome to relate, and which they incessantly continued, proceeding from bad to worse. Those of Bovines, as good neighbours, sent letters to Dinant before the siege commenced, to advise them to surrender to the duke, before a siege took place; but, out of spite, they had the messengers who brought these letters publicly beheaded.

Notwithstanding this outrage, those of Bovines, desirous to save them, sent an innocent child with other letters to the magistrates, by which they again admonished them to make their peace with the duke before he approached nearer, to avoid the evil consequences that would inevitably follow their obstinacy. The wicked people, instead of listening to such friendly counsel, put the innocent child to death, from spite to the duke and the townsmen of Bovines. Some say, that, in their rage, they tore the poor child limb from limb. Other outrages and insults they had committed before they were besieged; but when they knew that a siege would commence, once, in particular, they went in a large body to Bovines, and over the town-ditch, which was stinking, and full of all kind of filth and venomous creatures, they threw a plank, on which they seated an effigy of the duke of Burgundy, clothed in his arms, bawling out to those in Bovines, "See! here is the seat of that great toad your duke!" Of this and many other villanous insults on the father and son, they were duly informed, which only served to irritate them the more, and to make them the more eager to take vengeance on such wicked people.

When the batteries began to play on the town, which they did in a most terrible manner, for three or four hours together, neither man nor woman therein knew where to shelter themselves. The smoke was so thick, and the fire so terrible, that it resembled a hell, and very many were killed by the balls. In the mean time, the duke had constructed, at Bovines, two bridges of wood, to throw over the Meuse, to surround and attack them on all sides. On Friday, the walls and towers were so greatly damaged that eight of the principal inhabitants came, under passports, to the army, hoping to negotiate a peace,—but they could not succeed. On the Saturday it was ordered that every man should be prepared to storm the town on the morrow, and provide himself with a faggot to fill the ditches. But when the day arrived, the duke would not have it then stormed, but ordered the batteries to continue their fire. This was so severe, that the garrison now despaired of their lives and fled. The inhabitants would now have surrendered, on having their lives spared, but the duke would not grant it! At this moment happened an unfortunate accident, by a spark falling into a barrel of powder, which had been left uncovered. The explosion killed twenty or thirty of the count's men, and burnt or wounded many more; but they afterward recovered.

The bishop of Liege, then resident at Huy *, sent information to the duke his uncle, that thirty or forty thousand men had left Liege, with the intent to raise the siege of Dinant, and advised him to be on his guard. The duke, on this, called a council of war,—and he

* Huy,—on the Meuse, twelve miles from Liege.

was advised to storm the town before the Liegeois could come to its relief; and orders were given to this effect, although it was about five o'clock in the afternoon. The townsmen, however, fearful, from the demolition of their walls and towers, that they could not make any defence, if stormed, and that, if they were taken, they would be all put to death, surrendered to the duke, bringing the keys to the bastard of Burgundy, who sent them to the count de Charolois,—but he would not receive them until he had had the consent of his father.

This same night the bastard of Burgundy took possession of the castle of Dinant, which was delivered up to him. The marshal of Burgundy and other lords took possession of the different gates, and with their men, entered the town, which they guarded that night. The count de Charolois would have entered the place on the morrow at mid-day; but he wished first to know the intentions of his father concerning it, and would have waited on him for that purpose; but he was advised to the contrary, as he was told the duke had resolved to destroy it! The count, on hearing this, abandoned the town to plunder, when a scene of the greatest confusion ensued; for each wanted to save the pillage to himself, and to guard it in his respective quarters; but the strongest had the advantage, and murder and every sort of misery were now exhibited throughout the place. Each made his host prisoner, although he had been robbed before of his whole fortune,—and immensely rich was the plunder made, for Dinant was one of the most wealthy and strongest towns in all those parts; and this enormous wealth was the cause of its ruin, for it had filled the inhabitants with pride and insolence, so that they feared not God, nor the church, nor any prince on earth,—and this may be supposed to be the cause why God suffered them to be thus punished.

The Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday were wholly employed in plundering the town,—and boat-loads of effects were on the river,—and the streets were crowded with waggons full of goods,—and every man was carrying off on his back all that he could bear. Many of the men-at-arms gained riches enough to support them for three or four years. Inquiry was then made after those in the town who had been the most forward in their insulting language to the duke and his son. Some were discovered, who were tied back to back, and thrown into the Meuse, where they perished. The count ordered the chief cannonier of the town to be arrested, and hung on the mountain above the church, and those who had been most culpable in renewing the war to be drowned in the river.

From the moment the town had been given up to pillage, the count de Charolois had it proclaimed, that whoever should violate a woman should be instantly punished with death; but, notwithstanding this, three were arrested, and found guilty of this crime. The count ordered them to be marched thrice along the ranks, that every one might take warning from them,—and then they were hanged on a gibbet. He swore, at the same time, that should any others be guilty of the like crime, whether noble or not, they should suffer a similar punishment; which prevented any woman, in future, being forced against her will. The count ordered all the women and children out of the town, and had them escorted as far as the city of Liege; but it was most melancholy to hear and see their pitiful lamentations on being driven from their town, and there was no heart so hardened but had compassion on them.

On Friday, the 28th day of August, when the town was quite emptied of its wealth, and the houses and churches unroofed, and the lead carried away, a fire broke out at the lodgings of the lord de Ravenstein, near to the church of Our Lady, about an hour after midnight; but it was not known whether it had happened accidentally, or had been done on purpose, to force the men-at-arms out of the place, or to burn such as remained. The count, however, ordered it to be extinguished by all who could assist, and great exertions were made to accomplish it; but, in the mean time, it spread to the town house, in which was a magazine full of powder, that caught fire, and exploded with such force as to break through the roof of the church of Our Lady; but as this was arched with stone, the fire did not extend rapidly; and some relics, and the ornaments of the church, were saved: all of them that came to the count's knowledge he had carried to Bovines; for many had been stolen and taken away before he came thither. Great numbers were burnt by this fire; and their

plunder, that had remained packed in the street, was destroyed. Those plunderers who attempted to save effects from the fire were miserably burnt; and the flames followed them so closely, that it seemed as if Divine vengeance was resolved to punish the pride and insolence of this town by totally destroying it.

While Dinant was in flames, a large embassy came from Liege to the duke of Burgundy at Bovines, to negotiate a treaty of peace; and the sight of the destruction of Dinant made a serious impression on them. The count de Charolois, observing that all attempts to put out the fire were ineffectual, determined that the whole should be destroyed, and caused such parts, in the town and suburbs, as had hitherto escaped, to be set on fire, so that all was burnt. He then sent for great numbers of peasants from the neighbourhood, to demolish the walls, towers and fortifications, to each of whom he gave three patars * a day, with everything they might find in the ruins. They laboured so diligently, that within four days after the fire had ceased, a stranger might have said, "Here was Dinant!" for there now neither remained gate nor wall, nor church, nor house, for all had been burnt and razed to the ground. It unfortunately happened, that when the great church caught fire, many prisoners of note that had been therein confined were burnt, and such as had retreated to different towers and forts also perished. Thus was destroyed the town of Dinant, by reason of its presumption and folly!

CHAPTER CXL. — THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF DINANT, MAKES DISPOSITIONS TO MARCH HIS ARMY INTO THE TERRITORIES OF LIEGE.—SEVERAL TOWNS SURRENDER TO HIM.—A PEACE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THEM.

After the destruction of this proud city of Dinant, the duke of Burgundy departed from Bovines, on the first day of September, and returned by the river to Namur, attended by the embassy from Liege, who were pressing for a peace. The whole army passed through Namur, and the bastard of Burgundy quartered his division in the country of Hasbain, two leagues distant from St. Tron. The count de Charolois was posted between Tillemont and St. Tron. Soon after, the count de St. Pol received the surrender of the town of Thuin †, which had been given him by the duke as a recompense for his not having been at the plunder of Dinant; and this town was saved from pillage by means of a sum of money which the inhabitants had given to the count de St. Pol; and as this place and St. Tron had demolished their walls and gates, they both escaped being plundered. The count de Charolois next advanced to lay siege to Tongres; but as he was told that the inhabitants had all fled, he ordered the army to march for Liege, while his father, the duke, remained at Namur. The count advanced as far as Montenac, four leagues from Liege; his army and artillery always in order of battle. There, having heard that the Liegeois had issued out in great numbers to give him battle, he made preparations to receive them, by forming his army into two wings and a centre, and thus waited their coming upwards of three hours. They did come, but sent to demand a truce until ten o'clock the next day, when they promised to comply with whatever he should demand. This satisfied the count, and he consented to a truce for the day, which was the 6th of September.

When this had been settled, the count de St. Pol, constable of France, and the bastard of Burgundy, advanced with their men, to observe the situation of the Liegeois, who had come out of their city. They found them posted on the river Gerre; and intelligence was brought them, that those who had escorted the embassy from Liege were skirmishing with the count's foragers; on which they detached a party of their men, who forced the Liegeois to retreat to their army. Toward evening the count's army were within sight of the Liegeois, and drew up in order of battle within less than a quarter of a league from them. The constable crossed the river Gerre to surround them, and ordered a part of his men to dismount; and although it was five o'clock in the evening, they would willingly have attacked the Liegeois; but the count would not permit it, on account of the truce which he had granted. The

* Patars,—a Low-country coin: five are equal to sixpence sterling.—*Cotgrave.*
† Thuin,—fourteen miles from Mons.

whole army was much displeased at his refusal, for they would easily have conquered the enemy without one being able to escape; for they were so surrounded that they could not fly, and they amounted to full two thousand horse, and more than ten thousand foot, as numbers were in an adjoining village, and could not be counted. A division of the count's army was also posted in the large village of Varennes; and as they would not quit it to join their companions, the count ordered it to be set on fire, which forced them to issue forth, and join their main army, but not without losing their baggage by the fire.

The count's army remained drawn up in order of battle until ten o'clock at night, when each retired to his quarters. On Sunday, the 7th of September, the count formed his army in battle array at the earliest dawn, and thus remained, without crossing the Gerre, until ten o'clock, when the ambassadors returned, and assured the count that the city of Liege and its dependencies were ready to perform everything the duke his father and himself had demanded. They required, therefore, peace at his hands; and offered, for the due execution of the treaty, to deliver up to him fifty persons as hostages, whom it should please the duke to select; namely, thirty-two men for the city of Liege, six for the town of Tongres, six for St. Tron, and six for the town of Hessel *. This same day, part of the hostages were delivered to the count, who sent them to Judenge † to the duke, who had come thither from Namur to combat the Liegeois with his son. Peace was, therefore, again made between the duke and his son and the Liegeois.

By the treaty, they promised to pay six hundred thousand florins of the Rhine in the course of six years; one hundred thousand annually; and they delivered the fifty hostages, such as the duke demanded, who were to return home on the first annual payment being made, and were then to be replaced by fifty others. The duke of Burgundy as duke of Brabant, and his successors, the dukes of Brabant, were to be perpetual mainbrugs of Liege, and governors of the whole country, without whose advice and consent the Liegeois were not henceforward to undertake any measures of importance. The Liegeois, in this treaty, made many other engagements, which I omit to note down, for within a very short time they broke every promise they had made.

At this time, provision was so scarce in the count's army that it was with the greatest difficulty that any could be procured. On the 8th of September, the day this treaty was signed, the Burgundian army arrived to reinforce the count de Charolois, consisting of about four hundred lances, under the command of the lord de Montagu and the marquis de Rothelin. There came also a body of Swiss, of about sixty men; and the city of Antwerp sent three hundred men to assist the duke in his war against the Liegeois. On the ensuing day, a deputation from the city of Liege waited on the count, and delivered to him the treaty, sealed with the seals of Liege, Tongres, St. Tron, Hessel, and the other towns under their jurisdiction. It was then discussed and settled, that should any of the hostages die within the year, the Liegeois were to replace them with others; and in regard to the interest due to the duke from the sums that were to have been paid, according to the preceding treaty, they offered to pay whatever the duke should be pleased to demand. On the very day of signing this treaty, it was proclaimed throughout the army, that no one should forage or do any mischief to the territories of Liege.

When these things were completed, the count de Charolois issued orders for the return of his army. He came, on the Sunday, before a large village called Chasteler, belonging to the chapter of Liege, whither the inhabitants of Thuin came to solicit pardon, and begged for mercy humbly on their knees. One hundred men were ordered thither to demolish the gates and walls of their town, at the expense of its inhabitants. At this place, the count disbanded his army, when each went to his home, and the count to Brussels, whither his father, the duke, was returned. They shortly after sent an embassy to England, to negotiate with king Edward: but the subject of their negotiations I do not mention, because I am ignorant of it ‡.

* Hessel,—five miles from Bommel.

† Judenge, Judoigne,—an ancient town formerly belonging to the dukes of Brabant: it forms now part of France, in the department of the Dyle, twenty-five miles from Liege.

‡ This embassy probably respected the marriage of the count de Charolois with Margaret sister to Edward IV. or, perhaps, for the regulations regarding the tilt between the earl Rivers and sir Anthony of Burgundy.

CHAPTER CXLI.—SIR ANTHONY, BASTARD OF BURGUNDY, GOES TO ENGLAND, TO TILT WITH THE LORD SCALES *, BROTHER TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

[A. D. 1467.]

Soon after Easter, in the year 1467, sir Anthony, bastard of Burgundy, crossed over to England, to perform a deed of arms against the lord Scales, brother to the queen of England. He went thither handsomely attended by warriors and artillery; for there were reports which proved true, that there were some pirates on the seas lying in wait to defeat him, under pretence of being Spaniards, although they were French. It happened that the bastard's men took two of these vessels, richly laden and full of soldiers, which were plundered, and then he arrived safely in England. He performed his deed of arms greatly to his credit; but it did not last long; for as it was done to please the king of England, he would not suffer the combat to continue any time, so that it was rather for amusement †.

This was a plentiful year in wine, corn, and fruits, which were all good, and the corn of a quality fit for preservation.

In this year also, the ladies and damsels laid aside their long trains to their gowns, and in lieu of them had deep borders of furs of minever, martin, and others, or of velvet, and various articles of a great breadth. They also wore hoods on their heads of a circular form, half an ell, or three quarters, high, gradually tapering to the top. Some had them not so high, with handkerchiefs wreathed round them, the corners hanging down to the ground. They wore silken girdles of a greater breadth than formerly, with the richest shoes, with golden necklaces much more trimly decked in divers fashions than they were accustomed to wear them.

At the same time, the men wore shorter dresses than usual, so that the form of their

* Anthony Widville earl Rivers, lord Scales and Newsels, and lord of the Isle of Wight. This accomplished nobleman, one of the first restorers of learning to this country, was son to sir Richard Widville, by Jacqueline of Luxembourg, widow to the regent duke of Bedford. Caxton printed several of his works.

For further particulars, see Walpole's Noble Authors, last edition, by Park.

† The following extract from Dr. Henry's History of England, vol. v. pp. 536, 537, 4to. edit. will place the event of this tournament in a different light.

"The most magnificent of these tournaments was that performed by the bastard of Burgundy and Anthony lord Scales, brother to the queen of England, in Smithfield, A.D. 1467. The king and queen of England spared no expense to do honour to so near a relation; and Philip duke of Burgundy, the most magnificent prince of that age, was no less profuse in equipping his favourite son. Several months were spent in adjusting the preliminaries of this famous combat, and in performing all the pompous ceremonies prescribed by the laws of chivalry.

"Edward IV. granted a safe-conduct, October 29, A.D. 1466, to the bastard of Burgundy earl of La Roche, with a thousand persons in his company, to come into England to perform certain feats of arms with his dearly beloved brother Anthony Widville, lord Scales and Newsels; but so many punctilios were to be settled, by the intervention of heralds, that the tournament did not take place until June 11, A.D. 1467.

"Strong lists having been erected in Smithfield, one hundred and twenty yards and ten feet long, eighty yards and ten feet broad, with fair and costly galleries all around for the accommodation of the king and queen, attended by the lords and ladies of the court, and a prodigious number of lords, knights, and ladies, of England, France, Scotland, and other countries, in their richest dresses.

"The two champions entered the lists, and were conducted to their pavilions. There they underwent the usual searches, and answered the usual questions, and then advanced into the middle of the lists. The first day they ran together with sharp spears, and departed with equal honour. The next day they tourneyed on horseback. The lord Scales' horse had on his chaffron a long sharp pike of steel, and as the two champions coped together, the said horse thrust his pike into the nostrils of the bastard's horse, so that, for very pain, he mounted so high, that he fell on the one side with his master; and the lord Scales, rode about him, with his sword drawn in his hand, till the king commanded the marshal to help up the bastard, who openly said, 'I cannot hold me by the clouds; for though my horse fail me, I will not fail my encounter, companion:' but the king would not suffer them to do any more that day. The next morrow, the two noblemen came into the field on foot, with two pole-axes, and fought valiantly; but, at the last, the point of the pole-axe of the lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the bastard's helm, and, by fine force, might have plucked him on his knees; but the king suddenly cast down his warder, and the marshal severed them. The bastard, not content with this chance, required the king, of justice, that he might perform his enterprise. The lord Scales refused not. But the king calling to him the constable and the marshal, with the officer of arms, after consultation had, it was declared, for a sentence definitive, by the duke of Clarence, then constable of England," (John Tiptoft earl of Worcester was the constable, and not the duke of Clarence: see Rymer) "and the duke of Norfolk marshal, that if he would go forward with his attempted challenge, he must, by the law of arms, be delivered to his adversary in the same state, and like condition, as he stood when he was taken from him.

"The bastard, hearing this judgment, doubted the sequel of the matter, and so relinquished his challenge."—See *Stowe*, &c.

buttocks, and of their other parts, was visible, after the fashion in which people were wont to dress monkeys, which was a very indecent and impudent thing. The sleeves of their outward dress and jackets were slashed, to show their wide white shirts. Their hair was so long that it covered their eyes and face; and on their heads they had cloth bonnets of a quarter of an ell in height. Knights and esquires, indifferently, wore the most sumptuous golden chains. Even the varlets had jackets of silk, satin, or velvet; and almost all, especially at the courts of princes, wore peaks at their shoes of a quarter of an ell in length. They had also under their jackets large stuffings * at their shoulders, to make them appear broad, which is a very vanity, and, perchance, displeasing to God; and he who was short-dressed to-day, on the morrow had his robe training on the ground. These fashions were so universal that there was not any little gentleman but would ape the nobles and the rich, whether they dressed in long or short robes, never considering the great expense, nor how unbecoming it was to their situation.

CHAPTER CXLII.—THE DEATH AND INTERMENT OF THE NOBLE DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY, AND THE GRAND OBSEQUIES PERFORMED FOR HIM IN THE CHURCH OF SAINT DONNAST IN BRUGES.

On the 12th day of June, in the year 1467, the noble duke Philip of Burgundy was seized with a grievous malady, which continued unabated until Monday, the 15th, when he rendered his soul to God, between nine and ten o'clock at night. When he perceived, on the preceding day, that he was growing worse, he sent for his son, the count de Charolois, then at Ghent, who hastened to him with all speed; and on his arrival, about mid-day of the Monday, at the duke's palace in Bruges, he went instantly to the chamber where the duke lay sick in bed, but found him speechless. He cast himself on his knees at the bedside, and, with many tears, begged his blessing, and that, if he had ever done anything to offend him, he would pardon him. The confessor, who stood at the bedside, admonished the duke, if he could not speak, at least to show some sign of his goodwill. At this admonition, the good duke kindly opened his eyes, took his son's hand, and squeezed it tenderly, as a sign of his pardon and his blessing. The count, like an affectionate child, never quitted the duke's bed until he had given up the ghost. May God, out of his mercy, receive his soul, pardon his transgressions, and admit him into paradise!

The corpse of the noble duke was left all that night on the bed, with a black bonnet on his head, and likewise remained there on the morrow until evening; so that there was time enough for all who wished it to see him: it was marvellous the great crowds who went thither, and all prayed God to have mercy on his soul. On Tuesday evening, the body was opened and embalmed, and his heart separated from it. His body and bowels were each put into a well-closed coffin of lead, and placed that night on a bier from five to six feet high, covered to the ground with black velvet, in the chapel of his household, over which bier was a cross of white damask cloth, and at the four corners four thick waxen tapers burning.

Masses were daily celebrated there until noon; and, about four or five in the afternoon on the following Sunday, the body was carried to St. Donnast's church in Bruges for interment, until preparations should be made to carry it elsewhere, according to the instructions which he had given when alive. The funeral procession to the church was preceded by sixteen hundred men, in black cloaks emblazoned with the arms of the duke, each with a lighted taper in his hand; four hundred of whom were of the household, and at the expense of the new duke; four hundred from the town of Bruges, four hundred from the different trades of that town, and four hundred from the country of the Franc, each at the expense of those who sent them. Between this line of torches walked full nine hundred men, as well nobles as officers and servants of the late duke: among those were the magistrates of Bruges and of the Franc,† twenty-two prelates: a bishop from Hybernie ‡ was in the

* Stuffings,—mahotoitres.—See Du Cange, Supplement, "Maheria."

† The Franc—consists of a number of villages and hamlets separated from the *quartier* of Bruges, and has a separate jurisdiction.—See *La Martiniere*.

‡ Hybernie,—an ancient name for Ireland.

number, who chaunted the first mass on the ensuing day. Between the prelates and the body were four kings-at-arms, with their heads covered, and clothed in their tabards of arms.

The body was borne by twelve knights of name and renown, around whom were the archers of the body of the late duke. It was covered with a pall of black velvet, reaching to the ground, on which was a broad cross of white damask cloth. Over the body was borne a canopy of cloth of gold, on four lances, by the count de Nassau, the earl of Buchan, Baldwin bastard of Burgundy, and the lord de Châlons. Immediately before the body walked the first equerry of the late duke, bearing his sword with the point downward. The chief mourners who followed the body were the new duke Charles, and after him James de Bourbon and Adolphus of Cleves, his two cousins-german; then the count de Marle, Jacques de Saint Pol, the lord de Roussy, and some others of the great lords of the court. In front of all, walked the four mendicant orders of friars, and the clergy of the different parishes in Bruges, in the churches of which the vigils for the dead were that day celebrated, and on the morrow a solemn service for the soul of the deceased.

The body was placed on a bier, in the middle of the choir of the cathedral. It had on it a cloth of gold bordered with damask, and a large cross of white velvet, with four large burning tapers, and was surrounded by upwards of fourteen hundred lesser ones, which caused so great a heat that the windows of the church were obliged to be thrown open. The whole of the high altar, and the space above it, was hung with black cloth, the reading-desk, both within and without, with black velvet hanging down, emblazoned with the duke's arms: there were also his pennon of arms and his grand banner. The nave was hung with black cloth, having the top and bottom of black camlet.

When the body was to be let down into the vault, no one can describe the groans, tears, and lamentations that filled the church from the duke's officers, and all present. Indeed all his subjects ought to have bewailed his death, for they had lost a prince, the most renowned for virtue and goodness that was in Christendom! full of honour, liberality, courage and prudence, with a mind adorned with every generous virtue, who had preserved his countries in peace as well by his own good sense, and the prudence of his counsellors, as by the point of his sword, without personally sparing himself against any one, however great he might be. He afforded an asylum to those who came to him to seek it, even though they were his enemies, doing good to all, and returning good for evil; and he never had his equal for modesty. Even those who had never seen him, and who had disliked him for any cause, the moment they were acquainted with him, and knew his liberality, had an attachment and affection to him.

The heart and body of the duke were each put separately in a flat coffin, covered with a bier of Irish oak. On the morrow, the obsequies were performed, when the bishop of Tournay celebrated the mass; after which, he made a brief harangue in praise of the deceased, in order that all present might offer up their prayers for the salvation of his soul, which may God, out of his most gracious mercy, admit into his holy Paradise! Amen *.

* The death of the duke of Burgundy was, in respect to his corporeal suffering, as fortunate as the whole course of his life had been. He had at that time reigned forty-eight years, for the most part in peace, and during the whole with unvarying prosperity over the ample dominions left him by his father, to which, by conquest and alliances he added very considerably himself; and at last he yielded up his soul to God, not (in the words of Pontus Heuterus) "e morbo continua intemperantia ascito, sed corpore justæ ætatis pleno decursu confecto, hoc a Deo magno, inter multa alia, ornatus munere, ut non diu mortis vitæque conflictum senserit, sed paucis diebus decumbens, extincto levi continuaque febri, calore naturali, quasi somno oppressus invictus expirarit." He lost the use of his speech for some time before his dissolution, but his reason did not forsake him to the last. When his son Charles threw himself upon his knees before the bed and submissively asked forgiveness of all his offences, the duke looked upon him with the most affectionate kindness possible and pressed his hand most tenderly, but was then unable to speak. He was first buried at Bruges where he died, but upon the death of his widow Isabella a few years afterwards, his body was removed to be interred by the side of hers at the Carthusians' of Dijon, where those of both his predecessors lay. His character, as given by Pontus Heuterus, is too long for this place; but all historians bear witness to the justice of the following, as drawn by Du Clos in his life of Louis the Eleventh. "La crainte que les princes inspirent, ne marque que leur puissance, les respects s'addressent à leur dignité: leur gloire veritable nait de l'estime et de la considération personnelles que l'on a pour eux. Philippe jouissoit de ces précieux avantages: il fut surnommé *le bon*, titre plus glorieux que tous ceux qui ne sont fondés que sur l'orgueil des princes et le malheur des hommes. Il aimoit ses peuples autant qu'il en étoit aimé, et satisfaisoit égale-

CHAPTER CXLIII.—PROLOGUE TO THE CHRONICLES OF THE MOST CHRISTIAN, MOST MAGNIFICENT, MOST VICTORIOUS, AND MOST ILLUSTRIOUS KINGS OF FRANCE, LOUIS XI. OF THE NAME, AND HIS SON CHARLES VIII *.

CONSIDERING the saying of Seneca, that it is right to follow the ways of our elders and governors, provided they have acted properly; and remembering the words of the sage, in his Proverbs, that right foolish is he who follows idleness, for according to Ecclesiasticus, she leads to wickedness; I have collected, with the utmost diligence, several facts relative to the reigns of those illustrious princes, Louis XI. and Charles VIII. his son, kings of France, that seemed to me worthy of remembrance; together with many marvellous events that happened during their reigns, as well in the kingdom of France as in the duchies of Brittany, Burgundy, Normandy, Savoy and Lorraine; the counties of Flanders, Artois, and Burgundy; including likewise what may have passed extraordinary in the adjacent countries, and also in the kingdoms of England, Spain, and Sicily, at Rome, in Lombardy, and the duchy of Milan, according to that famous chronicler, eloquent orator, and excellent historian, the late Robert Gaguin †, during his lifetime doctor en decret, and general of the order of the Holy Trinity.

I have also collected materials from other sources, and have attentively perused and examined the works of those renowned chroniclers master Jean Froissart and Enguerrand de Monstrelet; which last I have followed in what he has written concerning the acts of some of our kings, to the reign of Louis XI. inclusively; and, with reverence be it spoken, I have recapitulated some things omitted by him relative to the actions of king Louis, because, peradventure, he had not been truly informed of them, for it is very difficutl to acquire a true knowledge of all the gallant and courageous deeds of such magnificent princes as the kings of France.

From these causes, I have deliberately determined (soliciting the aid of an all-powerful God, who can do every thing,) to write and publish several things worthy of remembrance, while I am now in this far-famed and populous town of Paris, not with a view to correct or amend the said Enguerrand de Monstrelet or others, for I do not undertake that charge, but like a faithful and loyal Frenchman, and as such I wish to remain, to avoid idleness, the parent and nurse of iniquity, and to exhibit the acts of our sovereign princes, which ought to be remembered, if done justly and rightly. There are likewise many who take delight in hearing of the noble deeds, prowess and marvels that have happened in different parts of the world, that they may take example from them, by following the good, and avoiding the bad, as precedents to be eschewed.

I have, therefore, composed this small work, trifling in regard to the author, but great in regard to the acts and triumphs of princes. I do not, however, wish that it may be styled a chronicle; for that would be unbecoming in me, for I have solely written it for an amusement and recreation to readers, praying them humbly to excuse and supply my ignorance by correcting whatever passage shall be found badly written. Many strange events which I have described have happened in such distant countries, that it is difficult for me or for any one else to know the exact truth of the facts I have related: however, without any partiality, I have endeavoured to describe the whole truly, according to the before-

ment son inclination et son devoir, en faisant leur bonheur: on rendoit à ses vertus les respects dûs à son rang. Son commerce étoit aimable, il ètoit sensible au plaisir, il aimoit extrêmement les femmes, et sa cour étoit la plus galante de l'Europe. En rendant justice à la vertu de ce prince, on ne doit pas dissimuler, qu'il s'en écarta quelquefois. Il porta trop loin sa vengeance contre ceux de Dinant; et son ambition, soutenue d'une conduite prudente, lui fit faire plusieurs usurpations." The count de Charolois was the only legitimate offspring that survived him. His illegitimate children were very numerous, and many of the principal families in the Low Countries were descended from them. Though very munificent and splendid on proper occasions, duke Philip had, by his wise administration, without in the least impoverishing his states, amassed a treasure amounting to 400,000 crowns of gold in money, and 62,000 marks of silver in plate, all which was soon dissipated by his son in his extravagant and unnecessary wars.

* See the note at the end of Book II.

† Robert Gaguin—was born at Amiens, and died at Paris 1501, having been employed in divers embassies by Charles VIII. and Louis XII.—See *Moreri*, &c.

mentioned authors, and shall begin where Enguerrand de Monstrelet left off, having first recapitulated some parts of his chronicle where there may have been any omissions, until the deaths of the aforesaid kings Louis and Charles.

CHAPTER CXLIV.—SOME RECAPITULATIONS OF THE DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE OF MONTLEHERY BY MONSTRELET; WITH THE ADDITION OF FACTS WHICH HE HAD OMITTED.

That master chronicler Enguerrand de Monstrelet, having described in his third volume the acts of several kings and gallant knights, concludes his work by relating the death and magnificent funeral of Philip duke of Burgundy, father to duke Charles, lately deceased in the town of Nancy in Lorraine. In the course of his chronicle, he has given an account of the pompous coronation of king Louis XI. at Rheims, and of his joyous entry into Paris, the capital of France. He afterward amply treated of the war and battle of Montlehery, which he has perhaps spoken of and described with partiality, according to his pleasure and feelings; for I have read, besides what he has related, that at this battle of Montlehery, which was fought on Tuesday the 6th day of July, in the year 1465, the king of France coming with all haste from beyond Orleans to Paris, halted at early morn at Chastres, under Montlehery, and that having taken scarcely any refreshment, and without waiting for his escort, which was, for its number, the handsomest body of cavalry ever raised in France, he so valiantly attacked the army of the count de Charolois and his Burgundians that he put to the rout the van division. Many of them were slain, and numbers taken prisoners. News of this was speedily carried to Paris, whence issued forth upward of thirty thousand persons, part of whom were well mounted; and in scouring the country they fell in with parties of Burgundians who were flying, and made them prisoners. They defeated also those from the villages of Vanvres, Issi, Sevres, Saint Cloud, Arcueil, Surennes, and others.

At this rencounter, great booty was gained from the Burgundians, so that their loss was estimated at two hundred thousand crowns of gold. After the van had been thus thrown into confusion, the king, not satisfied with this success, but desirous to put an end to the war, without taking any refreshments or repose, attacked the main body of the enemy with his guards and about four hundred lances: but the Burgundians had then rallied, and advanced their artillery, under the command of the count de St. Pol, who did on that day the greatest service to the count de Charolois. The king was hard pressed in his turn, insomuch that at times he was in the utmost personal danger, for he had but few with him, was without artillery, and was always foremost in the heat of the battle; and considering how few his numbers were, he maintained the fight valiantly and with great prowess. It was the common report of the time, that if he had had five hundred more archers on foot, he would have reduced the Burgundians to such a state, that nothing more would have been heard of them for some time in war.

The count de Charolois, on this day, lost his whole guard,—and the king also lost the greater part of his. The count was twice made prisoner by the noble Geoffroy de Saint Belin * and Gilbert de Grassy, but was rescued each time. Towards evening, the Scots carried off the king, that he might take some refreshments; for he was tired and exhausted, having fought the whole of the day without eating or drinking, and led him away quietly, and without noise, to the castle of Montlehery. Several of the king's army not having seen him thus led off the field, and missing him, thought he was either slain or taken, and took to flight. For this reason, the count du Maine, the lord admiral de Montaulban, the lord de la Barde †, and other captains, with seven or eight hundred lances, abandoned the king in this state, and fled, without having struck a blow during the whole of the day. Hence it is notorious, that if all the royal army who were present at this battle had behaved as courageously as their king, they would have gained a lasting victory over the Burgundians; for the greater part of them were defeated, and put to flight. Many indeed were killed on

* Bailli de Chamont. He was killed in the battle.

† Jean Stuyer, lord de la Barde.

the king's side, as well as on that of the enemy; for after the battle was ended, there were found dead on the field three thousand six hundred, whose souls may God receive!

I shall not say more respecting this battle of Montlehery, as related by Monstrelet; for it has been amply detailed by him, although he may have been silent as to the whole truth of it.

I have somewhere read, that, prior to this battle, the Burgundians arrived at the town of St. Denis on a Friday, the 5th day of July, in this same year, and attempted to cross the bridge of St. Cloud (as Monstrelet says), but were this time repulsed by the gallant resistance of the nobles and other valiant French. The Burgundians then made an attempt on the following Sunday, the 7th of July, to alarm Paris; but they gained nothing, for some of their men were slain by the artillery on the walls, and the rest returned in haste to St. Denis. The next day they appeared again before the walls of Paris, and some with all their artillery; but before they displayed the whole of their force, they sent four heralds to the four different gates. Over the gate of St. Denis, as commanders for the day, were master Pierre l'Orfevre, lord of Ermenonville, and master Jean de Poppincourt, lord of Cercelles, from whom the heralds required provision for their army, and permission for it to march through Paris. These demands they made with haughtiness and menaces; and while the captains were listening to them, and before they could give any answers, the Burgundians (thinking to surprise the Parisian guard, and those who were posted at the gates and barriers), advanced with a great body of men-at-arms as far as St. Ladre, and even farther, intending to gain the newly-erected barriers in the suburbs, and in front of that gate,—firing at the same cannons, serpentines, and other artillery; but they were so valiantly resisted by the inhabitants of Paris, and others resident therein, that they were repulsed. Joachim Rohault came in person with his men to this conflict, in which many of the Burgundians were slain and wounded, which caused them to make a precipitate retreat without attempting anything more. They were afterward drawn up in battle-array before Paris, as has been already related by Enguerrand de Monstrelet.

CHAPTER CXLV.—A TRUE ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL EVENTS THAT HAPPENED DURING THE REIGNS OF KING CHARLES VII. AND HIS SON LOUIS XI. WHICH HAVE BEEN OMITTED, OR SLIGHTLY MENTIONED, IN THE CHRONICLE OF ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

In order to make a regular report of many events that happened in France and in the adjoining countries, I shall begin at the year 1460, during the reign of king Charles VII. of France. At the commencement of this year, the rivers Seine and Marne were greatly swelled; and the Marne, near to St. Maur des Fossés, rose in one night the height of a man, and did very great damage to all the country round. This river caused such an inundation at the village of Claye* that it swept away a mansion of the bishop of Meaux, which had lately had two handsome towers added to it, with fair apartments, having glass windows and mats, and richly furnished with beds, tapestry, and wainscoting; all of which the river destroyed and carried away.

An unfortunate accident happened at the same time to the steeple of the church of the abbey of Fêcamp, in Normandy, by lightning striking it and setting it on fire, so that all the bells were completely melted into one mass, which was a heavy loss to that abbey. At this same time, all France was wondering at the intelligence of a young girl about eighteen years old, doing many wonderful things in the town of Mans. It was said, that she was tormented by the devil, and from this cause she leaped high in the air, screamed, and foamed at the mouth, with many other astonishing gestures, by which she deceived all who came to see her. At length it was discovered to be a trick of a wicked mad girl, instigated to these follies and devilments by certain officers of the bishop of Mans, who maintained her, and did with her as they pleased, which they wished to conceal, by means of those tricks which they had induced her to play.

* Claye,—a village in Brie, between Paris and Meaux, four leagues from Meaux.

I have found, towards the latter end of the chronicle of king Charles VII. by the aforesaid Robert Gaguin, that in consequence of outrages offered to king Henry of England by Richard duke of York and the earl of Warwick, the duke of York was, shortly afterward, put to death on the plains of Saint Albans, by the duke of Somerset, cousin and friend to the said king Henry, accompanied by others of his relatives and party, (as has been more fully related by Monstrelet), and for this cause the most victorious king Charles VII. had proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, on the 3d of February, in this same year, at Rouen, and throughout the towns on the sea-coast of Normandy, his will and pleasure that all Englishmen, of whatever rank, dress, or numbers, of the party of king Henry of England and of queen Margaret, should be suffered to land without any molestation or hinderance, without the necessity of their having any passports from him, and that they should be allowed thenceforward to remain peaceably in his kingdom so long as they should please. This conduct shows the great courtesy and liberality of Charles VII.; for he offered the free entrance into his kingdom to that king Henry, and to his adherents, who had oftentimes done all in his power to annoy him, as his most mortal enemy.

On Tuesday the 21st day of July, in the year 1461, and on the day preceding the death of king Charles VII. a very bright comet was seen traversing the firmament, which, according to some, was a sign of the death of so great a prince, and of other great events that were to happen.

Wednesday the 22d, the feast of the glorious virgin Mary, king Charles departed this life, about two hours after mid-day, at the town of Mehun-sur-Yevre. I pray, therefore, devoutly to God that his soul may repose in the blessed regions of Heaven; for he had ever been a prudent and valiant prince, and left his kingdom free from all external enemies, in peace, with justice restored to his subjects.

But his death, and noble interment in the church of St. Denis, has been already described by Enguerrand de Monstrelet, who also speaks of the coronation of king Louis XI. at Rheims, and of his joyous entry into Paris, and the feasts celebrated on the occasion. But I find in another chronicle of king Louis what has been omitted by Monstrelet, that the said king when making his entry, on the last day of August, passed over the Pont-aux-Changes, whereon were represented many pageants,—and it was hung all over. At the moment the king passed, two hundred dozen of birds, of all descriptions, were let fly, which the bird-catchers of Paris are bounden by charter to do on such occasions; for it is on this bridge that on feast-days they have their market for the sale of all sorts of singing-birds, and others, according to their pleasure. All the streets through which the new king passed were hung with tapestries. He went to the church of Nôtre Dame, to perform his devotions, and thence returned to sup and lodge at his royal palace, as is customary, and which has been before related.

On the morrow, the first of September, the king quitted the palace, and fixed his lodgings at his hôtel of the Tournelles, where he resided for some time. While there, he made many new regulations for the better government of his kingdom, and displaced several from their offices,—such as the chancellor Juvenal des Ursins*, the marshal † and admiral ‡ of France, the first president of the parliament of Paris, the provost of Paris§, and many others,—and in their places appointed others. He also dismissed some of the masters of requests, secretaries, counsellors, and clerks of the treasury, of the court of parliament, of the chamber of accounts, and from the treasury and mint, replacing them with new ones.

The 3d of September in this year, king Louis, with some of his nobles and gentlemen of his household, supped at the hôtel of master William Corbie, then counsellor in his court of parliament, but whom he created first president of his parliament of Dauphiny. At this entertainment were present many notable damsels and citizens' wives of Paris. During the

* This chancellor was succeeded by Pierre de Morvillier, who held the seals to the year 1465.

† The marshal, who was thus displaced, appears by Moreri's tables to be the famous Saintrailles, and there are two creations of marshals in the same year. 1st. John, bastard of Armagnac, lord of Gourdon, and count of Cominges, and 2nd. Joachim Roualt, lord of Boismenard.

‡ The admiral, the count de Sancerre, succeeded by the lord de Montauban.

§ John d'Estouteville, lord of Beyne, succeeded by Jacques de Villiers, lord of l'Isle Adam.—See afterwards chap. 152.

king's stay at Paris, he partook of several entertainments, in divers hôtels of that city, with the utmost good-humour. Having taken handsome leave of that town, he departed for Amboise, as has been already told in the chronicles of Monstrelet, who speaks at great length of the actions of Philip duke of Burgundy and of his son the count de Charolois.

In the year 1460, nothing memorable happened, that deserved being noticed in any of the chronicles. The ensuing year was, I find, very productive in wines of a good quality in different countries: as for other matters relating to princes, they have been fully detailed in the chronicles before-mentioned.

CHAPTER CXLVI.—THE KING OF FRANCE COMES TO PARIS, AND RETURNS TO ROUEN.—THE BASTARD DE REUBEMPRÉ IS ARRESTED ON THE COAST OF HOLLAND.—THE KING GOES TO TOURS AND OTHER PLACES, AND THEN TO POITIERS, WHITHER THE PARISIANS SEND HIM A DEPUTATION RESPECTING CERTAIN OF THEIR FRANCHISES.—AMBASSADORS ARRIVE THERE FROM THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, WHO CARRY OFF THE DUKE OF BERRY.—THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON MAKES WAR ON THE KING OF FRANCE,—AND OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THE YEAR MCCCCLXIV. OMITTED BY MONSTRELET,—AND SOME FACTS RELATIVE TO THE DEATH OF THE GOOD POPE PIUS II., AND CONCERNING POPE PAUL II., MORE THAN IS CONTAINED IN THE SAID CHRONICLES.

On the 7th day of May, in the year 1464, the king of France came to Paris from Nogent-le-Roi*, where his queen had been delivered of a fair daughter. The king supped that night at the hôtel of master Charles d'Orgemont, lord of Mery, and discussed some public affairs. He left Paris for the borders of Picardy, expecting to meet there the ambassadors from king Edward of England, who did not keep their appointment: finding they did not come, the king departed thence for Rouen and other places in Normandy. At this time, a bylander was taken off the coast of Holland, by some Flemish vessels,—which bylander had on board the bastard of Reubempré, with others, who were all made prisoners. The Flemings and Picards, after this capture, published everywhere, that the king of France had sent the bastard de Reubempré with an armed force to seize and carry off the count de Charolois, of which there were no proofs.

The king soon left Normandy on his return to Nogent-le-Roi, and thence went to Tours, Chinon, and Poitiers. At this last place, a deputation from Paris waited on him, respecting certain of their privileges; but they obtained little or nothing, except a remission of the tax on fairs, which was a trifle,—and even that they did not enjoy, although a donation had been made them of it, because the court of accounts, to whom the orders for the remission had been addressed, would not expedite the proper powers. Nearly at the same time, ambassadors from the duke of Brittany arrived at Poitiers, with some propositions to the king, who, having heard what they had to say, assented to the greater part of their demands. On this being done, the ambassadors promised that the duke should come to Poitiers, or elsewhere, according to the good pleasure of the king, to ratify and confirm what had been agreed on and granted by his majesty. The ambassadors then took their humble leave of the king, and, on their departure, pretended to return home; but their intentions were otherwise,—for, on setting out from Poitiers on a Saturday, they only went four leagues, and remained there until the Monday, when the duke of Berry left Poitiers secretly, during the absence of his brother the king, and joined them. The ambassadors received him with joy, and made all haste to carry him with them to Brittany, fearing they would be pursued the moment the king should learn his brother's escape.

After the departure of the duke of Berry from Poitiers, many others went into Brittany; among the rest, the duke of Orleans left Poitiers; but he was shortly after seized with so dangerous an illness at Châtelherault, that it proved fatal to him, and he was buried in the church of St. Sauveur, in the castle of Blois.

* Nogent-le-Roi,—a town in Beauce, near Maintenon.

The duke of Bourbon now declared war against the king of France and his country, and seized all the finances belonging to the king in the Bourbonnois. The duke made a pretence of arresting the lord de Crussel, who was much in the king's confidence, for passing through his territories with his wife, family and effects, without first having demanded permission. A little afterwards, the lord de Trainel*, late chancellor of France, and master Pierre d'Oriole †, superintendant-general of the king's finances, were arrested, and detained a long time prisoner in the town of Moulins, but at length were given up by the duke to the king.

On the 15th day of May, sir Charles de Melun ‡, lieutenant for the king, master John Balue §, elected bishop of Evreux, and matter John le Prevot, notary and secretary to the king, came to Paris, and read to the magistrates, assembled in the town-house, some regulations with which the king had charged them; which being done, they gave several orders, subject to the king's pleasure, for the better defence of the town; such as the increasing of the nightly watch, additional guards at some of the gates, and walling up others, and likewise for the preparation of chains to be thrown across each street, should there be any occasion for them. Other orders were issued, but it would be tiresome to detail them all.

About this time an inventory was made of all the effects belonging to Pierre Merin at Paris, which were seized on by the king, because the said Merin, then treasurer to the duke of Berry, held for his lord the town and tower of Bourges against the king. For this reason, the king gave to James Tête-Clerc the office of usher to the treasury, which Merin had held. In consequence of Anthony de Chabannes count de Dammartin's escape from the bastile of St. Anthony at Paris, wherein he had been confined prisoner, as is related by Monstrelet, he found means to get possession from Geoffroy Cœur, son to the late Jacques Cœur, of the towns of St. Forgeiul and St. Maurice, and made Geoffroy himself his prisoner, laying hands also on all his effects, which he found in these two places.

The king of France advanced toward Angers and the Pont de Cé, to learn the intentions of such as had absented themselves to join his brother in Brittany. He was attended by the king of Sicily, duke of Anjou, and the count du Maine, followed by a considerable body of troops, estimated at twenty or thirty thousand combatants. The king, perceiving that much was not to be gained in that quarter, turned his march toward Berry, and to the towns of Issoudun, Vierzon, Déols, and others in that district, having with him a strong detachment from his army and artillery. Here the two brothers, the king of Sicily, and the count du Maine, uncles to the king by the mother's side, left him, and hastened with a large force to prevent the dukes of Berry and Brittany from entering Normandy, or from doing mischief to any other part of the kingdom. The king remained some time in Berry, and then departed for the Bourbonnois; but he would not enter Bourges, because it was well provided with a garrison of men-at-arms, under the command of the bastard of Bourbon, for the duke of Berry.

The 14th or 15th of August, of this year 1464, pope Pius II. departed this life, as is

* Lord de Trainel. Juvenel des Ursins.

† Pierre d'Oriole, afterwards lord of Loirè, and chancellor of France in 1472. He was at first mayor of Rochelle, and being sent on frequent deputations to king Charles VII. attached himself to the court, where he rose, through the offices of maître des comptes and général des finances, to the high dignity of chancellor. He was reckoned the best lawyer in France, and, till age impaired his powers, was remarkable for his laboriousness and exactness. But upon his growing remiss with the increase of years, Louis deprived him of his chancellorship and gave him the post of first president of the chamber of accounts, which he held with honour till his death in 1483.—Du Clos.

‡ Charles de Melun, lord of Nantouillet, lieutenant-general of the kingdom of France, and, in 1465, appointed grand-master. He was at first high in his master's confidence and esteem, but afterwards became suspected, and was accused by his enemies of treasonable practices, and ended his days on a scaffold.

§ This extraordinary person was born at Angle in Poitou, and is reported to have been the son of a miller. Entering into the church he attached himself to the service of Jacques-Juvenel des Ursins, bishop of Poitiers, who had so much confidence in him that he made him his executor, an office in which it is suspected he found means to enrich himself considerably. He afterwards dealt very largely in simoniacal contracts while under the patronage of Jean de Beauveau, bishop of Angers, whom he followed to Rome in 1462. On his return, he attached himself to the court, where the penetration of the king soon found out his uncommon abilities and advanced him to the rank of a counsellor of parliament. He had also the administration of the royal charities, and is called by historians, but improperly, grand almoner of France, an office which was first created by Charles the 8th. Of his subsequent life several particulars will appear in the course of this history, and many more may be seen in Du Clos.

noted by Monstrelet. He was elected pope in the year 1458; and his name was Æneas Silvius, of the city of Sienna*, an eloquent man, a great orator, and poet laureat. He had been ambassador and secretary to the great emperor Sigismond, and has written a notable treatise in the support of the authority of the council of Basil, with several other fine books of good doctrine. He canonised St. Catherine of Sienna, of the order of Franciscans, in the year 1461, and wrote several elegant Latin epistles to many of the Christian princes, to urge them to a croisade against the Infidels, as may now be seen in his book of letters. He was, in consequence, surrounded by princes and lords from divers countries, having with them large armies of men-at-arms, and galleys and other vessels to transport them; so, when thus assembled, they advanced with the pope as far as Ancona, where he was met by the king of Hungary and a great army. But in the midst of these grand and salutary preparations, the good pope Pius died at Ancona, the day and year above-mentioned. In the same year, Paul II. was elected his successor. Paul was a Venetian, and gave his instant approbation for the celebration of the feast of the said glorious virgin, St. Catherine of Sienna. He loved justice, and was desirous of amassing wealth. He commenced the building of a grand palace beside the church of St. Mark at Rome.

CHAPTER CXLVII. — THE KING OF FRANCE ENTERS THE BOURBONNOIS, AND TAKES MANY TOWNS AND CASTLES. — EVENTS AT PARIS AND ELSEWHERE. — THE KING BESIEGES RIOM, IN AUVERGNE. — OTHER INCIDENTS UP TO THE PERIOD OF THE WAR OF MONTLEHERY, OMITTED BY MONSTRELET.

The king of France now hastened to march into the Bourbonnois; and about Ascension-day, in the year 1465, the town of St. Amand † was taken by storm; and shortly after, the town and castle of Montluçon surrendered on terms, in which were James de Bourbon and thirty-five lances, who marched away in safety with their baggage, having sworn never more to bear arms against the king. At this period arrived at Paris the late chancellor de Trainel, master Estienne, knight, Nicholas de Louviers, and master John des Moulins, by whom the king wrote letters to his good inhabitants of Paris, thanking them for their loyalty, and exhorting them to continue and further persevere therein. He added, that he should send his queen to be brought to bed of the child of which she was now big in his city of Paris, as the town he loved in preference to all others.

It happened, that as John de la Hure, a merchant of Sens, his nephew, and others in his company, were lodging, on the last day but one of May in this year, at an inn near to a windmill at Moret in the Gâtinois, called Moulin Basset, they were attacked by a band of twenty or thirty horsemen from St. Forgeiul and St. Maurice, and carried away prisoners, with all their merchandise and other effects.

On the 6th day of June, a bonnetmaker called Jean Marceau, an elderly man, hung himself in his house, opposite to the sign of the Golden Beard, in the rue de St. Denis. He was, when discovered, quite dead, was cut down, and carried to the Châtelet for examination; which being over, he was carried and hung on the common gibbet at Paris. At the same time, a labourer of Aignancourt, named John Petit, cut his wife's throat. At this period, the bastard and marshal of Burgundy won the towns of Roye and Mondidier, as mentioned by Monstrelet.

On the Sunday following, the 9th of June, was a general procession made in Paris, which was very handsome, having the shrines of the blessed St. Marcel, and of the glorious virgin St. Genevieve, with other holy relics from different churches. It moved with grand

* Æneas Silvius Piccalomini was born 1405, at Corfini, in the Siennois, which name he changed to Pienza. When he came to the pontificate, he changed the opinions he had published in defence of the supreme authority of councils, and desired that Æneas Silvius should be condemned, and the doctrines of pope Pius II. followed. "Honores mutant mores." There are many editions of his epistles and works. The oldest copy of the first, in my library, is a beautiful folio printed by Zarothus, dated from the city of Milan, the 31st May, 1481.

† St. Amand,—in the Bourbonnois, seven leagues from Bourges.

solemnity to the church of Nôtre Dame, where high mass was celebrated to the Virgin Mary; after which, a sermon was preached to the people by master John de l'Olive, doctor in divinity, who declared the cause of this procession was for the health and prosperity of the king and queen, and the fruit of her womb, and likewise for peace and good union between the king and the princes of the blood, and for the welfare of the realm. While the king was in the Bourbonnois, he went to St. Pourçain*, whither his sister, the duchess of Bourbon, came to confer with him, and to endeavour to bring about an accommodation between him and her husband, whose quarrels had much vexed her; but at this time she failed. While this was passing, the duke of Bourbon quitted Moulins, and went to Riom in Auvergne.

The government in Paris ordered the gates of St. Martin, Montmartre, the Temple, St. Germain-des-Prés, St. Victor and St. Michel, to be walled up, and the draw-bridges taken away, and a good guard to be kept during the night on the walls. The town of St. Maurice, now occupied by the count of Dammartin, was ordered to be besieged by the bailiff of Sens, sir Charles de Melun, with a large body of the commonalty. Sir Anthony, bailiff of Melun, was sent to reinforce him with a body of archers and cross-bows from the town of Paris.

About this time an unfortunate accident happened to master Louis de Tilliers, notary and secretary to the king, treasurer of Carcassonne, and comptroller of salt in Berry, and attached to sir Anthony de Châteauneuf, lord de Lau. An archer was trying the strength of his bow against a door, just as master Louis was opening it to come out, and the arrow passed through his body. He was laid on a couch in his chamber, where he soon after expired, and rendered up his soul to God. On St. John Baptist's day, the 24th of June, as some youths were bathing themselves in the Seine, they were drowned; which caused a proclamation to be made in all the quarters of Paris, to forbid any one in future to bathe in the river,—and to order all persons to have daily before their doors a tub full of water, under pain of imprisonment, and a fine of sixty sols parisis, for each omission or neglect. Orders were issued, on the morrow, for the chains to be taken down from across the streets, and to remain on the ground,—but care was to be taken to have them in a proper state for being replaced, in case of necessity, under heavy penalties for neglect. It was also ordered, that every person in Paris should provide himself with sufficient armour, according to his station in life, for the defence of the town, and should hold himself in constant readiness to oppose any attack. These orders were delivered in writing to every one of the principal inhabitants.

In this year, a large army of Burgundians, Picards, and others, under the command of the count de Charolois, son to duke Philip of Burgundy, excited by malice and ambition, marched into France, and gained the town of Pont St. Maixence, through the means of one called Mardé †, governor of it for master Peter l'Orfevre lord of Ermenonville, who delivered it up to them for a sum of money which he received from the count de Charolois. They thence advanced into the Isle of France, under pretence that they were come for the public good, but it was not so. They marched to Saint Denis, to the walls of Paris, and to Montlehery, where a great battle was fought, as described by Monstrelet. As I have, in my first chapter, recapitulated this affair, I shall not further touch on it, but relate some events that preceded it.

The king of France now laid siege to Riom in Auvergne,—in which town were the dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and others. The king's army was as handsome and well appointed as could be seen, for he had with him several renowned captains; and the whole was estimated at twenty-four thousand combatants. During this siege, the Parisians, hearing of the rapid marches of the Burgundians towards Paris, established a numerous horse-patrole, which nightly went round the walls, from midnight until day the next morning, having for their captains, each night, men of approved valour. On Monday, the 2nd of July, master John Balue, bishop of Evreux, commanded the nightly guard in Paris: he took with him the company of Joachim Rohault,

* St. Pourçain,—in Auvergne, eight leagues from Moulins.

† Mardé. In the Chronique Scandaleuse, from whence this is taken, it is Madre.

and went his rounds on the walls with trumpets and clarions sounding, which had never in those times been before done by the city-watch.

Wednesday, the 4th of July, the king of France, while he was besieging Riom, sent letters by sir Charles de Charlay *, his knight of the Paris-watch, addressed to sir Charles de Melun, his lieutenant in Paris, and to Joachim Rohault, thanking the good citizens for their loyalty towards him, and begging them to persevere with courage in their good intentions for the welfare of his kingdom, for that within fifteen days he would be with his whole army at Paris. He likewise sent them verbal information by the mouth of the said de Charlay, of the treaty he had concluded with the dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, and the lords d'Armagnac and d'Albret, who had each of them promised loyally to serve, and live and die for him. These lords had also promised to exert themselves to the utmost of their power to bring about a reconciliation with the other princes, and a peace between them and the king. To accomplish this, commissioners were to be sent to the king at Paris, by these four lords, on or before the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, the middle of August next, to negotiate a general peace; and in case the other princes should refuse to listen to, or accept, terms of peace, they had promised and sworn that henceforward they would never bear arms against the king, but would live and die for him in the defence of his kingdom. The four lords had sworn to these engagements at Moissac, near to Riom; and for further security of keeping these promises, they had bound themselves, in the presence of two apostolical notaries, to submit to the severest pains of excommunication should they, jointly or individually, act in any way contrary to these said engagements.

For joy of this intelligence, the Parisians resolved to have, on the Friday following, a general procession made to the church of Saint Catherine du Val-des-écoliers, which was done with much devotion and solemnity. The sermon was preached that day by master Jean Pain-et-Chair, doctor in divinity. The ensuing Wednesday, the 11th of July, a proclamation was made in all the public places at Paris, that every householder should keep a lantern and candle burning before his dwelling during the night; and that all persons having dogs must confine them, on pain of death. On the Friday, the main body of the Burgundians arrived at St. Denis, to execute their intended enterprises against Paris and the royal army at Montlehery, as has been described by Enguerrand de Monstrelet.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.—THE KING COMES TO PARIS AFTER THE BATTLE OF MONTLEHERY.—SEVERAL PERSONS ARE EXECUTED THERE.—EVENTS THAT FOLLOWED THE BATTLE OF MONTLEHERY, WHICH HAVE BEEN OMITTED BY ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

The king of France came to Paris, the 18th day of July, after the battle of Montlehery, and supped that night at the hôtel of his lieutenant-general, sir Charles de Melun,—where, according to the account of Robert Gaguin, a large company of great lords, damsels, and citizens' wives supped with him, to whom he related all that happened to him at Montlehery. During the recital, he made use of such doleful expressions that the whole company wept and groaned at his melancholy account. He concluded by saying, that if it pleased God, he would soon return to attack his enemies, and either die or obtain vengeance on them, in the preservation of his rights. He, however, acted differently, having been better advised; but it must be observed, that some of his warriors behaved in a most cowardly manner,—for had they all fought with as much courage as the king, he would have gained a complete victory over his enemies.

On the 19th of July, a gentleman, named Laurence de Mory, near Mitry†, who had been imprisoned in the bastile of St. Anthony, for having favoured the Burgundians, and for having led them to the houses of certain citizens of Paris, in the villages near that city, in order that they might plunder and destroy them, was tried by commissioners appointed for the purpose, who found him guilty of high treason, and consequently sentenced him to be quartered at the market-place of Paris,—and his effects were confiscated to the king's use.

* Charles de Charlay. Jean de Harlay.

† Mitry,—a town in Brie, five leagues from Meaux.

Mory appealed to the court of parliament; and, from respect to that body, his execution was deferred for a day. On the morrow, the parliament, having heard the appeal, sentenced Mory to be hanged on the gallows at Paris, which was done that same day.

This same Saturday, the 20th of July, master William Charretier*, bishop of Paris, accompanied by other counsellors and churchmen, waited on the king, at his hôtel of the Tournelles, near the bastile of St. Anthony, as Gaguin relates,—when the bishop addressed him in an eloquent and wise oration, tending to request, that the king henceforward would have the public affairs conducted and governed by wise counsellors, which the king promised that he would. In consequence of this, eighteen prudent men were selected to be of the king's council, namely, six from the court of parliament, six learned men chosen from the university, and six from the municipal counsellors of the city of Paris.

The king, finding that he had many enemies within his realm, considered on the means of procuring additional men-at-arms to those he had,—and it was calculated how many he could raise within Paris: for this purpose, it was ordered, that an enrolment should be made of all capable of bearing arms, so that every tenth man might be selected to serve the king. This, however, did not take place,—for such numbers of men-at-arms now joined the king that there was no need of such a measure. The king was very much distressed to get money for the pay of these troops, and great sums were wanted; for those towns which had been assigned for the payment of a certain number of men-at-arms, being now in the possession of the rebellious princes, paid no taxes whatever to the crown, for they would not permit any to be collected in those districts. His majesty was, therefore, constrained to attempt to borrow from some of his officers and others in the city of Paris,—but when the proposal was made to them, they refused, at least to advance the whole sum that was demanded. For this refusal, some of them were told, in the king's name, that they were deprived of their offices,—such as master John Cheneteau, clerk to the court of parliament, master Martin Picard, counsellor in the chamber of accounts, and several others. In the interval, other means were employed.

On Friday, the 26th day of July, the king ordered two hundred lances to remain for the defence of Paris, under the command of the bastard d'Armagnac, sir Giles de St. Simon, bailiff of Senlis, the lord de la Barde, Charles des Marêts, and sir Charles de Melun, who, at the request of some prelates, of the provosts and sheriffs, was appointed lieutenant for the king of the said town of Paris.

A person, called John de Bourges, clerk and servant to master John Berard, king's counsellor in the parliament, who had been confined a prisoner, together with Gratian Meriodeau and Francis Meriodeau his brother, for having quitted Paris, and gone into Brittany to the duke of Berry, conspiring against the person of the king, was, on the 27th day of July, taken out of the bastile of St. Anthony, with his fellow-prisoner, Francis Meriodeau,—and, by sentence of the provost of the marshals, they were drowned in the Seine by the hangman of Paris, in front of the tower of Billy, near to the said bastile. And on the following Monday, the 31st of July, the said Gratian, who had been king's notary in the Châtelet, was likewise taken out of the bastile and drowned at the same place, and in the same manner as the two others had been. In like manner was drowned a poor man, a mason's labourer, whom the wife of master Odo de Bucy† had sent from Paris with letters to her husband, an advocate in the court of the Châtelet, and then at Estampes. Odo de Bucy was attached to the brother of the count de St. Pol, and with him at Estampes, with the other rebellious lords. The labourer brought back answers to the letters, and was paid, for each day he had been out, two sols parisis. For this, however, he was imprisoned, and condemned to be drowned at the same place where the others had suffered. On the morrow, the wife of Odo

* Chartier. This prelate was celebrated for his virtue and probity; but did himself no good by meddling in affairs of state, for which he was by no means fit. When the confederate princes menaced Paris, previous to the battle of Montlehery, he gave his advice to admit them within the walls of the city. His opinion, fortunately for Louis, was overruled; but the king never liked him from that time, and when he died in 1472, Louis took the whimsical measure of sending his complaints against him to the provost of Paris, in order to have them recorded in his epitaph. Du Clos. See also chapter 165, where this incident is mentioned.

† Odo de Bucy. This may be Oudart de Bussy, who was afterwards hanged at Hédin.—See Supplement to Comines, 4to. vol. iv.

was banished Paris: she went to St. Antoine-des-Champs, where she resided until peace was made between the king and the princes of France.

The princes now advanced to St. Maur-des-Fossés, Conflans, and before Paris, after having staid some days at Estampes, as has been related in the chronicles of Monstrelet.

On the 3d of August, the king, having a singular desire to afford some comfort to the inhabitants of his good town of Paris, lowered the duties on all wines sold by retail within that town, from a fourth to an eighth; and ordained that all privileged persons should fully and freely exercise their privileges as they had done during the reign of his late father, the good Charles VII., whose soul may God pardon! He also ordered that every tax paid in the town, but those on provision, included in the six revenue-farms, which had been disposed of in the gross, should be abolished, namely, the duties on wood-yards, on the sales of cattle, on cloth sold by wholesale, on sea-fish, and others; which was proclaimed that same day they were taken off, by sound of trumpets, in all the squares of the town, in the presence of sir Denis Hesselin, the receiver of the taxes within the said town. On this being made public, the populace shouted for joy, sang carols in the streets, and at night made large bonfires. The next day, being Sunday the 4th of August, the reverend father in God master John Balue was consecrated bishop of Evreux, in the church of Nôtre Dame in Paris; and this same day the king supped at the hôtel of his treasurer of finance, master Estienne Chevalier.

On Tuesday, the 6th of August, according to Gaguin, was beheaded at the market-place in Paris, a youth called master Pierre de Gueroult, a native of Lusignan, and afterward quartered, according to the sentence of the provost of the marshals, he having confessed that he had come from Brittany to inform the king that some of his principal captains, though serving under him, were otherwise inclined, which was meant solely to create suspicions of them in the king's mind. He had likewise accused many notable persons in Paris of being disloyal to the king. He had also confessed that he was a spy, to see and carry back to the princes and lords that were in rebellion against the king an exact account of the state of Paris, and of the king's preparations, that they might be the better able to carry on their damnable enterprises. It was for these crimes that he was executed, and his effects confiscated to the king.

During this time, the Burgundians and Bretons made two attempts to cross the Seine and Yonne; but two good and loyal captains on the king's side, called Salezart and Malortie, resisted them valiantly each time with the few men they had. In this month of August, the franc-archers from the bailiwicks of Caen and Alençon, in Normandy, arrived at Paris, and were distributed into quarters, as follows: those from Caen, clothed in jackets, on which was embroidered the word "Caen," were lodged in the Temple and within its precincts. Those from Alençon dressed likewise in jackets, with the words "Audi partem" embroidered on them, were lodged in the quarter of the Temple beyond the old gate thereof. Proclamation was made throughout Paris, on the 13th of August, for all persons having willow-beds, or poplars, growing near to the walls, to cut them down within two days after this proclamation, or they would be abandoned to whoever would cut them down and carry them off. On this day, the count d'Eu came to Paris, as lieutenant-general for the king, and was decently received as such by the town.

Whilst the Burgundians were skirmishing before the walls of Paris, an usher of the court of Châtelet, called Cassin Cholet, had ran through the streets, crying out, "Get into your houses, and shut your doors, for the Burgundians have entered the town of Paris," which caused many women to fall in labour before their time, and others to lose their senses. For this cause he was imprisoned, and, on the 14th of August, was sentenced by the provost of Paris to be flogged through the streets in which he had caused such an alarm, to be deprived of all his offices, and confined for a month on bread and water. He was tied to the tail of a filthy dung-cart, that had just been employed on its stinking business, flogged in all the squares, and then returned to prison*.

About this time, two hundred archers on horseback, tolerably well appointed, arrived in

* The king saw this execution in one of the squares, and cried out to the executioner, "Strike hard, and don't spare the scoundrel, for he has deserved a severer punishment."—*La Chronique Scandaleuse.*

Paris, under the command of one called Mignon. In the number were many armed with strong cross-bows, veuglaires, and hand-culverins. In the rear of this company came, on horseback, eight wanton women, sinners, with a black monk for their confessor. At this period, sir Charles de Melun, who had been the king's lieutenant in Paris, was dismissed from his office, and the count d'Eu appointed in his stead. The king made sir Charles, in lieu of his lieutenancy, grand-master of his household, and gave him also the bailiwick of Evreux, of which place, and of Honfleur, he appointed him governor*.

CHAPTER CXLIX.—THE BURGUNDIANS AND BRETONS QUARTER THEMSELVES ROUND PARIS; ON WHICH ACCOUNT THE CITIZENS ADD TO THE FORTIFICATIONS OF THEIR TOWN DURING THE KING'S ABSENCE IN NORMANDY.—THE KING RETURNS TO PARIS, WHEN SEVERAL SALLIES ARE MADE THENCE ON THE ENEMY, DURING THE LIEUTENANCY OF THE COUNT D'EU.—OTHER EVENTS, OMITTED BY MONSTRELET.

The Burgundians and Bretons having recruited themselves in Brie and the Gâtinois, returned, on the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, to Lagny-sur-Marne, and, on the ensuing Friday, fixed their quarters at Creil, and other places on the river Seine around Paris. The Parisians were alarmed lest an attempt should be made on their town during the king's absence, as it had been rumoured among them that one called master Girault, a cannonier of the Burgundians, had boasted that he would plant a battery on the dung-heaps fronting the gates of St. Denis and St. Anthony, that should destroy that part of the town, and greatly damage the walls. It was therefore ordered, that one person from each house in Paris should go, on the morrow, with shovels and pick-axes to these dung-heaps, and level them with the ground: little, however, was done, and the heaps remained as they were. On this occasion, sheds, bulwarks, and trenches were made on the outside of the walls, not only for the better defence of the town, but for the security of the guards

The following Saturday, a number of the principal inhabitants and others waited on the count d'Eu, the king's lieutenant, and remonstrated strongly with him on the necessity of concluding a permanent peace between the king and the rebellious princes, for the general welfare and comfort of the kingdom. The count replied to them, that as the king, when he made him his lieutenant, had given him full powers to act for him, and for his kingdom, in such wise as might be the most profitable for both, the which he was bounden to do,—he would employ every possible means to bring about a general pacification, and, if necessary, would go in person to the enemy's quarters. Many fair offers were made to this effect to the Parisians by the count d'Eu, and master John de Popincourt, his adviser†.

The Burgundians and Bretons advanced, on the Monday, nearer to Paris; and on the following day the count d'Eu sent the lord de Rambures‡ to them, to learn their intentions, and if they had any propositions to make. On the morrow, the lord de Rambures returned; but little was said of what he had done in his conference with the confederated lords. On the Thursday following, the 22d of August, the Burgundians and Bretons intended to have skirmished before the walls of Paris, but a large force issued out against them. At this moment, a Breton archer of the body to the duke of Berry, accoutred in brigandines, covered with black velvet, with gilt nails, wearing a hood on his head ornamented with tassels of silver gilt, struck a horse on the flanks and thighs which bore one of the king's men-at-arms, who wheeling about to return to Paris, his horse fell dead under him; but an archer of the count d'Eu's company, seeing what had passed, hastily advanced, and thrust a half-pike through the body of the archer, who fell dead on the spot. He then despoiled him of his dress, and carried that and his horse into Paris, leaving him naked all but his shirt.

* He was called the Sardanapalus of his time,—the swallower of wines and soups. He was afterwards beheaded at Andeley.—*Cabinet de Louis XI.* No. 1. vol. ii.—Comines.

† He was son to Jean de Popaincourt, first president of the parliament of Paris, and died président à-mortier, 1480. It was he who, in December 1475, pronounced sentence of death on the constable de St. Pol.—*Note in* Comines, vol. ii. p. 25.

‡ James, son of Andrew II.; died after 1488, leaving by Mary de Berghes, daughter of John lord of Cohan, Andrew the third lord of Rambures, his son and successor.

At this time, the king removed the queen from Amboise to Orleans; and on the following Thursday he supped in Paris, at the house of the lord d'Ermenonville, where he made good cheer. He carried with him the count du Perche, William de Bischguiot, Durie, Jacques de Crevecœur, the lord de Craon*, sir Yves du Sau, sir Gastonnet du Léon, Nuast de Mompedon, Guillaume le Cointe, and master Regnault des Dormans. The women were, the damsel d'Ermenonville, La Longue Joye, and the duchess of Longueil: the other women of low degree were, Estiennette de Paris, Perrette de Chalons, and Jeanne Baillette. On the 22d of this month, the king went to meet the confederated princes, with few attendants and without any guards, as far as La Grange-aux-Merciers; but the duke of Berry was not there. The duke of Bourbon had some conversation on the Thursday with the king, in the open space before Paris, beyond the ditch of La Grange de Ruilly. The king was that day more decently dressed than usual, for he had on a purple flowing robe, fully trimmed with ermine, that became him much more than those short dresses he generally wore.

On the following Saturday the count de Charolois quitted his army, and had it proclaimed through his camp, that all should be ready prepared, under pain of death, to march instantly against the Liegeois, who were destroying his country with fire and sword. On the Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, the duke of Berry, who was lodged at St. Maur-des-Fossés, was attacked with fever, which lasted these three days, when he was cured. The king had, this Monday, fires lighted, and a strict watch kept up in Paris, and the chains fastened across the principal streets, as had been always done since the re-appearance of the Burgundians.

Scene in the Streets of Paris, illustrating incidents frequently described in the text.—Light in lantern burning before a house—Chains across the street—Watch-fires burning in the distance. The site chosen is the old Place de Grève.

On the Thursday, the duke of Berry, with the other princes of the blood, were lodged at the palace of Beauté, as has been told by Monstrelet; but I find in another authentic chronicle,

* This lord de Craon was George de la Tremouille, second son of George, count of Gruînes and Boulogne, and brother of Louis, first prince of Talmont. He was governor of Burgundy in 1474, and died without issue in 1481.

and even in Gaguin, that he sent some of his heralds to Paris, who carried four letters,—one to the burghers and inhabitants of that town, another to the university, another to the clergy, and another to the court of parliament. The contents of all were the same, namely, that he and the other princes of the blood had assembled and come thither for the general good of France, and that the town should send to him five or six burghers of note, to hear the reasons why he and those of his kindred had thought themselves obliged to take up arms for the welfare of the kingdom. In compliance with these letters, and that the inhabitants might learn the reasons of their conduct from their own mouths, the town delegated for this purpose, master Jean Choart, then lieutenant-civil at the court of the Châtelet, master Francis Hasle, advocate in the parliament, and Arnault L'Huillier, banker in Paris. The delegates from the clergy were master Thomas de Courcelles, dean of Paris, master John l'Olive, doctor in divinity, and master Eustace L'Huillier, advocate in the parliament. The parliament deputed master John le Boulengier, master John le Sellier, archdeacon of Brie, and master Jacques Fournier. The deputies from the university were master Jacques Ming, lecturer to the faculty of arts; master John L'Huillier, for divinity; master John de Montigny, for civil law; master Anguerant de Parenti, for physic. They were all assembled and presented to the princes by the reverend father in God master William Chartier, bishop of Paris. News arrived this day that master Pierre d'Oris*, superintendant of the king's finances, had left him and joined the duke of Berry.

The above-mentioned delegates having waited on the confederated princes at Beauté, returned to the hôtel des Tournelles at Paris, where they met the count d'Eu, to whom they related what had passed, and the proposals they had received from these princes. On Saturday, the 24th of August, the university, the clergy, the court of parliament, with the municipal officers of the town, were assembled at the town-house to hear the report of their delegates, and to form resolutions thereon. It was resolved, that in regard to the request made by the princes for the assembling of the three estates of the realm, it was just and reasonable, and that a passage should be granted them through Paris, and provisions afforded them, on paying for what they should receive; at the same time they must give good security that no riots or disorders should be committed by their men, and these resolutions were to be subject to the approbation of the king,—and the delegates were ordered to carry back this answer to the princes.

On this same Saturday, a muster was made in Paris, not only of the king's men-at-arms, but of all others capable of bearing arms, so that it was a fine sight. First marched on foot the archers from Normandy; then the archers on horseback; then the men-at-arms of the companies of the count d'Eu, of the lord de Craon, of the lord de la Barde, and of the bastard of Maine, to the amount of four or five hundred well-appointed lances, exclusive of infantry to the amount of sixteen hundred, all men of good courage. This day the king sent letters to Paris, to say that he was at Chartres with his uncle the count du Maine, and a considerable army, and that within three or four days he should come to Paris. This day also arrived at Paris the admiral de Montauban, with a large force of men-at-arms.

The duke of Berry, who had gone with his attendants to St. Denis, returned to Beauté, fearing the king's return. Wednesday, the 28th of August, the king did return to Paris, as Monstrelet has related; but he has omitted, what I have found in another chronicle, namely, that the king was attended by the count du Maine and the lord de Penthièvre and others; that he brought back the artillery he had taken with him, and a large body of pioneers from Normandy, who were all lodged in the king's hotel of St. Pol. The populace were much rejoiced at his return, and sang carols in all the streets through which he passed. The next day, the Burgundians came to skirmish before the walls of Paris; but so great a number of the king's men-at-arms sallied forth, with artillery, that they were forced to return, but not without having had many of their men killed and dismounted. The following Friday, several large convoys of flour, and other provisions, arrived at Paris from Normandy: in the number, two horse-loads of eel-pies of Gort were brought from Mantes, and sold in the poultry-market, in front of the Châtelet at Paris.

* D'Oris,—D'Oriole, afterward chancellor of France, and well known in the history of Louis XI.

In the afternoon of this day, Poncet de Riviere*, with his company, amounting to three or four hundred horse, made a sally, in the expectation of meeting the Burgundians or Bretons, but was disappointed, so nothing was done. On the night of this day, the Burgundians dislodged from La Grange-aux-Merciers, because the king's artillery were within shot of them. When they dislodged, they unroofed the building, and carried off all the wood-work, such as doors, windows, &c., to make themselves sheds elsewhere, or for firewood. On this day, according to Robert Gaguin, the king banished five of the delegates who had been at Beauté from Paris: their names were, master John L'Huillier, curate of St. Germain, master Eustache L'Huillier and Arnoult L'Huillier, his brothers, master John Choart, and master Francis Hasle, advocate in the parliament.

Several gallant sallies were made, on the following Saturday, from the gates of Saint Denis and Saint Antoine; at the first of which, an archer on the king's side was killed, and on the part of the enemy many were slain and wounded. This day, the king sallied forth from his bulwark of the tower of Billy, and thence ordered three or four hundred of the pioneers from Normandy to cross the Seine, to work on the Port à-l'Anglois, and opposite to Conflans, for it was said, that the Burgundians designed to throw a bridge over that part of the river; and the king ordered a strong guard of observation to be posted there. The king followed the pioneers, and crossed the Seine by a ferry without dismounting. On Sunday, the first day of September, the Burgundians threw a bridge over the river at the Port à-l'Anglois; but the moment they were about to march over, a body of franc-archers, with others of the king's troops, made their appearance, with artillery and other engines, and attacked the Burgundians so sharply, that they slew many and forced them to retreat. While this engagement was going on, a Norman swam over the river, and cut the cables that supported the bridge, so that it fell and floated down the stream. The Burgundians were likewise forced to move their quarters further from the walls, as the king's artillery annoyed them much. The Burgundians played their artillery also against the Port à-l'Anglois, by which a Norman gentleman had his head carried away by a shot from a culverin.

This day two embassies came to the king at Paris; one from the duke of Nemours, the other from the count d'Armagnac. A fine sally was made on the same day by sir Charles de Melun, the captain Malortie, and their companies, who had a successful skirmish with the Burgundians. This day also, there arrived from Anjou about four hundred men, armed with large cross-bows, who were instantly marched against the enemy, when two of the king's archers were killed and one taken; but seven Burgundians were slain, and two made prisoners. On this Sunday the duke of Somerset came from the confederates under passports to the king, with whom he had a long conversation in the bastile of St. Anthony. He was then offered refreshments; and, on taking his leave, the king, as it rained, gave him his cloak, which was of black velvet.

On Monday, the 2nd of September, the count du Maine, who was lodged at Paris opposite to the king, sent to the duke of Berry two tuns of red wine, four hogsheads of vin de Beaune, and a horse-load of apples, cabbages, and turnips.

CHAPTER CL. — COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY THE KING AND THE CONFEDERATES TO SETTLE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEM.—THE NOBLES OF NORMANDY COME TO PARIS TO SERVE THE KING.—SEVERAL SALLIES AND ASSAULTS ON EACH SIDE.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THIS SAME YEAR MCCCCLXV. OMITTED BY MONSTRELET, UNTIL THE FINAL PEACE BETWEEN THE KING AND THE PRINCES.

On Tuesday, the 2nd of September, after several parleys, commissioners were at length named by the king and the confederates to settle their differences. On the part of the king were selected the count du Maine and the lord de Precigny†, president of the parliament

* Poncet de la Riviere, Bailli de Montferrand, commander of franc-archers, &c. &c. an officer of distinguished merit, but not connected, as some have supposed, with either the ancient house of the viscounts de Riviere in Gascony, or with that of Rivers in England.—See *Moreri.*

† The lord de Precigny—was president of the chamber of accounts. Another commissioner was appointed, namely, John Dauvet, *then* president of the parliament of Toulouse. He was greatly in the confidence of Louis XI. and employed by him on several embassies. He died

of Toulouse; on the part of the confederates, the duke of Calabria, the count de St. Pol, and the count de Dunois. This day the magazine of gunpowder at the gate of the Temple accidentally took fire, where were eight pieces of artillery ready for firing; and by this accident they went off, and blew away the roof of the gateway.

When these commissioners met, after some few preliminaries were settled, they agreed on a truce until the Thursday following, which prevented any hostile attempts on either side. During this term, each party fortified itself as well as it could; but, nevertheless, both parties conversed together until Thursday came. As the count du Maine was passing through the gate of Saint Anthony, on his return from the Burgundians, he bade the porters be of good cheer; for, if it pleased God, before eight days were over, they should all have good cause to rejoice and sing carols.

This day the truce was prolonged to the ensuing Wednesday; and on the Friday the commissioners assembled in consultation at La Grange-aux-Merciers, in a pavilion that had been pitched for that purpose. During the truce, about two thousand of the most decent of the Bretons and Burgundians came in great pomp to show themselves, as far as the ditches behind St. Antoine-aux-Champs, whither several of the Parisians came out to see and converse with them, although the king had forbidden it; and was so much displeased when he saw them doing so, that he was tempted to fire at them with the serpentines and other cannon, that were ready loaded, from the tower of Billy.

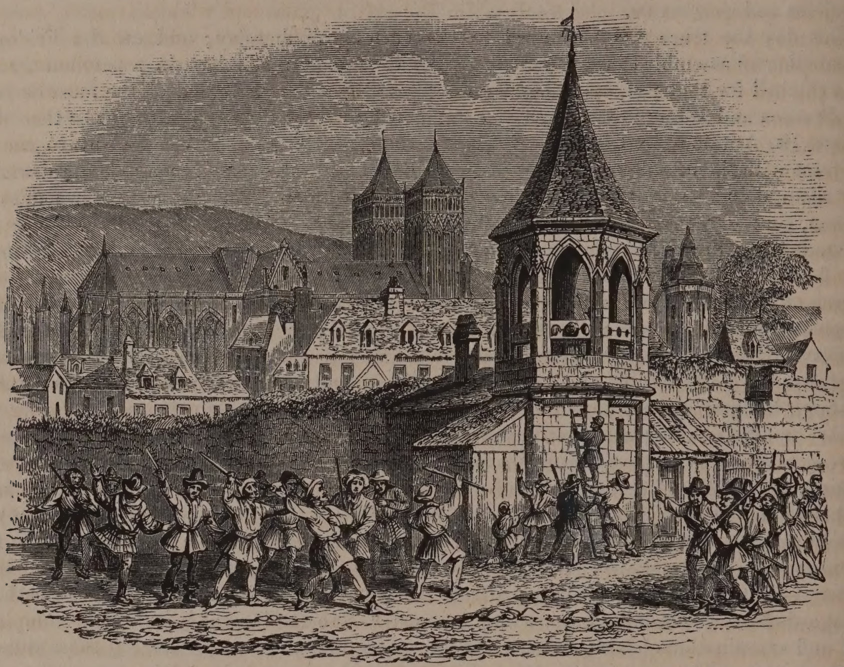
Sunday, the 8th of September, being the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, the king set out from the hôtel of the Tournelles, to go to the cathedral; and as he passed by the church of the Magdalen, he entered himself a companion of the great brotherhood of the burghers of Paris, in which he was followed by the bishop of Evreux and others of the nobility. The next day the Burgundians and Bretons took possession of the vineyards at Aignancourt, La Courtille, and others round Paris, and made wine for their own drinking, although the grapes were not ripe. This forced the Parisians to do the same at other vineyards; and the wines, consequently, were thin and weak. Many nobles from Normandy now arrived at Paris to serve the king in his wars, and were quartered, with their men, in the suburbs of St. Marcel. Among them were some loose companions, who committed many robberies and riots, which being opposed by the inhabitants, made them attempt to enter Paris by force. As the burghers resisted, the Normans abused them much, by calling them Traitors and Burgundians; adding, that they would bring them to understand things better,—for that they had only come from Normandy to Paris to put them to death, and pillage them. This conduct, according to master Robert Gaguin, was heavily complained of; and examinations having taken place in consequence, the ringleader of these riots was condemned to make an amende honorable, before the town-hall, to the procurator of the said town. This was publicly done by the criminal, bareheaded, ungirdled, with a lighted torch in his hand; and when he was arrived in front of the town-hall, he declared that he had falsely and wickedly lied in uttering the above words, and begged to be pardoned for having so done; after which declaration, he had his tongue pierced with a hot iron, and was then banished for ever.

The following Monday, some of the Burgundians came to show themselves before Paris, among whom was the count de St. Pol,—and the king issued out of the town to confer with him. They were about two hours in conversation; and the king gave him the count du Maine as a hostage, who remained in the Burgundian camp until the return of the count de St. Pol. This same day, according to Gaguin, the king said to some of the Parisians, at the gate of St. Anthony, on his return from this conference, that the Burgundians should not, in future, give them the trouble they had done, for that he would defend them well. An attorney of the Châtelet, named Pierre Beron, replied, "Indeed, sire! but they vintage and eat our grapes without any remedy being provided against them." The king answered, that it was better they should eat their grapes than enter Paris and seize their plate and valuables, which they had hidden in their cellars.

in 1471, first president of the parliament of Paris, and was one of the most celebrated magistrates of his time.—Note, vol. ii. Comines, p. 39.

The lord de Precigny was also lord de Beaveau; and many letters of his in MS. to the king, Louis XI. remain among the MSS. of Gagnieres.—Note, vol. ii. Comines, p. 32.

The following Friday, two hundred horse-loads of salt fish, and other sorts, arrived at the Paris market, in spite of the Burgundians, Bretons, and others, who had threatened to reduce the inhabitants to eat their cats and rats. The truce was again prolonged several times, and at length until the 18th of September; during which, the Burgundians victualled their camps well, at the expense of the poor people in the country around. There cannot be a doubt but that if the king had been willing to have risked a general engagement, provided he had been faithfully served by his captains, he would have reduced his enemies to such a state that they would have been unable to return to the countries they had come from, and would have fully repaid them for having insulted Paris.



Punishment of the Norman Rioters.—The Pillory shown is the ancient one of Paris, destroyed during the Revolution.

On Wednesday, the 18th, all hopes of a peace were at an end; for, notwithstanding the frequent conferences of the commissioners, all was broken off; and on this day the blockade of the Port à-l'Anglois was raised by the king, and the men-at-arms were lodged in the Carthusian convent: they were six hundred men, with their horses and attendants; which so completely filled the convent that the holy religious men were driven from their cells and places of devotion. On the morrow, a grand council was held in the hall of the court of exchequer, at which were present all the aldermen and the deputies of the sixteen wards, together with a number of counsellors from the court of parliament and other officers. The chancellor, Morvilliers, then explained to them, in the king's name, what great offers he had made to the princes before Paris, in answer to their demands respecting the appanage of his brother, the duke of Berry, for whom they required the duchies of Guienne, Poitou, and Saintonge, or the duchy of Normandy. The king's commissioners had replied to this, that his majesty could not dismember the domains of the crown; and the king afterward offered to give his brother, in lieu of these duchies, the counties of Champagne and Brie, reserving to himself the towns of Meaux, Montereau, and Melun.

The chancellor said, that the count de Charolois and the others had made exorbitant

demands for repayment of their expenses; which expenses, indeed, ought not to be greatly objected against, but they would not accept of anything less than the whole of their demands; and there the matter now rested until the following Friday. On this day, the young seneschal of Normandy * sallied out of Paris, with six hundred well-appointed horse, to skirmish with the enemy, which they did most valiantly. Among the vineyards of St. Antoine-des-Champs, four-and-twenty Burgundians and others, pillagers, were made prisoners. They were almost all naked, and very badly drest, and sold by auction, four for a golden crown, which was then worth twenty-six sols, six deniers parisis. The following Saturday, the Bretons won the town of Pontoise, at break of day, as Enguerrand the chronicler has simply told it; but I find in Gaguin, that one named Louis Forbier, then lieutenant-governor of Pontoise for Joachim Rohault, by false and wicked treason, conspired against his sovereign, and admitted these Bretons into the town. The said Louis had it proclaimed, that all of the company of Joachim Rohault, who would not remain, might leave the town in safety with their baggage: that immediately on his giving up the place, he and some of his companions went to Meulan †, wearing the king's badge of the white cross, that they might gain admittance without difficulty. But before his arrival, those in Meulan had been informed of his treason: and the moment he was seen from the battlements by the garrison, already under arms, they cried out to him, "Go thy ways, for a false and disloyal traitor!" and fired some cannon at him, which forced him to retire with disgrace and shame.

The ensuing Monday, a considerable body of the enemy, by way of a morning visit, appeared at an early hour before the gate of St. Anthony; but in consequence of the firing of some artillery from the walls, they retreated to a further distance, and nothing was done. On the Monday, according to Gaguin, the watch in Paris were alarmed by an extraordinary light in the skies that looked like a comet, and seemed to move from the enemy's quarters, and to fall into the ditch near the hôtel d'Ardoise: not guessing what it could be, they thought it might have been a rocket discharged by the Burgundians, and sent immediate information thereof to the king at his hôtel of the Tournelles. He, like an active prince, mounted his horse, and went instantly on the walls, near to the hôtel d'Ardoise, where he staid some time, and sent to all the quarters of Paris, to put them on their guard; but they neither saw nor heard anything further of the enemy that night.

The Bretons and Burgundians, quartered near Paris, made many songs, and scandalous ballads, on those in whom the king put most confidence, that he might be displeased with and dismiss them from his service, for the more easy accomplishment of their damnable designs. One evening, about two o'clock after midnight, master John Balue, bishop of Evreux, was waylaid in the street of Barre du-Bec, and attacked with swords and staves ‡, so that, being wounded, he was forced to fly, and sticking spurs into his mule, she ran away with him, like a wild thing, and never stopped until she brought him to his house, in the cloisters of Nôtre Dame, whence he had set out. The king was very angry on hearing this, and ordered inquiry to be made after the perpetrators of the deed, but in vain; for it was not known who had done it, although it was said, some time afterward, that the lord de Villier-le-Bocage § was the principal, at the request of one called Jeanne du Bois, with whom he was enamoured.

At this time, Alexander l'Orget, a native of Paris, in company with four others quitted Paris, with all his effects, and joined the duke of Berry at St. Denis. On the Thursday following, toward the end of September, many of the townsmen came to make heavy complaints to the magistrates, at the town-hall, against the military, for making and singing defamatory songs against them, praying that a remedy might be provided, to prevent such conduct in future. The words complained of were in substance as follows. They swore by

* The young seneschal of Normandy,—son to the late sir Pierre de Brézé, killed at Montlehery.

† Meulan,—on the Seine, ten leagues from Paris.

‡ It was in coming out of the house of a lady of bad fame (probably this very Jeanne du Bois) that the *bishop* was thus attacked. The trimming he received proved of some service to him; for from this time he addicted himself wholly to business, and assumed a gravity of deportment which was more suitable to his ecclesiastical dignity. —Du Clos.

§ Raoul, lord of Villiers-au-Bocage, third son of John the fourth lord of Crequy. He died in 1472, without issue.

God, and other shocking oaths, that the wealth and riches in Paris did not belong to the inhabitants but to them, the men-at-arms now in the town; saying "We wish you to know that, in despite of you, we will take away the keys of your houses, and throw you and all within them out of doors; and if you chatter, we are enow in Paris to master you all." Among others, a fool from Normandy said aloud, at the gate of St. Denis, that the Parisians were simpler than he was, if they thought the chains that were across the streets could prevent them from being insulted by those now in the town. In consequence of such speeches, the magistrates ordered the heads of the different wards to have good fires lighted during the night at their places of rendezvous, and that the whole of the night-watch should be there regularly under arms: the chains were also kept up, and the town more strictly watched in the night than before, until daybreak.

This night, there was an alarming rumour that the gate of the bastile of St. Anthony had been left open for the admission of the enemy, who was before it; and, in truth, several cannon were found near there with their touchholes spiked, so that they would have been useless had there been occasion for them. Some of the king's captains were uneasy at these fires in the streets, and the increase of the nightly watch, and went to the hôtel of the Tournelles to inquire of the king whether he had ordered them, or by whom these things had been thus done. The king replied, that he was ignorant of the matter; and instantly sent for Sir John L'Huillier, the town-clerk, who came to him immediately, and assured the king and the said captains, that the fires and increase of the night-watch had been made with the best intentions. The king, however, ordered sir Charles de Melun to go to the town-house, and to all the quarters of Paris, to give orders that the fires should be extinguished, and that the watch should retire to bed; but the inhabitants refused to obey, and remained under arms until daybreak. Many since have maintained, that had they retired, according to the orders of sir Charles de Melun, which through God's grace they did not, the town would have been lost and totally destroyed: for the enemy, before Paris, was ready to enter the town by means of the bastile.

Two pursuivants-at-arms arrived, on the Friday ensuing, at Paris. One came from Gisors * to require aid from the king, for that there were from five to six hundred lances before it, and that there were no men-at-arms within the town for its defence, and that they had neither powder nor artillery. The other pursuivant was sent by Hugh des Vignes, esquire, a man-at-arms, having charge of the company of the lord de la Barde. This Hugh was then in Meulan, and had sent to tell the king, that, from information of persons of credit, he had learnt that the Bretons and others intended to gain Rouen as they had done Pontoise, and by means of intelligence which they had within the castle or palace of the said town, that he might provide against such attempts. This day, Friday, the commissioners for obtaining peace, dined all together at St. Antoine-des-Champs, whither the king sent wine, bread, fish, and everything necessary for their entertainment. Thither also were carried, in a cart, all the rentals and rolls of account relative to Champagne and Brie, from the chamber of accounts at Paris. The next day, the commissioners on both sides again met; that is to say, my lord of Maine and those of his company, on the part of the king, with the other princes and lords who were at La Grange-aux-Merciers; and the following were ordered to repair, on behalf of the king, to the aforesaid St. Antoine-aux-Champs, namely: master Estienne Chevalier, treasurer of France, master Arnould Bouchier and Christopher Paillart, counsellors in the exchequer. The additional commissioners on the other side were, Guillaume de Bische, master Pierre d'Oriole, master John Berart, master John Compaign, a licentiate full of Latin, and master Ythier Marchant; but this day nothing was done.

The king received letters from the widow of the late sir Pierre de Brézé, to inform him that she had arrested the lord de Broquemont†, governor of the palace of Rouen, on suspicion of treason; and that he might not be any way distrustful of Rouen, for, from the end of the bridge to the palace, the inhabitants were all loyal and ready to serve him. On the Sunday

* Gisors,—capital of Vexin-Normand, 16 leagues from Paris.

† Q. Braquemont? William de Braquemont, lord of Campremis, died some time after 1480, and in him the family was extinct.

following, at daybreak, seven men surrendered themselves at the bulwark of the tower de Billy, who had escaped from the army of the Burgundians. Four were agents to some merchants in Orleans, two for some in Paris, and the seventh was a Fleming. They had been all condemned to be hanged, because, after their capture, no one had offered to ransom them. They reported, that on the preceding Wednesday, a shot from a serpentine on the tower de Billy had killed seven Burgundians, and wounded many more. This day, after dinner, news was brought to the king that the duke of Bourbon had gained Rouen, having entered the castle on the side toward the country by means of the widow of the late lord de Brézé, to whom the king had been unusually bountiful, and in whom he had the greatest confidence*. The chief managers in this business for the widow were, the bishop of Evreux†, master John Hebert, and others.

When this was known to the confederated princes, (although the duke of Berry had before been satisfied with having Champagne and Brie for his appanage,) they sent to inform the king, that his brother would not accept of any other appanage than the duchy of Normandy; to which he was forced to consent. The king, therefore, since he could not prevent it, gave to the lord Charles the duchy of Normandy, and took to himself the duchy of Berry. He was also forced to agree to the extravagant demands of the other princes, as a compensation for their expenses in bearing arms against him,—and they all plundered him well. But this has been before amply related by Enguerrand de Monstrelet.

CHAPTER CLI.—AFTER THE TREATY OF CONFLANS BETWEEN THE KING AND PRINCES, PROVISIONS ARE BROUGHT TO THE CONFEDERATE ARMY FROM PARIS, ON PAYMENT BEING MADE FOR THEM.—THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS, ON MUSTERING HIS TROOPS, DECLARES HIMSELF VASSAL TO THE KING.—HE DOES HOMAGE FOR WHAT HE HOLDS UNDER THE CROWN OF FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF BERRY AND THE OTHERS DO THEIR HOMAGE.—PEACE IS PROCLAIMED.—OTHER EVENTS.

The king ordered proclamation to be made for every one to carry provisions to the camps of the Burgundians and Bretons,—which being done, several merchants of Paris went thither with quantities of all sorts, which were eagerly bought up by the army, more especially bread and wine; for the men were almost starved, as their long lank cheeks, hanging down through misery, showed, and that they could not have borne it longer. The greater part were without hose or shoes, and were covered with filth. Among those who came to obtain food were several Lifre-lofres‡, Calabrians and Swiss, so famished that they seized cheeses and devoured them unpared, and then drank marvellous draughts of wine in handsome earthen cups. The Lord knows how joyful they were; but they had not these things scot-free, for each paid his share handsomely. Many things happened this day, which I pass over for brevity; but every one must admire the inestimable resources of Paris, for the confederated army before that town was estimated at full one hundred thousand horse, and those within Paris at three times the number,—yet they were all supplied with provisions for a long time from thence, and without any rise in price. On the departure of the Burgundian army, the prices of provision were more moderate than they had ever been.

The king went to visit the count de Charolois at Conflans, with so very small an escort that those who wished him well thought it simply done: the Picards and others of their party even made a mockery of it, and, in their provincial dialect, cried out, "Eh! do you see your king, who is talking with our lord de Charolois? they have been more than two hours together; and by our faith, if we wished it, we have him now under our thumb." On Friday, the 4th of October, the king gave orders for the Burgundians to be admitted

* Her name was Jane Crespin, countess of Maulevrier. She was obliged, afterward, to obtain letters of pardon for this crime from Louis XI. See No. 82 of Proofs to Comines.

† The bishop of Evreux,—John Balue, well known afterward as cardinal of Arras; but it is evident that the bishop of Bayeux is here meant. The bishop of Evreux was the most unlikely person in the world to be concerned in this business.

‡ Lifre-lofres,—a mock word for the Germans and Swiss, Swagbellies, &c.—See *Cotgrave*.

into Paris by the gate of St. Antoine, and so many entered that several excesses were committed by them, which would not have been suffered had it been known that the king would have been angry with them. However, one Burgundian insisted on passing the gate of St. Antoine against the will of the porters, and in spite of one of the company of the bastard du Maine, who guarded the wicket. The Burgundian, in his passion, drew a dagger and stabbed the archer in the belly as he was half opening the wicket: he was immediately seized, and severely beaten and wounded: many would have killed him, but they were prevented; and the affair was made known to the king, who ordered him to be carried to the count de Charolois, for him to do proper justice on him. The count, on hearing the evidence, instantly sentenced him to be hanged on the gallows at Charenton. This night, the king ordered fires to be lighted in all the open squares; and he gave orders for the watch to be increased, and to be under arms, having an able commander, who was to inquire of all passengers who they were, whence they came, and whither they were going. This day was an eclipse of the moon.

On Sunday, many lords from the camp came to Paris, and supped with the king, at the house of sir John L'Huillier, town-clerk: several ladies and damsels, with others of the nobility, were present. On this day, the captain Salazart, with twenty men of his company, sallied out into the plain, by the bastile of St. Antoine, because that gate had been shut by the king's orders, that no one might thence leave the town; but for the admittance of the Burgundians it was to be opened for ten at a time, and on their return ten others were allowed to enter, after which the drawbridge was raised. Salazart's twenty men-at-arms were dressed in jackets of blue camlet, with large white crosses for their badge: they had handsome chains of gold round their necks, with bonnets of black velvet on their heads, having large tufts of golden thread from Cyprus hanging down. The housings of their horses were covered with bells of silver. To distinguish Salazart from his men, he was mounted on a beautiful courser, with housings covered over with plates of silver: under each hung a large bell of silver gilt. In front of this company rode the trumpet of Salazart mounted on a grey horse; and as the troop advanced along the side of the walls, from the gate of St. Antoine to the tower de Billy, the trumpeter's horse fell so heavily with him that he broke the trumpeter's neck.

The ensuing Monday, news was brought to Paris that the lords de Hautbourdin and de Saveuses had taken Peronne, and made the count de Nevers prisoner, who was in the castle. This same day, three prisoners escaped from the prison of Tizon *, one of whom had been an accomplice with Louis Forbier in giving up Pontoise to the Bretons, and was of the company of Joachim Rohault. This day, a house took fire at Paris in Champ-gaillart† which a little alarmed the king; and, in consequence, he ordered fires to be continued during the nights, in all the squares, and the guards to be reinforced.

During this month of October, some of the party of the duke of Burgundy came before the town of Beauvais, and summoned the bishop and the inhabitants to surrender themselves to the said duke. The bishop demanded to have the summons in writing, which he sent instantly to the king, who transmitted it to the count de Charolois, with whom he had concluded a peace. The count replied, that this summons was not authorised by him, and that he wished the devil would take those who had made it, for having done more than they were ordered. The king told the count, that since peace had been made between them, such things should not be done; for that, if he were desirous of having the town of Beavais, he would give it to him. On Wednesday, the 9th of October, the provost and sheriffs of Paris ordered the head of each ward to have fires lighted at the usual places, all the chains extended across the streets, and a good watch kept constantly patroling. The Thursday following, the lord de Saveuses arrived at the Burgundian camp with a large escort, having with him a great sum of money for the count de Charolois to pay his troops. And on this day the duke of Brittany had a meeting with the king to arrange the payment of his expenses for the army he had raised in the support of the confederated princes. In settling this account, he regained his county of Montfort, besides receiving a very large sum

* Tizon,—in the Bourbonnois, near Ganat.

† Champ-gaillart. Q.

in ready money. On the Friday, master John Boulengier, president of the parliament, came to the town-house, to acquaint the magistrates, from the king, that the populace must not be alarmed on seeing the whole of the count de Charolois' force drawn up before the walls, for that it was only to form a muster and review before the king. They did not, however, appear on that day; but on the following it took place, and the Burgundian troops appeared in great force, extending from the bridge of Charenton to the bois de Vincennes. The king was present, having only three persons with him, namely, the duke of Calabria, the count de Charolois, and the count de St. Pol. This has been described by Monstrelet, but not exactly as I relate it. When the review was over, the king returned to Paris by water; but before his departure, the count de Charolois, addressing his troops, said, "Gentlemen, you and I belong to the king, my sovereign lord, who is here present, to serve him whenever he shall have occasion for us."

On Saturday, the 12th, intelligence arrived that the town of Evreux had been given up to the Bretons by sir John le Bœuf, who had admitted them into the town on the preceding Wednesday, the feast of St. Denis, while the inhabitants were engaged in a religious procession; and as the procession went out at one gate, the Bretons entered by the other. The king received information on the 16th, that there was a plot formed at Paris, by some of his enemies, to make him prisoner, or put him to death. In consequence, the guards were doubled on the walls and in the streets; and great fires were lighted every night in the squares. News now came, that the town of Caen and the whole of Normandy had submitted to the duke of Berry: the king, nevertheless, sent great numbers of men-at-arms and franc-archers to the town of Mante.

On the ensuing Wednesday, the last day but one of October, the treaty of peace that had been concluded between the king and the princes was publicly read in the court of parliament, and there enregistered. This day, the king went to the princes, in the bois de Vincennes, where the duke of Berry did homage for the duchy of Normandy, that had been given him for his appanage. The walls and gates of Paris were this day strictly guarded until the king returned, as he had gone to Vincennes with very few attendants. The king wanted to sleep there that night, and sent to Paris for his bed; but the provost and sheriffs sent an humble remonstrance, to request that he would not sleep out of Paris, for many reasons. This request he complied with, and returned to Paris.

On the Thursday following, the duke of Berry, the count de Charolois, and others broke up their encampments near Paris, and departed divers ways. The count went toward Normandy, and was accompanied a long way by the king on the road to Pontoise, when they went for Villiers-le-bel, where they remained two or three days; and thence the count marched for Picardy, in his way to make war on the Liegeois, as has been told by Monstrelet.

CHAPTER CLII.—THE KING THANKS THE PARISIANS FOR THEIR LOYALTY AND COURAGE, CONFIRMS THEIR PRIVILEGES, AND OFFERS THEM NEW ONES.—HE RESTORES SIR ROBERT D'ESTOUTEVILLE TO THE PROVOSTSHIP OF PARIS.—HE DISPLACES SOME AND APPOINTS OTHERS TO FILL THEIR OFFICES, AND THEN GOES TO ORLEANS.—CHARLES, THE KING'S BROTHER, IS RECEIVED BY THE NORMANS AS THEIR DUKE.—THE KING GOES INTO NORMANDY.—OTHER EVENTS.

The Monday following, sir Robert d'Estouteville*, knight, lord of Beyne, who had been provost of Paris during the former reign,—but the king had deprived him of that office, and given it to Jacques de Villiers, lord of l'Isle-Adam,—was now restored by him to the provostship. He presided this day at the town-house, and the watchword for the night was given to him as provost of Paris. On the Tuesday, the king supped at the town-hall, where was a handsome service of flesh and fish; and many of the nobility, with their ladies, were invited to meet him. Before supper the king addressed some of the heads of the

* He had been confined in the Bastile by Louis XI.

wards, who were come thither for the purpose, and said, that he thanked them all, generally and individually, for their great loyalty, and the services they had done him; that, in return, he was disposed to do everything possible for them: and that as he had, during the war, remitted several imposts, which some might think was done from the necessity he was then in for their assistance and support, and that after a peace he would renew them, he therefore declared that such was not his intention, for that he had, from his great affection, freely remitted them, never to be renewed; and that if there were any other things they wished from him, they need only mention them, and he would grant their requests. He added, that he should leave in their town the lord de Beyne as their provost, to whom they would pay the same obedience as to himself, because he had well served him at the affair of Montlehery, and for other causes, which he told to the provost des marchands, and to the sheriffs of the city of Paris. He begged of them to be always true and loyal to him and to the crown of France, without any partiality being found in their town.

This day, the natural daughter to the king was betrothed to the bastard of Bourbon *; and, after supper, dancings and other amusements took place; the lord bastard there danced and made good cheer. On the ensuing Monday, the 7th of November, sir Robert d'Estouteville was conducted to the Châtelet of Paris, by sir Charles de Melun and master John Dauvet first president of the parliament of Toulouse, whom the king had ordered to receive the oaths of office from sir Robert, as he had nominated him provost of Paris in the room of Jacques de Villiers, lord of l'Isle-Adam, who had received the appointment on his joyous entry into Paris, and to institute sir Robert into the same. When the letters of his patent were read before the court of the Châtelet, sir Robert was instituted into the office of provost, without prejudice to any appeal from the said lord de l'Isle-Adam. When this was done, the king summoned before him the presidents of his court of parliament, and addressed them nearly as follows: "On my coming to the throne, I constituted sir Helie de Thorettes first president of our court of parliament, who soon after died. Our affections were then fixed to replace him by master John Dauvet, our first president of our parliament of Toulouse, now present; but through the importunities of several, and at the particular solicitation of sir John Bureau, we appointed the president de Nanterre, who has enjoyed the office, until the arrival of some princes of our blood before Paris, who have remonstrated with us on various existing abuses within our realm, and even in our court of parliament; for which, and other causes, we declare the said de Nanterre to be no longer first president of our said court of parliament, but do appoint, in his place, the said master John Dauvet, to hold the same during our good pleasure."

The next day, Saturday, sir Pierre de Morvilliers, chancellor of France, was dismissed from that office, and sir John Juvenal des Ursins, who had been chancellor at the time of the decease of king Charles, was reappointed in his stead. At the same time, sir Pierre Puy was displaced from his office of master of requests in ordinary to the king's household, and master Regnault des Dommans succeeded him. The king set out for Orleans when he had made the above arrangements, and took with him Arnoult L'Huillier, burgher and banker at Paris, charging him expressly always to follow and be near him. He carried also with him master John Longue-Joye, the younger, who had lately married the damsel Genevieve, daughter to master John Baillet, and made him of his great council. Just as he was leaving Paris, he created master Charles d'Orgemont lord of Mery, treasurer of France, Arnoult L'Huillier treasurer of Carcassonne, and master Pierre Ferteil, the husband of Terteau, master of the requests of his household, but without pay or emolument.

On the Monday following a great comet appeared at Paris about six in the morning, and so resplendently bright, that a man crossing the square of the Greve at that hour, to hear the mass of the Holy Ghost, was so frightened by it that he lost his senses and became mad.

The king's brother, as I have said, was gone into Normandy, and had arrived at Saint Catherine's on the Mount, near to Rouen, where he remained some days, until the prepara-

* Joanna, youngest of the king's four natural daughters, married to Louis de Bourbon, count of Roussillon, afterwards admiral of France.

tions making by the townsmen for his entry into Rouen were ready. During this interval, a great quarrel arose between the duke of Brittany and the count de Dammartin, when it was told to the duke of Normandy, that the two said lords intended to arrest and carry him into Brittany. Sir John de Lorraine*, hearing of this, went instantly to the town-house in Rouen, when the magistrates ordered the inhabitants under arms; and sir John led a numerous body of them to St. Catherine's on the Mount, where admittance was at first refused him; but sir John, in despite of the duke of Brittany and the count de Dammartin, and without much ceremony, made the new duke mount a horse, that had a saddle, indeed, but no housings, and in this simple state, with only a black velvet robe on, led him through the town of Rouen to the church of Our Lady, where "Te Deum laudamus" was chanted, and thence to the castle of Rouen.

While the king resided at Orleans, he made many ordinances and regulations for the better government of the realm, and displaced several of his captains. Among the rest, he took from Poncet de Riviere the command of a hundred lances, but made him bailiff of Montferrant; and he acted thus to many others. Poncet de Riviere, on losing his command, went on a voyage to Jerusalem, and thence to St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai. The king reappointed the lord de Lohéac marshal of France, in the place of the count de Cominges, bastard of Armagnac. Having done this, the king left Orleans, and marched his whole army, his franc-archers and his artillery, great and small, into Normandy, by way of Argentan, Eynes, Falaise, Caen, and other places, to gain possession of them. At the last town he met the duke of Brittany, and they were together for some time. The duke of Bourbon, in consequence of the king's orders, had entered another part of Normandy, and came before Evreux, which would not surrender on his first summons; but the garrison afterward capitulated, and the duke and his men were admitted into the town. He thence advanced to Vernon on the Seine, which also demurred at first, but afterwards admitted him. Sir Charles de Melun, grand-master of the king's household, took possession of several towns in Normandy, such as Gisors, Gournay, and others: he also overthrew six score Scots, who were marching to the lord de Bueil † for the duke of Normandy,—which affair took place at a village, called Cailly, in the bailiwick of Caen.

At this time the lord d'Esternay was general of Normandy,—but, for fear of the king's anger, he had fled from Rouen disguised as a cordelier friar, in company with an Augustin monk. They were met, however, by some of the men of the grand-master at Pont Saint Pierre, four leagues from Rouen, who taking them prisoners, they were afterwards searched, and much money and other precious effects found on them and seized. The new duke of Normandy had gone from Rouen to Louviers, expecting to meet the duke of Bourbon; but being disappointed, he instantly returned to Rouen,—when the principal persons conducted him to the town-house, and invested him with the duchy, by placing a ring (as was customary) on his finger, and he promised to preserve and defend all their rights and privileges. He, at the same time, reduced the taxes they had paid before his investiture to one-half, and the whole assembly of clergy, nobles, and populace swore obedience to him, and to support him, as his loyal subjects, to the last drop of their blood.

They then caused to be read to him aloud an extract from an old chronicle preserved in the town-house, which contained in substance, that there was formerly a king of France who left two sons on his decease, the eldest of whom succeeded to his throne, and the younger had for his appanage the duchy of Normandy, which his brother wanted to annex to his crown, and great wars ensued. The Normans, however, so successfully supported their duke, that the king was forced into exile, and the duke was crowned in his stead. After this had been read, they told him not to be uneasy at anything, for that henceforward the townsmen would supply him with so many engines of war, and other means of defence, that no harm should come to him or to their town.

* Q. John count of Harconrt, brother of Frederic count of Vaudemont?

† Lord de Bueil,—Anthony count of Sancerre.

CHAPTER CLIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE RECOVERS THE DUCHY OF NORMANDY FROM HIS BROTHER, CHARLES DUKE OF BERRY.—THE LORD D'ESTERNAY IS DROWNED, AND SEVERAL OFFICERS IN NORMANDY ARE EXECUTED OR BANISHED.—THE DUKE OF BERRY LEAVES NORMANDY.—AND SIR JOHN DE LORRAINE, THINKING TO FOLLOW HIM, IS MADE PRISONER AND CARRIED TO THE KING.

On Monday, the last day but one of December, the king of France, returning from lower Normandy, came to Pont Audemer, and thence to la Champagne du Neufbourg, near Conches. He sent the duke of Bourbon to Louviers,—and on the first of January, that town submitted to the duke of Bourbon for the king. This same day the king entered it in the afternoon, when the lord d'Esternay was brought him by the men of the grand-master,—and he was immediately after drowned in the river Eure, and the Augustin monk with him, by the officer of the provost-marshal. The body of the lord d'Esternay was afterwards taken out of the river, and buried in the church of Our Lady at Louviers, where his obsequies were performed. At this period, very many officers of Normandy were executed or drowned by the provost-marshal, on account of their having interfered in the dissensions between the king and his brother. On the king's departure from Louviers, he laid siege to the town of Pont de l'Arche, four leagues distant from Rouen; and on the 6th of January it was proclaimed in Paris, that all purveyors, who had been accustomed to supply the army with provisions, should repair thither instantly with forage,—and, also, that the pioneers should make themselves ready to march from Pont de l'Arche on the morrow, under the command of sir Denis Giber, one of the four sheriffs of Paris who had been appointed to conduct them.

On the Wednesday, a detachment of the king's army, that had gone on a foraging party, took four-men-at arms belonging to the duke of Berry, but who had formerly belonged to the king. One was called le Petit Bailiff, and had been in the company of Joachim Rohault marshal of France, and an accomplice in the betraying Pontoise to the Bretons. When brought before the king, they were ordered to be beheaded instantly; but they offered, on their lives being spared, to cause Pont de l'Arche to be surrendered,—and as the duke of Bourbon and other lords seconded their offer, the king pardoned them. This same day the king entered Pont de l'Arche with his army, the garrison having retreated from the town into the castle: among them was master John Hebert, superintendant of the French finances. Three days after, the castle likewise surrendered to the king.

In consequence of these surrenders to the king, the town of Rouen sent a deputation to request a conference; which deputation laid everything that had been done amiss to the charge of the dukes of Brittany and Bourbon. Their commissioners at the conference made several requests and remonstrances, insisting, among other things, that the king should declare himself satisfied with them, notwithstanding any acts to the contrary, and that he would not only grant them his full pardon, but similar franchises to those he had lately granted to Paris. They made many other demands, to all of which the king said he would consider on them. While this was going on, several of the king's army passed and repassed into the town without interruption.

The duke of Berry, in the meantime, quitted Rouen, in company with several of his friends, and went to Honfleur and Caen, where he remained some time. John lord of Lorraine thought also to escape into Flanders; but he was met by a party of the king's army, who made him prisoner, and brought him to the king. On the departure of the duke of Berry, the town of Rouen surrendered to the king, who, having displaced the greater part of the officers in Normandy, appointed others in their places. He disbanded his franc-archers, giving them leave of absence until the first day of the ensuing month of March, and sent back his artillery to Paris: he himself took the road toward lower Normandy, and to St. Michael's Mount.

At this time, Anthony de Chabannes, count de Dammartin, (of whom mention has been often made,) accompanied the king, and had the command of one hundred lances of the gens-d'armes, which sir Charles de Melun had before had. The king also deprived sir Charles of

his office of grand-master of the household, and gave it to the lord de Craon, although many persons were of opinion that sir Charles had well served the king, and done him many considerable services; more especially by his great prudence and activity in the guard of Paris, while the king was absent in the Bourbonnois; for it was observed, that had he not been as diligent as he was, the king and kingdom would have suffered much more. While the king was thus employed, he made an exchange with the count de Dammartin for a castle he had in Gascony called Blancaffort; for which he gave him in sovereignty, all the rights and royalties in the towns of Gonesse, Gournay-sur-Marne, and Crecy in Brie; and gave orders for his parliament to annex them, in perpetuity, to his said county of Dammartin. At this same time, the king commanded that the fortress of Chaumont-sur-Loire, which belonged to sir Pierre d'Amboise, lord of Chaumont, should be set on fire, and razed to the ground, which was done.

Monday, the 4th of February, Gauvain Manniel, who had been lieutenant-general of the bailiff of Rouen, was arrested in that town, and carried prisoner to Pont de l'Arche: where, by orders of the marshals, a scaffold had been erected, on which the said Gauvain was beheaded for certain crimes laid to his charge. His head was placed on a lance on the said bridge, and his body thrown into the river Seine. At the same time, the dean of the cathedral of Rouen and six of the canons were expelled the town, and banished out of the duchy of Normandy.

CHAPTER CLIV.—THE KING OF FRANCE SETS OUT FROM ROUEN TO ORLEANS.—HE SENDS AMBASSADORS TO ENGLAND.—SEVERAL MALEFACTORS ARE EXECUTED AT PARIS.—THE DIVORCE OF SIR WILLIAM COLOMBEL FROM HIS WIFE.—THE LORD DU LAU IS MADE PRISONER.—THE KING PUBLISHES AN EDICT AT PARIS AGAINST THE ENGLISH.—A TRUCE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH.—MANY PERSONS LOSE THEIR SENSES AT PARIS, AT THE BEAN-FLOWERING SEASON.

The king now departed from Rouen for Orleans, where the queen was, and remained there a long time, making excursions to Gergeau * and in that neighbourhood. While he was at Orleans, many embassies came to him from divers countries, on different matters. He also there determined to send an embassy to England, and selected for this purpose the count de Roussillon, bastard of Bourbon and admiral of France, the lord de la Barde, the duke-bishop of Langres, master John de Poupaincourt, lord of Cercelles, master Olivier le Roy, counsellor in the chamber of accounts, and others, who set out for England in April, in the year 1466.

At this time, the officers of justice in Paris arrested many poor creatures, thieves and other malefactors; some of whom, for their crimes, were hanged on the gibbet at Montfaucon, and others, less criminal, were whipped at a cart's-tail through the streets of Paris. At this time also, the damsel Isabeau de Cambray, wife to sir William de Colombel, a rich and powerful man, was confined a prisoner in the Conciergerie of the palais-royal at Paris, on the complaint and information of her husband, who charged her with the three following crimes: first, that she had abandoned him and been faithless to his bed; secondly, that she had robbed him of large sums of money; and, thirdly, that she had compounded divers poisons to compass his death. In consequence of these charges, she was long detained in prison, and put to the torture, to make her confess her guilt. At length, the court of parliament, having taken full cognizance of the evidence and her confession, declared that the said Colombel had sufficiently proved his accusations; and she was sentenced to be deprived of all community of effects and of her dower. With regard to the poisons, she pleaded an error in the suit, and paid into court six score livres parisis, as her pledge for re-appearing.

The 10th day of May, in this year, sir Anthony de Châteauneuf lord du Lau, who had had the king's pardon some time since, on certain conditions, was accidentally met by the lord de Chabesnais, and others, in the plains of Clery, near Orleans; and because that he and his

* Gergeau, or Jargeau,—an ancient town, four leagues from Orleans.

attendants were disguised, they made him a prisoner, and carried him before the king, who ordered him and his people to be confined in a castle near Mehun *. On Wednesday, the eve of the Ascension of our Lord, master John Prevost, notary and secretary to the king, entered the Bastile, by the king's direction, in a subtle manner, and took thence one called Mare, who was lieutenant to the lord des Bordes, and lately married to the natural daughter of sir Charles de Melun, son to the lord des Bordes †. On Saturday, the eve of Whitsunday, was proclaimed through all the squares of Paris, with sound of trumpet, a summons from the constable of France, which included one from the king, to declare that he had received information of his ancient enemies the English having raised a very numerous army for the destruction of his kingdom; and that they had prepared a fleet, accordingly, to invade his coasts; that the king, being resolved to oppose such wicked attempts to the utmost of his power, had ordered his constable to make proclamation thereof in the usual places throughout the realm, that all the noble tenants of the king, as well those of fief as of arriere-fief, of whatever rank, might be properly prepared with arms, horses, and habiliments for war, on the 15th day of June next ensuing, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects. All franc-archers and others were, at the same time, ordered to be ready by the said 15th day of June.

The king displaced at this time the lord des Bordes from being governor of the Bastile of St. Anthony at Paris, and gave it to the lord de Bloc, seneschal of Auvergne, who was said to be a man of an excellent character. At this period, the lord de Montauban ‡, who had been admiral of France, grand-master of woods and waters, and the principal cause of the disturbances in Brittany, which were followed by those in France, and who had received immense sums of the public money, died at Tours, and was not much lamented. After his death, the king gave the office of lord high admiral to the lord bastard of Bourbon, who had married his natural daughter, and the office of grand-master of woods and waters to the lord de Châtillon, brother to the marshal of Lohéac.

A truce was now concluded by sea and land with England for twenty-two months, which was everywhere publicly proclaimed. At this time, for some particular cause, the king was moved to displace the count du Maine from his government of Languedoc, and give the same to the bastard of Bourbon, who also received, in consequence of his marriage with Jeanne, the king's natural daughter, the castle and town of Usson § in Auvergne, said to be the strongest place in the kingdom, together with the government of Honfleur, and other places in Normandy.

In the month of June of this year, 1466, the beans were very abundant and good, nevertheless very many persons of both sexes lost their senses at this time in Paris. In the number was a young man named master Marcial d'Auvergne ||, an attorney in the court of parliament, and notary to the Châtelet. He had been married about three weeks to one of the daughters of master Jacques Fournier, king's counsel in the said court of parliament, and lost his senses in such wise that, about nine in the morning of St. John the Baptist's day, his frenzy seized him, and he threw himself out of the window into the street, broke his thigh, and so bruised his body that he was long in the utmost danger, for his frenzy continued a long time; but at length he recovered.

* There are three Mehuns,—sur Loire, sur Indre, sur Yevre. The first place of his confinement was Sully-sur-Loire, from whence he was removed to the castle of Usson in Auvergne. He was afterwards restored to favour, and made governor of Roussillon.

† Philip de Melun, lord des Bordes, was governor of the Bastile, and father of Charles de Melun, the grand-master before-mentioned. Both father and son were involved in the same disgrace. But the former, more fortunate in being less elevated, was only dismissed from his office, while the latter was soon afterwards brought to the scaffold. The government of the Bastile was now committed to Hugh de Chavigny, seigneur de Bloc.

‡ The lord de Montauban was of the house of Rohan; had followed the king, when dauphin, to Flanders,—was much beloved and regretted by him, but not by the people.

§ Usson,—four leagues from Brionde.

|| Marcial d'Auvergne—was the author of the *Arresta Amorum*, and several pieces now become very scarce.

CHAPTER CLV.—THE KING SENDS COMMISSIONERS TO MAKE REFORMS AT PARIS.—THEIR PAGES AND THE CLERKS OF THE PALACE QUARREL.—A MURDEROUS WAR BETWEEN THE LIEGEOIS AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—A GREAT MORTALITY IN PARIS AND ITS ENVIRONS.—THE KING APPOINTS CERTAIN LORDS FOR THE GUARD AND DEFENCE OF HIS REALM.—EVENTS THAT HAPPENED AT PARIS IN THIS YEAR, MCCCCLXVI.

In the month of July, many prelates, lords, knights, churchmen, and others of the king's council arrived at Paris, by the king's orders, as commissioners to inspect the courts of justice, and to reform whatever they should find irregular, having had very great powers given them for the purpose. They were twenty-one commissioners in all, and the lord John bastard of Orleans, count of Dunois and of Longueville, was their president ; but no business could be transacted unless thirteen members were present, the count de Dunois being always one. They were called " the reformers of the public welfare," and opened their sittings on the 16th day of July ; and, that their measures might be salutary, they commenced by hearing a fine mass to the Divine Spirit chanted in the Holy Chapel in the Palace at Paris. This was celebrated by Juvenel des Ursins, archbishop of Rheims, who had been chosen one of the commissioners. This day twelvemonth, the king met the count de Charolois at Montlehery.

On the morrow, some of the pages of the counsellors in the court of parliament, while waiting for their masters, sought a quarrel with the pages of these commissioners, and a great riot and noise ensued, because they had refused to pay their welcome-money at the Palace. This quarrel was renewed with more earnestness the next day, when their masters returned to the court, and proceeded at length to blows with fists, knives, and stones : so that many were much beaten and bruised, and some even had their eyes knocked out, and force was employed to separate them. Several said, that this was only done as an anniversary of the battle of Montlehery. This year was very moist, so that although the corn was good in some parts of France, in others it was spoiled and mildewed. There were many tempests, and storms of thunder and lightning, which did much damage in divers places of the kingdom, more particularly in the Soissonnois, where several houses were destroyed, churches unroofed, and infinite mischief was done to the vineyards and corn-fields.

A serious war now took place between the Liegeois and the duke of Burgundy, who, on this occasion, resumed his arms, and advanced to his army carried in a litter, attended by his son the count de Charolois, with all his nobles, and the whole of his artillery. He began the campaign by laying siege to Dinant, as has been amply detailed in the chronicles of Monstrelet. The heat of the weather in the months of August and September, of this year, was so excessive that it brought on a great mortality in and about Paris, insomuch that more than forty thousand persons of both sexes died. In the number was master Arnoul, the king's astrologer, a very good kind of man, wise and pleasant. Several physicians and officers of the king died ; and such numbers were buried in the churchyard of the Holy Innocents, and the great hospital being full of dead and dying, it was ordered that in future all buryings should be made in the churchyard of the Holy Trinity, which church was appertaining to the town-house of Paris. This mortality continued until the month of November. Public prayers were offered up to God that it might cease, and solemn general processions were made by the different parishes, in which were carried holy relics, and the shrines of saints, and even the shrines of Our Lady, of Saint Genevieve and Saint Marcel, when the number of deaths decreased some little.

At this period there were great alarms in Paris from the number of thieves and house-breakers, who did great mischiefs during the night. Some were arrested and whipped at a cart's tail, and others hanged for these crimes on the gibbet at Paris. In this year was hanged at Paris, a large Norman, a native of Coutantin, in Normandy, for having long cohabited with his own daughter, by whom he had several children, whom they put to death as soon as born. He was hanged, and she was burned at Maigny, near Pontoise, where they resided on quitting Normandy. The shrines of St. Crespin and St. Crespinian were now brought to

Paris, in the hopes that they would stop the mortality, and also to solicit alms for the new-roofing of their church at Soissons, which had been destroyed in the summer by lightning, as has been mentioned.

SKIRMISH BETWEEN THE BURGUNDIANS AND LIEGEOIS. The Drawing shows the battle-axe warfare of the period. Composed from contemporary Paintings.

During this time the king and his ministers resided at Orleans, Chartres, Bourges, Mehun, Amboise, and other places, where he received divers embassies from England, Burgundy, and elsewhere. The king now determined to make war on the duke of Burgundy, and on his son the count de Charolois; and for this purpose issued his summons for the assembly of the ban and arriere-ban, in the different towns of his realm. He created a large body of franc-archers beyond their established number, and made several regulations for the more effectual defence of his kingdom. He appointed the marshal de Lohéac his lieutenant for the town of Paris and the Isle of France. To the lord de Châtillon was given the guard of Champagne. The care of Normandy was entrusted to the count de St. Pol, constable of France, who, a little before, had been the king's enemy, in conjunction with the duke of Burgundy and the count de Charolois. In the month of February, an embassy came to the king from Brittany, who, having heard what they had to say, received them well. They afterwards pursued their journey into Flanders, to wait on the duke of Burgundy and his son. The report was now current that the king and his brother had made up their quarrel, to the great joy of the nation. I should have mentioned that, prior to this, the king had sent master John Hebert and the bishop of Troyes, with others, on an embassy to the Liegeois.

It happened about this time, that three sergeants at mace of the Châtelet, of bad repute, forcibly entered, during the night, the chamber of a priest of St. Paul's church, while he was quietly asleep, and beat and mutilated him much; but not content with this, they dragged him through the streets, and, having sorely wounded him in many places, went their way. The priest prosecuted them; in consequence of which they were confined in the prisons of the Chatelet, and were sentenced to be banished France, to have their effects confiscated to the king, and to make an amende honorable. From this sentence, they appealed to the court of parliament, and the king's attorney appealed thither also against the sentence, as

being too mild for such an outrage. The court, therefore, confirmed the judgment of the provost at the Châtelet, and condemned them, in addition, to be whipped through all the squares of Paris, which was done.

CHAPTER CLVI.—THE KING APPOINTS THE COUNT OF DAMMARTIN GRAND-MASTER OF HIS HOUSEHOLD.—HE GOES WITH THE QUEEN TO ROUEN, WHERE HE HAD APPOINTED THE EARL OF WARWICK TO MEET HIM.—THE DEATH OF DUKE PHILIP OF BURGUNDY.—THE KING GOES TO CHARTRES, WHITHER HE SUMMONS SOME OF THE PARISIANS, AND COMMANDS THEM TO HAVE BANNERS MADE ACCORDING TO THE DIFFERENT PROFESSIONS AND TRADES.—A MONK IS MURDERED IN THE TEMPLE.—THE QUEEN MOST HONOURABLY RECEIVED IN PARIS.

On Thursday, the 22d day of April, in this same year, Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, who had escaped out of the Bastile, and had afterward done many mischiefs to the king's subjects in Auvergne and elsewhere, on his arrival before Paris with the confederated princes, was created grand-master of the royal household in the room of the lord de Croy, and letters were granted him by the king, to certify that the said Chabannes had sworn to serve him loyally and faithfully against all the world.

In the month of June, the king set out from Paris for Rouen in Normandy; and during his stay there, he sent for the earl of Warwick, who, for some cause, had been forced to leave England. The earl landed at Harfleur, and thence went in a boat, with his company, to the village of La Bouille on the Seine, five leagues from Rouen. He arrived there on Saturday the 7th of June, in time for dinner, which he found ready prepared for him; for the king was come thither to receive him, and feasted him and his company very grandly. After dinner, the earl re-embarked in his boat for Rouen, whither the king and his attendants went by land. The inhabitants of the town went out to meet the earl as far as the gate of the Quay St. Eloy, where the king had ordered all the parishes to give him a most honourable reception, with banners, crosses, and holy water presented to him by the priests in their copes. He was thus conducted in procession to the cathedral, where he made his offering, and thence went to the lodgings that had been prepared for him at the Jacobins. The queen and princesses came likewise to Rouen, and the king remained there with the earl of Warwick the space of twelve days, when the earl returned to England. On his departure the king sent with him the lord admiral, the bishop of Laon, master John Poupaincourt his minister, master Olivier le Roux, and others. During his stay at Rouen, the king made him many rich presents; such as pieces of gold plate, and a cup of gold ornamented with precious stones: the lord de Bourbon presented him also with a handsome diamond ring, and the whole of the expenses of himself and his attendants were defrayed by the king, from his landing at Harfleur to his re-embarkation. The king on his departure returned to Chartres, where he made some stay.

In the month of June, in this year, died Philip duke of Burgundy, in the town of Bruges: his body was afterward carried to Dijon, and interred at the Carthusian convent. But this has been fully described in the last chapter of the Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet. The king while at Chartres ordered the inhabitants of Paris to have banners made, for their respective professions and trades to range themselves under: each banner to have a leader and a deputy-leader, who were to have the management and care of them; and those enrolled under their governance were to be armed in jackets, brigandines, light helmets, and other sorts of offensive and defensive armour, according to their several stations, as well tradesmen as officers, nobles, merchants, churchmen, and persons of other ranks, which was done.

In this same month of June the king summoned before him at Mellay, near Chartres, some of the principal persons in Paris, among whom was master John Boulenger, president in the court of parliament, master Henry de Livres, counsellor in the said court, sir John Clerbout, master-general of the mint, Jacques Rabours, procurator of the town of Paris, master Eustache Milet, another counsellor in the aforesaid court, Nicholas Laurens, Guillaume Roger,

Jean de Hacqueville, and other principal merchants, whom the king sent to his council at Chartres, where they remained some time.

About this time, two persons, called Robert de la Motte and Jean Raoul, had been long detained prisoners, on the accusation of a monk of St. Lô, at Rouen, named master Pierre le Marêchal, who had charged them, and others, with being enemies to the king, and with having conspired against his life. These charges he could not however prove; and they were found to be nothing but lies; on which the accuser was sentenced to death, and was accordingly drowned the 14th day of July. De la Motte, Raoul, and the others, were acquitted, and sent to their homes. The king, soon after this, sent an ordinance to be sealed at Paris: it was signed Michel de Ville-Chartre; by which the king willed, for the repeopling of Paris, which had been much depopulated by wars, mortalities, and other events, that people of all nations and countries might come and freely reside in that town, suburbs, and within its jurisdiction, and enjoy all the privileges attached to the citizens of Paris, relative to the crimes of murder, theft, and all others, excepting that of high treason, and during their residence they were to bear arms for the service of the king, against all his enemies. This was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, in all the squares of Paris, according to the privileges granted to such as had been exiled to the towns of St. Malo and Valenciennes. This month the king issued another proclamation, for all nobles holding fiefs or arriere-fiefs, to be ready in arms; and for those in Paris, and in the Isle of France, to be prepared on the 15th day of August to march whithersoever he might be pleased to lead them.

On the 3d day of August, a melancholy event happened at Paris. One of the monks of the Temple called friar Thomas Lovecte, who was the receiver of his house, had his throat cut by one of his brethren, named friar Henry, in consequence of some dispute that had happened between them. Friar Henry on committing the deed absented himself, and was not discovered until the 10th of that month, when, about 10 o'clock at night, an examiner at the Châtelet called master John Potin, accompanied by three sergeants at mace, made such diligence that he was found hid in a closet in the hôtel of St. Pol at Paris, dressed in a rocquet of white cloth, and a black hat on his head. In this state, he was carried prisoner to the Châtelet, and thence surrendered to the court of parliament, to which he had appealed against his arrest, alleging that the place whence he had been taken was a place of sanctuary, and claiming to be returned thither. The monks of the Temple claimed him as a priest of their order; and he was given up to them and led to their prison. On the 12th of August, in the year 1467, the grand prior of France, attended by many great lords, assembled at the Temple to sit in judgment on friar Henry, when he was condemned to a perpetual imprisonment in a dark dungeon, and to be fed, so long as he should live, on the bread of pain and water of sorrow.

At this time, the admiral, and those before mentioned, who had accompanied the earl of Warwick to England, returned to France, after having stayed there some time and concluded nothing. The king of England sent, however, to the king of France, presents of hunting-horns, bottles of leather, and other things, in return for the very rich presents that had been made the earl and his attendants by the king and other lords on his leaving Rouen.

Friday the 18th of August, the king came to Paris about eight o'clock in the evening: he was attended by the duke of Bourbon and many other lords. On Tuesday, the first of September, the queen arrived at Paris by water, and landed near to the church of Nôtre Dame, where she found, in waiting to receive her, all the presidents and counsellors of the court of parliament, the bishop of Paris, and numbers of others of the nobility, handsomely dressed. Near this landing-place, several rich pageants had been prepared by the city of Paris, and when it was known that she approached the city, a grand procession of boats, filled with the principal inhabitants and decorated with silks and tapestries, went out to meet her. In some of these boats were placed choristers of the Holy Chapel at Paris, who sang most melodiously certain virelays and pastorals adapted to the occasion. There were also numbers of clarions and a band of instrumental music, that saluted the queen and her ladies, as they entered their boats, with a variety of melodies. The citizens had placed in the queen's barge a beautiful stag of confectionary, having her arms emblazoned hanging on his neck. There were likewise plenty of salvers full of sweetmeats and fresh fruits of all sorts, with a quantity

of violets and other sweet-smelling flowers scattered about every part of the barge. Wines of different sorts were abundantly distributed to all who pleased to partake of them. The queen, having performed her prayers in the church of Notre Dame, returned to her barge, and was rowed down the river to the gate in front of the church of the Celestins, where she found other pageants. Here she again landed, and, with her ladies, mounted the beautiful hackneys and palfreys that were there waiting for them, and rode to the king's hôtel at the Tournelles, where, in front of the gate, was another pageant. That night bonfires were lighted in all the streets, and round tables placed at different squares and open places, where meat and drink was given to all comers.

The Thursday following, the 3d of September, master Nicholas Balue, brother to the bishop of Evreux, was married to the daughter of sir John Bureau, lord of Montglat. The marriage-feast was held at the hôtel de Bourbon, and was abundantly splendid. Great honour was done to this wedding, by the presence of the king, the queen, the duke and duchess of Bourbon, the count de Nevers, madame de Bueil, and all their attendants, who partook of the feast, and made them many and very rich gifts. The king and queen afterwards accepted of many invitations to entertainments given by several of their courtiers. Among others, on Thursday the 10th of the same month, the queen, accompanied by her sister, the lady Bona of Savoy, and the duchess of Bourbon, with other ladies of their attendants, supped at the hotel of master Jean Dauvet, first president of the parliament, where most handsome preparations were made for their reception, and among other things were four beautiful baths, in the expectation that the queen would bathe; but she declined it from being unwell, and because the season was unfavourable. In one of them, however, the duchess of Bourbon and the lady Bona bathed, as did madame de Montglat and Perrette de Châlons, a Parisian, in the adjoining one, and made good cheer there.

CHAPTER CLVII.—THE KING ORDERS THE BANNERS OF PARIS TO BE MUSTERED.—OF THE WAR WITH LIEGE.—OF THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION, WHICH A LEGATE FROM THE POPE AND BALUE ATTEMPT TO ABOLISH.—THE KING PARDONS THE DUKE OF ALENÇON AND THE LORD DU LAU.—THE COUNT DE SAINT POL CONCLUDES A TRUCE BETWEEN THE KING AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, WITHOUT INCLUDING THE LIEGEOIS.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THE YEAR MCCCCLXVII.

On the 14th of September, the king ordered all the banners of Paris to be mustered without the walls: and he issued his commands, that on that day all persons, of whatever rank or condition, should appear under their proper banner properly accoutred for war. Nevertheless, should there be any who had not yet prepared their armour, they must make their appearance with defenceable staves, under pain of death.

It was a fine sight to see the different banners march out of Paris, each handsomely arrayed, and without noise or confusion. They amounted to from sixty to eighty thousand helmets, of which full thirty thousand were armed in brigandines, plain armour, and jackets. When they were drawn up in battle-array, the king and queen and their court came out to see them, which they did with much pleasure,—for never was seen so numerous an army issue out of any town before. There were seventy-seven banners of the different trades, without including the standards and guidons of the court of parliament, of the chamber of accounts, of the treasury, of the mint, of the tax-offices, of the Châtelet, and of the Hôtel de Ville, under which were as many, if not more, able-bodied men than under all the other banners.

Several tuns of wine had been brought from Paris, and placed at different spots for those under muster to refresh themselves with, as their heads had been taken off. They occupied a very large tract of ground; for their line extended from the dunghills between the gates of St. Anthony and the Temple, along the ditches of Paris, and through the vineyards to St. Anthony des Champs, and from the walls of St. Anthony des Champs to the Grange of Reuilly, and thence as far as Conflans. From Conflans, it returned by the Grange aux Merciers, along the river Seine to the king's bulwark of the tower of Billy, and from thence

along the walls as far as the gate of the Bastile of St. Anthony. It was a marvellous sight to view the great numbers who appeared at this muster,—and several persons maintained, that as many remained in Paris as had come out.

The king set out from Paris on the 22d of September, in the afternoon, on a pilgrimage on foot to St. Denis, having with him the bishop of Evreux, the lord de Crussol*, Philip L'Huillier, and others. Between Paris and St. Denis, he was accosted by three vagabonds, who demanded pardon for having been thieves, robbers on the highways, and murderers, which the king kindly granted them. He remained the rest of the day at St. Denis, until vespers on the morrow, when he returned to his hôtel of the Tournelles, and supped that night at the hôtel of sir Denis de Hasselin, his pantler, and assessor of the taxes at Paris, who had lately become brother-gossip to the king, on account of a daughter his wife had lately been brought to bed of, and to whom the king had been godfather by the proxy of the bishop of Evreux: the godmothers were mesdames de Bueil † and de Montglat ‡. The king made good cheer at this supper; and three handsome baths had been prepared for him, richly adorned, in the supposition that he would have taken his pleasure; but he declined doing so, because he had a cold, and because the season was not kindly.

At this time, a serious warfare broke out between the Liegeois and the duke of Burgundy, in alliance with the bishop of Liege, cousin to the duke of Burgundy and brother to the duke of Bourbon, whom the Liegeois marched to besiege in the town of Huys § ; and after having been long before it, they gained it,—but the bishop escaped. The king of France, in the meantime, ordered four hundred of his own lances to march to the aid of the Liegeois, under the command of the count de Dammartin, Salazart, Robert de Coniham ||, and Stevenot de Vignoles ¶, together with six thousand franc-archers, taken from Champagne, the Soissonnois, and other parts of the Isle of France.

The duke of Burgundy, hearing of the success of the Liegeois, in the capture of Huys, and that they had killed many Burgundians, assembled his army, with the determination to destroy the whole country of Liege with fire and sword, and he had it thus notified in his proclamations. Those who published this notice held in one hand a naked sword, and in the other a burning torch, to signify, that the war about to commence was to be carried on with fire and sword.

In this month of September, the king gave his letters for the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction ** to a legate come from Rome for that purpose: which letters were read and published in the court of the Châtelet of Paris without any opposition. But when master John Balue, on the first of October, carried them, during the vacations, to the court of parliament to do the same, he found there master John de St. Romain, the king's attorney-general, who formally opposed the effect and execution of these letters, which greatly displeased Balue; and he uttered many menaces against St. Romain,—telling him, that the king would be much angered at his conduct, and remove him from his office. M. de St. Romain paid no great attention to his menaces, and replied, that as the king had given him his office, he would exercise it during the king's pleasure; and that when he should please he might displace him ††; but that he was determined to lose everything sooner than consent to any act that was detrimental to his own conscience, to the crown, or to the public welfare.

* Louis lord de Crussol,—grand-pantler of France.

† "De Bueil." Jeanne, natural daughter to the king, married to Anthony de Bueil, count de Sancerre, son to John admiral of France.

‡ "De Montglat." Germaine Hesselin, wife of John Beauveau, lord of Montglat.

§ Huys, according to modern France, is in the department of the Ourthe, on the Meuse.

|| "Robert de Coniham." Probably an officer, or the commander of the Scots brigade in the service of France, Robert Coningham. He and his men were defeated by sir Charles de Melun, in Normandy, when on their march to aid the duke of Berry.

¶ This Stevenot de Vignoles was probably a son of Amadour de Vignoles, the brother of La Hire, who was killed at Creil in 1434, and continued the posterity of the lords de Vignoles in Languedoc.

** "Pragmatic Sanction." A confirmation of a decree made in the council of Basil, whereby (among other things established for the reformation of the ecclesiastical state) the election of prelates, and collation to benefices, during vacancy, as also the decision of suits concerning them, (usurped, some time before, by the court of Rome) was restored unto the canons, priests, or monks of the diocese. This information was published by an edict of Charles VII., in the year 1438. — Cotgrave. — See a former note, chap. ciii.

†† He was accordingly displaced, though not till some years after, and the reason assigned was the opposition he made in the affair of the Pragmatic Sanction.—Du Clos.

He told Balue, that he ought to be greatly ashamed for having brought forward and supported such a measure.

In consequence of this, the heads of the university waited on the legate, and appealed against these letters to a general council. They went thence to the court of Châtelet, where they made a similar appeal, and had their opposition enregistered. The king sent this legate and the bishop of Evreux, who had lately been made cardinal *, with master John Ladriesche, treasurer of France, and others, to the count de Charolois, to execute some commissions he had charged them with.

On the 8th of October, one called Swestre le Moyne, a native of Auxerre, having been imprisoned at Thiron † a long time for certain crimes, was this day drowned in the Seine, near the Grange aux Merciers, according to the sentence of sir Tristan de l'Hermite ‡, provost of the marshals of the king's household.

Sunday the 11th, there was a prodigious storm of thunder and lightning, about eight o'clock at night, and before and after it the most extraordinary heat that had been ever felt at that season, which seemed to all persons very unnatural. The following day, the king went from his hôtel at the Tournelles, to hear vespers at Notre Dame,—after which, a procession was made by the bishop and canons of that church, when the king retired to repose himself some time at the hôtel of his first president of the parliament, John Dauvet. The king did not leave the president's house until dark night, when, looking up, he perceived a bright star over the hôtel, which followed the king until he had entered the hôtel of the Tournelles, when it disappeared, and was not seen again.

News came to the king, on Thursday the 15th of October, that a large body of Bretons, having gained possession of the town and castle of Caen, had thence marched to Bayeux, and held them both against the king, which vexed him much,—and he sent thither instantly the marshal le Lohéac, then with him, to take proper measures respecting these towns, as he had under his charge one hundred lances from Brittany.

The duke of Alençon, who had been convicted of high treason during the reign of the late king, at a court of justice held at Vendôme, and of having practised with the English, the ancient enemies of France, had been condemned, in consequence of his confessions, to death, saving the good pleasure of the king. His life had been spared, but he remained a close prisoner in the castle of Loches until the present king's accession, when he was fully pardoned, and all proceedings against him were annulled. It happened, that a lame man had been one of the principal evidences against this duke, and was much afraid of his revenge when set at liberty,—to avoid which, he presented himself before the king, and solicited to be taken under his protection. This the king promised, and personally commanded the duke no way to injure this man, his family, or his fortune, as he was under his especial protection. The duke engaged to perform all the king wished; but he soon forgot his promises,—and, having had the lame man seized and brought before him, caused him instantly to be put to death. The wife of the murdered man appeared before the king, to make her loss known, and have redress for her injury; in consequence, the king seized on all the towns and lands of the duke,—but it was not long before they were restored, and he was again pardoned. The duke, to show his gratitude for these repeated marks of favour, offered to give up his towns to the Bretons, and to the duke of Berry, in opposition to the interests of the king.

At this time, sir Anthony de Château-neuf, lord du Lau, grand-butler of France, and seneschal of Guienne, who had been chamberlain to the king, and more beloved by him than any other courtier, who had amended his fortune by the king's service, to the amount of

* "Cardinal." He was created cardinal in 1464, according to Ciaconius. Balue obtained the cardinal's hat at the earnest solicitations of his master, and as a recompense for his services in the affair of the Pragmatic Sanction when he was so nobly checked by St. Romain. Pope Paul the Second was afterwards thoroughly ashamed of having been prevailed on to elevate to the sacred dignity a person of so thoroughly scandalous and depraved a character, and excused himself on the ground of compulsion.—Du Clos.

† Thiron,—a small town in Beauce, election of Chartres.

‡ Many historians speak of the number of secret executions performed at the command of Louis by this Tristan l'Hermite, whom he usually called by the familiar appellation of "mon Compère." This cruel man, not content with mere obedience, executed every mandate in the most barbarous manner. Louis may well be reproached for the favour with which he honoured this minister of his wrath, whom he should not have looked upon in any other light than that of a necessary instrument of justice. — Du Clos.

three or four hundred thousand golden crowns, had fallen into disgrace, and was confined in the castle of Sully-sur-Loire* ; but in the month of October, the king sent sir Tristan l'Hermite, and master Guillaume Cerisay, lately appointed greffier-civil to the parliament, to take the lord du Lau from the prisons at Sully, and to carry him to the castle of Usson† in Auvergne. While they were thus transporting him, a report was spread, and long continued, that the lord du Lau was drowned‡.

Tuesday, the 22d of October, the king left Paris to go into Normandy, and this night lay at Villepreux §, and on the morrow at Mantes. Prior to his departure, he sent off such of his captains as were then near his person to collect the men under their command, and to follow him with them into Normandy or wherever else he might be. He also published an edict, to declare that henceforth his pleasure was that all officers should remain in peaceable possession of their places, and that there should be no vacation but by death, resignation, or confiscation; that should he, through importunities, grant any office contrary to this his declaration, he willed that it should not be valid, but that strict and equal justice should be done to all. From Mantes, he went to Vernon-sur-Seine, where he staid some time; during which the constable there joined him, and found means to obtain from the king a truce for six months with the count de Charolois, without including the Liegeois, who had already made war against the count, in the expectation of being supported by the king, according to the promises he had made them, and they now found themselves quite abandoned by him. The constable returned to the duke of Burgundy with the intelligence of the truce being signed.

Soon after this, the cardinal of Evreux, and the others who had been sent by the king to Flanders, came to him at Vernon; and he thence went to Chartres, whither he sent for the greater part of his artillery from Orleans, that it might be transported to Alençon, and the other towns of which he wanted to gain the possession. The king again sent master John Prevost to Flanders, with a copy of the aforesaid truce to the duke of Burgundy. On the 16th of November, the cardinal, the treasurer Ladriesche, master John Berart, and master Geoffry Alnequin, came to Paris to review their banners, and to execute other commissions given them by the king. The king left Chartres and went to Orleans, Clery, and other towns thereabouts, and thence to Vendôme and Mont St. Michel, having a large train of artillery with him, and a great number of men-at-arms. During this time, the Bretons issued out in arms from their country, and gained Avranches and other towns in Normandy. They spread over the whole of that part of the country, as far as Caen, Bayeux and Coutances.

The duke of Burgundy, in consequence of the truce with France, wherein the Liegeois were not mentioned, entered that country unmolested; when, finding that they had been deserted by the king, and that they should be destroyed, they surrendered all their towns to the count de Charolois, on condition of paying him a large sum of money, and having parts of the gates and walls of their towns pulled down.

CHAPTER CLVIII.—THE KING SENDS COMMISSARIES TO REVIEW THE PARISIAN BANNERS, OFFICERS AS WELL AS MEN.—THE KING'S ARMY MARCHES BETWEEN MANS AND ALENÇON, TO OPPOSE THAT OF THE BRETONS.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY COLLECTS A LARGE ARMY AT ST. QUENTIN.—THE THREE ESTATES OF FRANCE ASSEMBLE AT TOURS IN MCCCCLXVII.

The cardinal de Balue, and the other commissaries, proceeded in mustering the troops under the Parisian banners, in different parts of that town, on the walls, between the gates of the Temple and St. Martin, within the Temple precincts, on the walls between the tower of wood and the gate of Saint Honoré, in front of the Louvre, and elsewhere. The king had it proclaimed through Paris, on the 22d of November, that all who had been accustomed

* Sully-sur-Loire,—eight leagues from Orleans.
† Usson,—four leagues from Brionde.
‡ The lord du Lau did not die until 1483 or 1484.
§ Villepreux,—two leagues from Versailles.

to bear arms and had been disbanded without receiving their pay, should appear before certain commissioners whom he had ordered to settle their accounts, and to relist them for his service in the wars. On the 24th, master John Prevost returned to the king from the count de Charolois, to whom he had carried a copy of the truce, with the count's answer.

On the 26th, a general muster was made out of Paris, fronting the church and abbey of St. Germain des Prés, unto the river Seine, when great numbers appeared well equipped, both horse and foot. There were the treasurers of France, the counsellors and clerks of the exchequer, the masters of the mint, the officers of the treasury and of taxes, the assessors, the whole court of parliament, the practitioners in the court of the Châtelet: in all, a fine and numerous company. With the above companies were a great body of horse and foot under the standard and guidon of the Hôtel de Ville. The bishop, the heads of the university, the abbots, priors, and other churchmen of Paris, appeared there with a certain number of men, well-armed and well appointed. When these musters were over, the cardinal, and the other commissaries left Paris to wait on the king, who was between Mans and Alençon with a very great army, to oppose the further progress of the Bretons; for he was followed by more than one hundred thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot; he had also his train of artillery to besiege Alençon, or any other place, that should refuse him obedience. Truces were now in agitation, which kept the king's army idle, to the great destruction of the country for more than twenty or thirty leagues round Mans and Alençon, which was foraged by the troops.

The count de Charolois, having had complete success over the Liegeois, returned to St. Quentin. and issued his summonses for all his vassals to appear there in arms on the 15th day of December, under heavy penalties. He also issued his orders throughout Burgundy, for all nobles, or others bearing arms, to appear before his commissioners at Montsavion, there to receive their pay, and to march from Montsavion on or before the 20th day of December for St. Quentin, to aid him in the support of his very dearly beloved brother the lord Charles of France and the duke of Brittany, against all their enemies and ill-wishers. Such was the substance of the proclamation. In consequence thereof, those merchants, and others, who had gone into Burgundy on their affairs, returned to Paris as speedily as they could. The count de Charolois issued fresh orders for all his troops to meet him at St. Quentin the 4th day of January.

On Sunday, the feast of the Holy Innocents, the duke of Bourbon was sent to Paris by the king, to place therein, as well as in other towns, sufficient garrisons to defend them against the Burgundians, and to prevent their making any inroads through the country. The marshal de Lohéac came with him, as it was said, to be lieutenant of Paris; but he departed, two days afterwards, for Rouen, and other towns in Normandy, to put them in a proper state of defence, and remained there some time. The duke of Bourbon staid at Paris, and was feasted by all the chief persons in that town. At this time the town of Alençon was surrendered to the king by the count du Perche, son to the duke of Alençon, as he was in possession of the castle, though the Bretons had gained the town. The king, in the mean time, never quitted Mans; and while there, he sent the pope's legate before-mentioned, with Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, the treasurer Ladriesche, and others, to the lord Charles in Brittany, to negotiate an accommodation.

The king, at length, consented to the assembly of the three estates; and the town of Tours was fixed on for their place of meeting, which was appointed for the first day of April*. The king now departed from Mans, and went to Montils-les-Tours, Amboise, and other places in that neighbourhood, on account of the holding of the three estates at Tours. The king was present at their opening,—when, after much discussion on the matters on account of which they were assembled, they were dissolved at Easter-day, in the year 1468. Each person now returned to his home. There were present at this meeting, besides the king, the king of Sicily, the duke of Bourbon, the count du Perche, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the cardinal of Angers, and many great barons, archbishops, abbots, and deputies from all the different provinces and towns of France.

* The estates were held the 6th of April, and ended the 14th of the same month.—*Petite Chronique.*

The question was agitated at this assembly respecting the appanage for the lord Charles, brother to the king,—and after mature deliberation, it was agreed, that he ought to be satisfied with landed property, having the title of duchy or marquisate, of twelve thousand livres tournois yearly rent; and that the king, in addition, should pay him an annual pension of sixty thousand livres, but without serving as a precedent for other children of France, who should hereafter descend from the crown, to demand a similar establishment, the king having granted so very large a sum as sixty thousand livres from his brotherly affection and his wish for peace; that, in regard to the duchy of Normandy, the lord Charles could not have it, as it was not in the king's power to grant it by dismembering the crown. Respecting the duke of Brittany, who detained the lord Charles in his duchy, and had taken by force some towns in France, and was suspected of holding intelligence with the English, the ancient enemies of France, it was determined by the three estates that he should be summoned to restore these said towns to the king; and should he refuse to do so, and should the king have certain information of his connexion with the English, he must recover them by force of arms, and attack the duke wherever he might meet him. The three estates promised to support him in these measures; namely, the churchmen with their prayers and temporal effects, and the nobles and commonalty with their lives and fortunes unto death. In regard to the want of due justice being administered throughout the realm, the king had a singular desire to accomplish it, and was willing that sufficiently well informed persons should be elected from all ranks, to provide a remedy for any abuses, and establish order and equity. The three estates were of opinion that the count de Charolois ought, from his near relation to the king of France, and as a peer of the realm, to exert himself manfully in these measures.

The king, on the breaking up of the estates, went to Amboise, and thence sent an embassy to those assembled at Cambray, to know their resolutions in consequence of what had passed at the meeting at Tours.

CHAPTER CLXIX.—TOURNAMENTS AT PARIS AND AT BRUGES.—THE KING GOES TO MEAUX.—THE PRINCE OF PIEDMONT COMES TO PARIS.—THE LORD DU LAU ESCAPES FROM HIS CONFINEMENT IN THE CASTLE OF USSON, WHICH CAUSES MANY TO LOSE THEIR HEADS.—THE BRETONS AND BURGUNDIANS TAKE MERVILLE.—CHARLES DE MELUN BEHEADED.—THE SUBSTANCE OF WHAT PASSED BETWEEN THE KING AND THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BRITTANY.—PEACE CONCLUDED WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, IN THE YEAR MCCCCLXVIII.

On Monday, the 5th day of May, the lady Ambroise de Lore, widow of the late sir Robert d'Estouteville, provost of Paris, died about an hour after midnight, and was much lamented; for she was a noble, good, and modest lady,—and all decent, well-behaved persons were honourably received at her house. This same day, about nine or ten at night, a mill at Paris, belonging to the prior of St. Ladre, took fire, through the carelessness of a scoundrel servant, who had stuck his candle against the wall near his bed, which fell thereon and burnt the premises; but this servant escaped, and ran away like a fox.

A tournament was held, on the 15th of this month, in front of the king's hôtel at the Tournelles, by four gentlemen belonging to the company of the grand seneschal of Normandy, who had ordered the lists, and prepared the field. They had caused proclamation to be made, that they would there be ready to break three lances against all comers. Many Parisians appeared at the lists on the appointed day: the first was Jean Raguier, overseer of the salt-magazines at Soissons, treasurer of the army in Normandy, and son to master Anthony Raguier, counsellor and treasurer of the king's armies. John Raguier arrived in great haste from Rouen, to be ready for this tournament, and came late in the evening of the day to St. Ladre, attended by many gentlemen of the company of Joachim Rohault, marshal of France, and others, to the number of twenty horse. He remained secretly, and without noise, at St. Ladre, until the morrow, when his companions conducted him, with the sound of trumpets and clarions, to the lists. He was

attended by four footmen dressed in liveries, who kept close to the side of the courser he rode, ready to serve him and hold his lance. His companions were all uniformly dressed in handsome hoods, embroidered with great letters of gold. He made several circuits of the lists before the other champions appeared, and behaved gallantly against them; for he broke five lances, and would have done more, had the judges of the field permitted it. When he had so honourably performed his courses, he paraded round the lists, thanking the ladies and damsels for their presence, and taking his leave of the judges,—from all of whom he acquired much praise.

He was succeeded by an assessor of Paris, called Marc Senamy, and two sons of sir John Sanguin, who all acquitted themselves with courage and address, but did not gain equal praises with their predecessor. Then came Charles de Louviers, cup-bearer to the king, who carried himself with such gallantry and vigour that he broke several lances, and the prize of the day was adjudged to him. The four champions remained much bruised: two of them carried their arms in scarfs, and another had his hand badly wounded below his gauntlet,—so that the honour of the day belonged to the Parisians. On the preceding Sunday, the 8th of May, another tournament was performed at Bruges before the duke of Burgundy with great triumph; and there another Parisian, called Jerom of Cambray, attached to the service of the duke, tilted, and carried away the prize*.

When the tiltings were over at Paris, the king left Amboise for that city, bringing with him the lords of Bourbon, of Lyon†, of Beaujeu, and other great barons. He made some stay at Lagny-sur-Marne, Meaux, and other places in the neighbourhood. On the day of Ascension was an earthquake felt at Tours, Amboise, and in divers parts of Touraine. During the king's stay at Lagny and Meaux, he had his summons proclaimed in Paris, for all nobles and others to be prepared on the eighth day, in arms, to march whithersoever they should be ordered, under the severest penalties.

While he remained at Meaux, a man from the Bourbonnois was there beheaded, on the 27th day of June, for having revealed the king's secrets to his ancient enemies the English. Prior to this, the king had sent the prince of Piedmont, son to the duke of Savoy, to Paris, to kindle a bonfire at the Greve, and to set at liberty all who were confined in the prisons of the parliament, the Châtelet, and elsewhere.

About this time, Charles de Melun, a man-at-arms in the company of the lord admiral, having been made governor of the castle of Usson in Auvergne, had the guard of the person of the lord du Lau entrusted to him on pain of his life. But this lord made his escape, to the great vexation of the king, who, in consequence, had Charles de Melun confined in the castle of Loches, and afterwards beheaded there for his negligence. A youth called Remmonet, the son of Melun's wife, was also beheaded at Tours for this escape,—and the king's attorney at Usson suffered a similar fate at Meaux for the same cause. The king, on leaving Meaux, went to Senlis, and thence to Creil. The Burgundians and Bretons still kept possession of Normandy, and one day took prisoner the lord de Merville—which town of Merville is situated between Saint Sauveur-sur-Dive and Caen—and forced him to surrender the place, in which was a body of franc-archers. The instant they entered the town, they murdered all they found, hung the lord de Merville, and, having completely pillaged the houses and castle, set the whole on fire.

The king went from Creil to Compiègne, where he made some stay, and then returned to Senlis. The duke of Burgundy came from Senlis to Paris on the feast of the Assumption of our Lady; but the king, before his departure, had sent the lord of Lyon and the lord constable to the duke of Burgundy to negotiate terms of peace between them. The king, however, did not fail to order his army into Normandy, under the command of the lord admiral. He was so diligent that in less than a month he drove away the Bretons who had possessed themselves of Bayeux.

On Saturday the 20th of August, sir Charles de Melun, lord of Normanville, and lately grand-master of the household, who had been imprisoned at the castle of Gaillard ‡, under

* Fuller particulars of this tournament may be seen in the Memoirs of Olivier de la Marche. Philip de Comines tilted with Jerom of Cambray; but it is not said that Jerom, in this tilting, bore off the honour.

† The archbishop of Lyons.

‡ Gaillard. Q. Gaillon? on the Seine.

the guard of the count de Dammartin, was tried before the provost of the marsnals for the crimes he was accused of, and was this day taken out of prison, carried to the market-place of Andeli *, and there publicly beheaded.

The king remained at Noyon, Compiègne, Chauny, and other places thereabout, until the 15th of September, when news was brought him that the lord Charles his brother and the duke of Brittany were become good friends and well-wishers to his person; that the lord Charles was willing to accept of the annual pension of sixty thousand francs, and such an appanage as those lords whom he would fix upon as his arbitrators should agree to. His arbitrators were the duke of Calabria and the constable of France. The duke of Brittany offered to restore to the king the towns his men held in Normandy, if those the king had possession of in Brittany were given in exchange, which was agreed to by the king. Information of this was sent to the duke of Burgundy, then with his army near to Peronne, between Eclusiers and Cappy on the river Somme; but he was unwilling to believe it, until it was confirmed by the lord Charles and the duke of Brittany. And although this reconciliation was afterward certified to him by the herald of the duke of Brittany, he would not disband his army, but marched it to a strong position on the Somme between Eclusiers and Cappy le Doz, which he made stronger by outworks.

During this time, different embassies were sent by the king to the duke of Burgundy by the lord constable, the cardinal of Angers, master Pierre d'Oriole, and others, to negotiate a pacification, which the king was greatly desirous of,—although his captains were of a different opinion, and required of the king to allow them to act, and they would deliver the duke and his whole army into his hands; but this he would never permit,—and even forbade any hostile acts, on pain of death. On the 12th of October, it was publicly known that a truce until the ensuing month of April had been concluded between them, and that the king, in consequence, had determined to go to Creil and Pontoise, whither he had sent his harbingers; but he afterwards changed his mind, and returned in haste from Compiègne to Noyon, which he had just left. In this interval, Philip de Savoye, Poncet de Riviere lord Dulsé, the lord du Lau, with others who had joined them, did very great mischiefs to the country they had overrun. In consequence, a proclamaticn was made in Paris on the 8th day of October, for all the nobles and other vassals within the provostship and viscounty of Paris, to muster in arms at Gonesse on the Monday following, and be ready to march wherever they should be ordered. This proclamation greatly alarmed the Parisians, for fear the reports of a truce should prove unfounded.

The king, hearing that the duke of Burgundy was gone to Peronne, left Noyon in a hurry to meet him there. He was accompanied by few persons, having with him only the cardinal of Angers, some few of his household, the duke of Bourbon, and others. Thus privately did he go to Peronne, to the duke of Burgundy, who received him as he was bound to do, with much respect. They were long in private conversation, and seemed so perfectly satisfied with each other, notwithstanding what had passed before, that a peace was agreed on between them. The duke of Burgundy swore that henceforward he would never do anything contrary to the king's will, and that he would remain his faithful servant and subject until death. In concluding this peace, the king confirmed the treaty of Arras; and other private articles were agreed on, as the king afterwards advertised his nobles, churchmen, court of parliament at Paris, and populace, for which great rejoicings were made, with general processions, and singing of "Te Deum laudamus," and other praises to God. Bonfires were made and tables laid out in all the streets for whoever chose to eat or drink.

While this was passing, news came that the Liegeois had made prisoner and put to death their bishop, with all his officers,—which much angered the king, the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, and others of his brothers. This was followed by the intelligence that the duke of Burgundy was preparing to march against them in person to punish them. Imme-

* Andeli,— Andeli le Petit, a league distant from Gaillon. The count de Dammartin was the greatest enemy to sir Charles de Melun, who once enjoyed the most unbounded power and favour with Louis XI. The executioner failed in his first attempt to behead him; on which sir Charles arose and declared himself innocent of the charges laid against him; but said, that if it was the king's pleasure for him to die, he was contented, and relaid his head on the block very quietly, when it was cut off.

diately different news was brought, namely, that the bishop was neither put to death nor a prisoner, but that the Liegeois had constrained him to chaunt at mass; that ever since they had been well pleased with him, and acknowledged him for their true lord, promising him all obedience, in hopes by this conduct to efface from his mind their former behaviour to him *.

CHAPTER CLX.—THE KING OF FRANCE GOES TO NOTRE-DAME OF HALLE †.—THE TOWN OF LIEGE DESTROYED.—THE KING RATIFIES AT PARIS HIS TREATY WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—HE HAS ALL THE GAME ROUND PARIS TAKEN ALIVE, TO SEND TO THE COUNT DE FOIX, AS A TOKEN OF FRIENDSHIP.—A GREAT INUNDATION IN HOLLAND AND ZEALAND.—A PRISONER IN THE CHASTELET FOR THEFT INFORMS AGAINST HIS COMPANIONS, WHO ARE ALL HUNG.—MCCCCLXVIII.

At this time, the king of France went on a pilgrimage to our Lady at Halle, where he did not remain long. Philip de Savoye and others who had accompanied him made their peace with the king, through the mediation of the duke of Burgundy. When he had performed his pilgrimage at Halle, he went to meet the duke of Burgundy at Namur, and determined to accompany him in his war against Liege, during which he was lodged for some time in the suburbs of that city. With the king was the duke of Bourbon, the archbishop of Lyon, the lord of Beaujeu, and the bishop of Liege, all brothers. The bishop had come out of the town to endeavour to bring about an accommodation on the part of the inhabitants with the duke of Burgundy. His offers were to surrender the town, with all its effects, on condition that the inhabitants should have liberty to retire whither they pleased unmolested. The duke not only refused these terms, but swore that he and his army should perish sooner than not have the town and its inhabitants at his pleasure to do by as should to him seem good. He would not suffer the bishop to return, but detained him in his camp, although he had given his word to come back to Liege and live and die there.

Soon after the departure of the bishop from their city, and when they knew that he was prevented from returning, the Liegeois made several sallies on the king's and duke's quarters,—but when any of them were taken, they were instantly put to death. In spite, however, of all their efforts, the duke of Burgundy gave orders for a general attack on the city between eight and nine in the morning of the 30th day of October, when the Burgundians and the king's troops entered the town without resistance; for the better part of the inhabitants, hearing of the intended attack, had fled, leaving behind only the populace,—women, children, old men and monks, who were indiscriminately killed,—and every violence was displayed as usual in a town taken by storm. Many young women and girls were violated, and afterwards murdered. Although the king, the dukes of Burgundy and of Bourbon, the archbishop of Lyon, the bishop of Liege, and the lord of Beaujeu, had entered the city, the greatest and most cruel disorders were continued,—such as forcing convents, killing of children, and priests even while officiating at their altars. When they had satisfied themselves in plundering the churches and houses, they set them on fire, and threw down the walls into the ditches.

* The progress of the war with the Liegeois is detailed very much at length in the second book of Philip de Comines, where also the reader will find all the particulars of an affair which is not even hinted at in this place. The king had himself excited the commotions in Liége, the intelligence of which is here said to have so disturbed him by means of his secret envoys. After having done this, he had the imprudence (most unaccountable in one of his consummate craft) to come and meet the duke of Burgundy in the duke's own town of Peronne. The treaty between them was already far advanced when news arrived of this disturbance, and then also intelligence was brought to the duke of the infamous intrigues by which it had been occasioned. The duke immediately ordered the gates of the town to be closed, and made Louis his prisoner; and in this state the king remained for some days, in hourly apprehension of the death which his duplicity and treachery towards the duke had richly merited. But next to the folly of the king, the most extraordinary circumstance in the whole transaction is the weakness of the duke, who, as if he had never known by experience that the king was neither to be bound by treaties nor by obligations, had no sooner suffered his first rage to cool than he humbled himself on his knees before his prisoner, and, asking forgiveness of him whom on the contrary he ought not himself to have forgiven, permitted him to depart in safety upon his simple engagement to renounce the league he had made with the inhabitants of his rebellious city.

† Halle,—a town three leagues from Brussels.

When this business was done, the king returned to Senlis and Compiègne, whither he summoned his courts of parliament and of the exchequer, and others of his council, to whom he gave different instructions; and as he did not intend to stay there long, he ordered the cardinal of Angers * to explain to them the treaty he had concluded with the duke of Burgundy, consisting of forty-two articles, which the cardinal specified unto them; telling them from the king, that it was his royal will that each article in the aforesaid treaty should be most punctually observed, and that it should be enregistered without delay or difficulty, under the severest penalties for disobedience. The king left Compiègne, and stopped at different places near Paris, without inclining to enter that city. Several of his great lords, such as the duke of Bourbon, his brothers, the archbishop of Lyon, the lord of Beaujeu, the marquis du Pont, and others, kept him company.

On Saturday, the 19th of November, the treaty concluded with the duke of Burgundy was publicly proclaimed by sound of trumpets throughout Paris; and all persons were forbidden to publish anything abusive of the said duke, whether by words, writings, signs, paintings, rondels, ballads, defamatory libels, pantomimic songs, or otherwise, in respect to past circumstances; for that all who should act contrary to this prohibition would be most severely punished for their boldness, as was more particularly explained in the body of the proclamation. This same day, by virtue of a commission from the king, addressed to a youth in Paris, called Henry Perdriel, all the tame magpies, jays, jackdaws, and other birds, whether in cages or not, were seized and carried before the king †. The places whence they had been taken were registered, as well as all the words they had been taught to speak, such as "thief—lecher—son of a whore—get away—get away—Perette, give me some drink," with many other such like expressions. By another order from the king, addressed to Merlin de Cordebœuf, he was empowered to collect all the stags, hinds, cranes, and other game he could lay hands on, and have them conveyed to Amboise.

The count de Foix arrived at Paris in the month of December following; and while there fell most desperately in love with a very handsome woman, Estiennette de Besançon, the wife of a rich merchant, called Henry of Paris. This dame was much prized and courted by all the respectable ladies of the town, and was invited to the different banquets and entertainments then given at Paris, where she entered into joyous and amorous discourses with the count de Foix. In consequence of proposals and splendid offers made by him, it was agreed on between them, that she should quit her husband's house at Paris the 12th day of that month, and abandon her husband, children, father, mother, brothers, and sisters, her relations and friends. Thus foolishly seduced, she went away after the count de Foix with some of his attendants that had been left behind in Paris for the purpose, who conducted her to their lord, then waiting for her coming, at Blois. Having passed three days with her at Blois, the count went to Tours, to wait on the king, having Estiennette in his company. She was well received at Tours by her uncle Martin Ponchier, a rich burgher; but within a short time she was sent to her aunt, the prioress of the convent of Fontevral, where she was long detained.

The king now fixed his residence at Tours, Amboise, and at other places in that part of his kingdom, waiting for the delivery of the queen, as it was said she was with child,—but it was not so. During this period he appointed a certain number of lances from his establishment to march to Arragon, to assist the duke of Calabria in the recovery of his kingdom. With these lances, eight thousand franc-archers and a large train of artillery were ordered on the same service,—but none of them took the field, although such orders had been issued. In the month of February, ambassadors came to Paris from the duke of Burgundy, for the completion of the articles of the late treaty of peace. The king sent instant and pressing orders to the provosts, sheriffs, and nobles in Paris, to show every attention, by entertainments and otherwise, to these ambassadors, which was done hand-

* Balue, who at this time held both the bishoprics of Angers and Evreux. The former he obtained from the pope, by means of the most treacherous proceedings against Jean de Beauveau, its bishop, and his former patron and benefactor. See Du Clos.

† The cause of the king's ridiculous order to seize all the tame magpies in Paris was owing to many of the Parisians having taught them to cry "Peronne!" whence he had so narrowly escaped from the duke of Burgundy.

somely and abundantly. The first feast was given by the cardinal of Angers; the second, by the first president of the parliament; the third, by master John de Ladriesche, president of the chamber of accounts and treasurer of France; the fourth, by the lord de Mery; the fifth and last, by the provost and burghers of the city, which was plentiful and magnificent. During these entertainments, all their papers were expedited through the courts of law, according to the orders before given by the king.

On Thursday, the 16th of February, Charlot le Tonnellier, surnamed La Hotte, a journeyman hosier living at Paris, was confined in the Châtelet for divers thefts he was charged with. He denied his guilt, and was ordered by the provost of Paris and the crown-officers at the Châtelet to be put on his trial. He appealed, and, by arrest of judgment, was remanded by the provost; but as he was passing from his cell to the chamber of torture, he caught up a knife that lay in his way and cut out his tongue. He was, therefore, led back again, without anything more being done on that day.

At this time, some of the dykes in Holland and Zealand that had been constructed against the sea broke down, and caused so great an inundation in the countries of the duke of Burgundy, that many towns and places were utterly destroyed. The damages were said to be much more considerable than what the duke, in his fury, had inflicted on Liege.

When Charlot le Tonnellier was cured of the wounds he had inflicted on himself by cutting out his tongue, he was again brought to the torture-chamber, because he would not confess his guilt. Having been for some time seated on the stool of torture, he said he would confess the truth, and then told the whole history of his life, and the great number of thefts that he had committed. He accused many as his accomplices, and in the number his own brother, surnamed Le Gendarme, a locksmith, a silversmith, a sergeant fieffé * named Pierre Moynet, and others, who were all immediately arrested, examined, and confronted with Charlot. Having confessed their guilt, on Tuesday in Passion-week, La Hotte, his brother, the sergeant, the locksmith, a shearman, and an old-clothesman called Martin de Coulogne, were ordered to be hanged on the gibbet at Paris by sentence of the provost of Paris.

They appealed to the parliament against this judgment, and the court confirmed the sentence in regard to four of them, namely, La Hotte, his brother, the shearman, and the locksmith, who were on the following day executed. The two others, namely, the old-clothesman and the sergeant, were detained in prison until after the feast of Easter, when the old-clothesman was given up to the provost, and executed on the eve of Low Sunday.

On Good Friday of this year was much thunder and lightning; which alarmed many persons, from the old saying, "that none should say, Alas! if thunder be not heard in March."

CHAPTER CLXI.—THE TREASON OF THE CARDINAL OF ANGERS, WHO, IN CONSEQUENCE, IS IMPRISONED.—THE KING OF SICILY AND HIS QUEEN WAIT ON THE KING.—PEACE MADE BETWEEN THE KING AND HIS BROTHER, NOW DUKE OF GUIENNE, WHO COMES TO MONTILS-LES-TOURS.—AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY REFUSES TO WEAR THE KING'S ORDER.—THE BAN AND REAR BAN SUMMONED TO OPPOSE KING EDWARD OF ENGLAND.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THE YEAR MCCCCLXIX.

[A. D. 1469.]

The cardinal of Angers, John Balue, who had within a short time received so much wealth and so many honours from the king, by whose recommendation the pope had created him a cardinal, and for whom the king had done more than for any prince of his blood, having unbounded confidence in him; this cardinal, forgetful of his God, and unmindful of the honour and profit of the king and kingdom, induced the king to go to Peronne, where he was, through intelligence from the cardinal, joined by the duke of Burgundy; and he

* A sergeant fieffé,—Cotgrave says, was an hereditary sergeant, employed in the collection of taxes, &c.

there established some sort of a peace, which they mutually swore in his hands to observe *. He then prevailed on the king to accompany the duke in his attack on Liege, although that city had risen in arms against the duke through the instigations and promises of the king. The consequence was, the slaughter and destruction of the Liegeois, as has been told. But the worst was, that the king, the duke of Bourbon, and his three brothers, with many of the great lords of France, were in the utmost danger of being slain, which would have been the greatest disgrace France could suffer since its becoming a monarchy. When the king was returning to Tours, the cardinal prevented him from entering his good city of Paris, and made him take a circuit of two miles, thinking to make the king believe that Paris was ill-inclined towards him, and thereby to excite the king's anger against it.

During the king's residence at Tours and Angers, he satisfied his brother in respect to his appanage, by giving him the duchy of Guienne, and other things, which greatly pleased him. But the cardinal, observing the good understanding that now subsisted between the brothers, attempted again to throw the kingdom into the same confusion he had done before, and to excite a quarrel between the king and the princes of the blood. For this purpose he sent an especial messenger to the duke of Burgundy with full accounts of all that had passed betweeen the king and the new duke of Guienne, giving him to understand that their present union was grounded solely on his ruin,—and that, so soon as they could collect a sufficient force, they would invade his territories on all sides. He advised, that in order to be beforehand with them, he should assemble the greatest army he possibly could, and lose no time in declaring war against France. He added a number of other treasonable plans, which he had written and sent by one of his servants to the duke of Burgundy; but his messenger was arrested on the road with all these papers, which were instantly laid before the king. The moment their contents had been read, the cardinal was arrested and carried prisoner to Montbason †, where he was left under the guard of monsieur de Torcy and others. All his effects and plate were next seized on for the king, after an inventory had been made of them,—and commissioners were appointed to examine him on the crimes laid to his charge. These were sir Tanneguy du Châtel ‡, governor of Roussillon, sir William Cousinot, the lord de Torcy, and master Pierre d'Oriole, superintendant of the finances, who immediately began to interrogate him on the different charges. The king made a distribution of the cardinal's effects according to his good pleasure. His plate was sold, and the amount sent to the treasurers of the army for the king's use. His tapestry was given to the governor of Roussillon: his library to master Pierre d'Oriole; and a fine entire piece of cloth of gold, twenty-four ells and a quarter in length, well worth twelve hundred crowns, a quantity of sable furs, with a piece of scarlet cloth from Florence, were given to monsieur de Crussol; and his wardrobe with some of his furniture were sold to defray the expenses of the commission, and of those who had made the inventory.

About this time the king and queen of Sicily visited the king at Tours and Amboise, where they were very honourably received by him; after which, the king, accompanied by the duke of Bourbon and other lords, went toward Niort, La Rochelle, and divers parts thereabout, where they met the duke of Guienne; and, through the blessing of God and the Holy Virgin, the two brothers were completely reconciled, to the great joy of the whole realm. Te Deum was sung for this event in all the churches; bonfires were made in the streets, and tables laid out for passengers in all the great towns. The king returned to the queen at Amboise, who, like a good and noble lady, had exerted herself much in bringing

* The circumstance of the king's imprisonment seems to be most studiously avoided by this historian. Perhaps he did not know of it; for Louis, who to the latest hour of his life reflected on his extreme imprudence and imminent danger with the utmost shame, not only was careful never to mention it himself, but was highly offended if he heard or suspected that it was ever mentioned by others. Comines, who gives the relation, was present at Peronne, and in the very chamber next to that where the king was confined, at the time of the adventure.

† Montbason,—a town of Touraine, on the Indre, five leagues from Tours.

‡ Youngest son of Olivier lord du Châtel, and nephew of Tanneguy du Châtel, provost of Paris, who died in 1449. Tanneguy the younger was viscount of Belliére in right of his wife Jane de Raguenel, lady of Malestroit and viscountess of Belliére. He is celebrated in history for his generous attention to the funeral of Charles VII., which was shamefully neglected by his attendants. Louis XI. rewarded this service by a suitable care of his obsequies. He was killed at the siege of Bouchain in 1477, and left issue two daughters.

about this happy reconciliation; and may the Lord, out of his grace, long preserve it*! It was now deliberated and determined on by the king in council, to make a conquest of the county of Armagnac, and to give it to the duke of Guienne. To accomplish this, a large train of artillery, men-at-arms, and franc-archers, were ordered to march thither; and the king left Amboise for Orleans, where he remained five or six days, and then returned to Amboise. A short time after these measures had been resolved on, monsieur de Châtillon, grand-master, and inspector-general of woods and forests, came to Paris, to muster and review the banners, officers, and men, that had been enrolled within that city.

On Saturday, the 4th of November in this year, the peace that had been concluded between the kings of France and Spain was proclaimed in Paris; and the treaty was publicly read by master John le Cornu, clerk to the provostship of Paris, in the presence of the civil and criminal lieutenants of the said provostship, and the officers of justice attached to the court of the Châtelet. The king after this resided at Amboise, and other places near, having with him the lord de Bourbon and his usual courtiers, until the 24th of December, when the duke of Guienne arrived at Montils-les-Tours, to wait on the king, attended by a grand company of the nobles of his duchy. The king, queen, and the whole court were much rejoiced at his arrival, and set off instantly from Amboise, to welcome and entertain the duke at Montils-les-Tours. During this interval, the county of Armagnac was reduced to the king's obedience without any effusion of blood; and the whole surrendered into the hands of the lord-admiral and the count de Dammartin, the commanders-in-chief of the royal army. The court of France remained with the duke de Guienne at the castle of Montils-les-Tours until Christmas, when many feasts and entertainments were given by the king. The duke of Guienne having taken leave of the king and court, departed for La Rochelle and St. Jean d'Angeli to hold his estates, to appoint officers for his duchy, and to regulate the government thereof.

When the king was returned again to Amboise, he sent ambassadors to the duke of Brittany with the collar of an order † which he had lately instituted, that he might wear it, and swear to the observance of its laws as a knight-companion, as other princes and barons of the realm had done. But although the king did him this honour, at first he refused to accept or wear it; owing, as was said, to his having accepted the order of the Golden Fleece, and thus becoming the brother and ally to the duke of Burgundy, which much offended the king, and not without reason ‡. Shortly after, the king issued orders for an army of men-at-arms, archers, and artillery, to be ready to march and make war on the duke of Brittany; but ten days were first allowed the duke, to declare his future intentions, as to his conduct toward the king; and the 15th of February was the day on which he was to give his positive answer.

On the 14th of that month, a summons from the king, signed "William de Cerisay," was published in Paris, by which the king informed the provost, that from certain intelligence he had learned how king Edward of England had established a peace with all the lords and others who had opposed his government; and that it had been unanimously resolved in parliament to invade different parts of the French coast, to destroy and conquer the country, as they had formerly done: that the king, in consequence, was determined to oppose them by every means in his power, and had ordered his ban and rear ban to be assembled. He commanded the provost, by these presents, to constrain vigorously, without admittance of excuse, all nobles and others, vassals of the crown, privileged or not, to appear in arms, and sufficiently equipped, on the first day of March next, on pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects. He likewise forbade the provost and all others to receive any excuses, under penalty of losing their offices, with confiscation of effects, any appeals to the contrary notwithstanding. He also declared all such as should fail to make their appearance in arms on the appointed day enemies to his crown, and that their effects should be confiscated, without hopes of pardon.

* From this expression it should appear that the writer of this chronicle committed every event to writing as soon as he was informed of it, and never afterwards revised his annals with a reference to subsequent affairs.

† The order of St. Michael.

‡ The duke of Brittany was an ally of the duke of Burgundy, but was not a knight of the Golden Fleece

News was this day brought to Paris, that the duke of Burgundy had been seen at Ghent wearing the blue garter * on one of his legs, and the red cross on his mantle, the badge of king Edward, which plainly demonstrated his friendship to the English, and that he was a capital enemy to the king of France. The duke, however, sent ambassadors to the king at Tours, who waited there a long time before they were dismissed. At this time, the viscount of Villars †, in Poitou, departed this life: he had, while living, left his fortune to the king of France, to be enjoyed by him immediately on his decease. The king, therefore, went into Poitou to receive possession of Villars and the other property, and on this account remained there the whole month of April. In this month master Pierre Durand, nephew to the cardinal Balue, who had been long confined in the castle of Mailly, escaped from prison, and went to Paris, where he was discovered by an apothecary called Chambatin. He was again arrested, and confined in the prison of the Conciergerie of the palais-royal, wherein he remained until the 26th day of April, in the ensuing year, and was then delivered into the hands of the sergeants of the provost of the marshals, to be carried whither they had been ordered.

CHAPTER CLXII.—THE EARL OF WARWICK AND THE DUKE OF CLARENCE, DRIVEN OUT OF ENGLAND BY KING EDWARD, COME TO FRANCE.—QUEEN MARGARET AND HER SON ARRIVE THERE ALSO, TO THE DISPLEASURE OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE BIRTH OF THE DAUPHIN, CHARLES.—THE EARL OF WARWICK RETURNS TO ENGLAND.—AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND KING HENRY OF ENGLAND.—THE FLIGHT OF KING EDWARD.—THE ENTRY OF THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND INTO PARIS.—THE INHABITANTS OF AUXERRE TAKE PART WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—THE KING'S VICTORIES IN THE DUCHY OF BURGUNDY AND THE COUNTRIES OF CHAROLOIS AND PICARDY.—OF THE KING'S JOURNEYS, AND OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED DURING THE YEAR MCCCCLXX.

[A. D. 1470.]

In the month of May in this year, the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence, whom king Edward had forced to banish themselves and their families from England, arrived at Honnefleur and Harfleur, with about four-score vessels. They found there the lord-admiral of France, who received the earl of Warwick, the duke of Clarence, and the count de Vuasanfort ‡, and their ladies with every respect. Their vessels were admitted in the harbours; and after a short time, the ladies, with their trains, departed, and went to Valognes, where lodgings had been provided for them. The duke of Burgundy, hearing of this, wrote to the court of parliament at Paris, to say that he had received intelligence of the king having admitted the earl of Warwick and his company into some of his towns within the duchy of Normandy, contrary to the articles of the treaty of Peronne; and to entreat that the parliament would remonstrate with the king on this subject, to prevent him from favouring the said Warwick and his party, whom he styled his capital enemy, as well as the enemy of the realm of France; otherwise he would seek him wherever he could find him in the kingdom of France, to do with him as should seem to him good. Nevertheless, the earl of Warwick remained some time at Honnefleur, namely, the whole of the month of June; and during this, several of the king's garrisons made frequent sallies on the borders of Normandy and Picardy, and wasted the country. In this same month two men-at-arms under the command of the constable waylaid and murdered two young clerks of the treasurer of the army, in the plains of Beauce, to rob them of the money they were carrying to the troops. Shortly after they were taken at Honnefleur, and carried before the constable at Meaux, who had them hanged on two trees that were by the side of two different roads.

The king all this while resided at Tours, Amboise, Vendôme, and at divers places in that

* The blue garter. The duke was elected knight-companion of the Garter the 13th May, 1463.

† Viscount of Villars. Q. if not Thouars? Louis d'Amboise, viscount of Thouars, dying without issue male, his daughter brought the titles of Thouars and Talmont into the family of Tremouille by marriage with Louis I. count of Guênes, &c., who died in 1483.

‡ Vuasanfort. John de Vere, earl of Oxford.

country, whither the English came to him, as did queen Margaret and her son the prince of Wales. They had many conferences on the causes of their having left England, and on public affairs; after which the English returned to Honnefleur, Valognes, St. Lô, and other towns in Normandy. The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, had all the effects of the French merchants in his countries seized, until his own merchants should have restitution made them for the vessels and goods which these English had captured on their voyage to Harfleur.

On Saturday, the last day of June, about two or three in the morning, the queen of France was brought to bed in the castle of Amboise, of a fair son, who was then baptised by the name of Charles by the archbishop of Lyon, who was his godfather with the prince of Wales, son to king Henry VI., which latter was then detained a prisoner by Edward, calling himself king of England: his godmother was the princess Jeanne of France, duchess of Bourbon. This event was celebrated by Te Deums sung in most of the churches, by bonfires, and public tables in all the streets of the principal towns. Not long after this, the king of Sicily, the duke of Guienne, the duke of Bourbon, the archbishop of Lyon, the lord de Beaujeu and others, went to Angers, Saumur, Pont-de-Cé, and other places near, to negotiate a pacification between the king and the duke of Brittany; and they remained until it was accomplished. The king having signed the treaty returned to the queen at Amboise. Ambassadors were, in consequence of this peace, sent by the duke of Brittany to the duke of Burgundy, to deliver up and cancel the alliance that subsisted between them, which greatly vexed the duke of Burgundy, especially on hearing the good understanding and union that reigned between the duke of Brittany and the king.

The duke of Burgundy, hearing that the earl of Warwick was preparing to sail for England, instantly ordered a fleet of ships of war, full of artillery, and manned with English, Picards, Burgundians, and others, to cruise in the channel to intercept him. They sailed close to the Norman coast in hopes of falling in with the earl, and there remained at anchor a considerable time, during which the king was gone on a pilgrimage to Mont Saint Michael. Having performed his devotions, he returned to Avranches, Tombelaine *, Coutances, Caen, and Honnefleur; and while on the coast he ordered the ships Lord Admiral, the Colon, and others, to be victualled, on board of which the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence embarked with their company, and a body of franc-archers and men-at-arms which the king had given them as an escort, and for their defence. On their embarking, they weighed anchor, and set sail in sight of the Burgundians, who had been at anchor so long, without doing anything but expend all their provision, which forced them to weigh also, and return to their duke with hungry stomachs. This was matter of joy to the king, for they had lost much time in inactivity,—and the victualling and manning of this fleet had been very expensive.

The wind proving favourable to the French fleet, it soon arrived off the English coast, and the earl of Warwick and his company landed during the night at Plymouth and Dartmouth. Warwick, on his landing, instantly despatched a party of his men ten miles up the country to seize an English baron, who was quietly sleeping in his bed, unsuspicious of this invasion. They brought him to Warwick, who ordered him to be immediately beheaded. From Dartmouth Warwick marched to Bristol, where he was well received; for it was there he had left his artillery and baggage when he fled to Normandy. When he had remained there about three days, to collect his friends together, he found himself at the head of about sixty thousand men in arms, who promised to stand by him until death, and with them he began his march to meet king Edward; but it was more than fifteen days after his landing in England before any intelligence from him reached France.

In this interval, the lord d'Argueil, son to the prince of Orange †, who was of the household of the duke of Burgundy, and one of his nearest relatives, having married the sister of the duke of Bourbon, suddenly quitted the service of the duke of Burgundy, and joined the king, who received him with much distinction. The duke, when he heard of his departure, was ready to burst with grief and vexation; and declared, in the presence of the ambassadors from Brittany, that the lord d'Argueil should have all the

* Tombelaine, — a small rock, or island, between St. Malo and Avranches.

† John de Châlons, son to William prince of Orange.

property he possessed in his territories confiscated; and he afterwards had all his castles within his dominions razed to the ground.

The king, on the 14th of October, sent letters-patent to Paris, which were read and published in all the squares, in the presence of the lieutenants of the provostship of Paris. They contained information of the treaty of peace which he had concluded with Henry VI. of England, and orders for the admission of all the English of his party into France on their private affairs, or commercial transactions, with or without passports; but to the exclusion of all who supported the late king Edward IV., his allies, and abettors. This day, news arrived in France, that the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick prospered greatly in their enterprises; that they had taken the field in pursuit of Edward; and that the greater part of the nobles, prelates, and gentlemen of England had joined them, more especially the populace of London, who had gone out to meet Warwick, having turned their backs on Edward; that king Henry, who had been so long detained in confinement by Edward, was fully restored to liberty and to his crown; that Warwick had been appointed regent of the kingdom; and that great rejoicings had taken place in London. All the French prisoners were sent home free of ransom; but Warwick had seized on the persons and effects of those who were subjects to the duke of Burgundy. And the intelligence concluded by saying, that Edward, finding himself thus abandoned, had fled the kingdom, to seek an asylum with his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy; but that his wife and family had remained behind *.

The king of France, having made a long stay at Tours and Amboise, moved by devotion, went on a pilgrimage to the church of our Lady at Celles, in Poitou; whence, after a few days, he returned to Amboise. In the month of November, the king sent letters to Paris, to order all the nobles, clergy, and inhabitants of that city to make processions in praise of God and the Virgin Mary, and to continue them, laying aside all other employments whatever, for three days, to return thanks for the great victory which Henry of Lancaster, king of England, had gained over the earl of March, who had for a long time usurped his throne, by the support of the duke of Burgundy, and, also, for the happy peace and good understanding that now subsisted between him and the king of England. These processions, thus ordered, were executed in all the principal towns of France.

Shortly after he despatched other letters to Paris, to say that he should send thither the queen of England, consort to king Henry, with her son the prince of Wales, his princess, daughter to the earl of Warwick, and her mother the countess of Warwick, the lady Wiltshire, and other ladies and damsels that were with the queen of England. Queen Margaret came thither as the king had given notice, attended, according to his orders, by the counts d'Eu, de Vendôme, and de Dunois, the lord de Châtillon, and other noblemen. When she approached Paris, the bishop, the court of parliament, the university, the provosts of Paris, and the court of Châtelet, by express orders from the king, together with the principal inhabitants, came out to meet her, handsomely dressed, and in very numerous bodies. She made her entry by the gate of St. James; and all the streets through which she passed from that gate to the palace, where apartments had been handsomely prepared for her, were adorned with hangings of tapestry, and had tents pitched in all the squares. At this time the royal artillery was removed from Tours to the Louvre, wherein it was deposited; and the king wrote to the provost and sheriffs, that it was his pleasure to hold the feast of his order in their city: having the intention to bring a large company of nobles and knights-companions with him, he willed that lodgings should be provided for them by the inhabitants, according to the choice of his harbingers, which was complied with.

In the month of December of this year, sir Arthur de Longueval entered the town of St. Quentin, in the name of the king, with the consent of the inhabitants. Afterward, on the 10th day of that month, the constable came thither with two hundred lances and archers; and on the 14th, master John Ladriesche, treasurer of France, master Robert

* This sudden revolution seems to have been effected solely by the overpowering influence of the Nevils. The marquis of Montacute, who had been lately forced to resign the earldom of Northumberland on the reconciliation between Edward and the house of Percy, and who was too fond of actual power to think the title of marquis a compensation for one of the greatest earldoms of England, was easily persuaded to join the party of his brother; and on his defection, Edward was seized with a panic, and leaving his army at Nottingham, fled beyond seas. — STOWE, 1470.

Fessier, master Pierre de Brieuval, and other officers attached to the constable, made a proclamation by sound of trumpet, at the table of marble, in the Palace at Paris, to make known the capture of the town of St. Quentin, in the Vermandois, by the lord-constable, and ordering the public to return thanks to God, praying him to grant prosperity to the king and to the constable, in the recovery of the other pledged towns, which he intended to wrest from the hands of Charles, styling himself duke of Burgundy: such were the words of the proclamation.

The king left Amboise in the month of January for Clery and Orleans, and thence went into Beauce. He lay the first night at Puiset *, and on the morrow at Palaiseau, near Montlehery. The next day he dined at Sceaux, at the house of master John Baillet, master in ordinary of requests of the king's household, and that evening came to his hôtel of the Tournelles at Paris. He was accompanied by the queen, madam de Bourbon, and other ladies and damsels, their attendants, and remained in Paris until the 26th of January, when he set out for Senlis, Compiègne, and other places thereabout, where his army was quartered in readiness to march against the duke of Burgundy. His artillery was sent after him by land and water to Compiègne, Noyon, and other parts of Picardy and Flanders. Proclamation was also made in Paris, that all franc-archers and nobles in the Isle of France should make themselves ready, and, properly equipped, follow the king to the army. In the mean time, great quantities of powder and cannons were made and constructed at Paris. Before the king joined his army, he sent sir Christopher Paillard, member of the chamber of accounts, and sir James Hesselin, comptroller of the salt magazines at Paris, to the town of Auxerre, to summon the inhabitants to surrender the place to the king, and admit a garrison from him. These commissioners made them an eloquent harangue; but they required time for consulting among themselves, and until the Thursday following to give their answer. To wait their answer, the commissioners went to the town of Joigny, six leagues distant, where they staid until the Thursday, when the townsmen sent them their answer by an inhabitant of Auxerre, said to be a cobbler, who told them that the inhabitants of Auxerre had garrisoned their town with a steady garrison for the duke of Burgundy, as they were resolved to live and die in his service, and to defend their town for him. The day the duke's garrison was admitted, one of the townsmen, called Guillemin Goutier, was killed,—which was a pity, for he suffered from supporting the cause of the king.

On the king's departure from Paris for Senlis, the towns of Amiens, Roye, and Mondidier, surrendered to his obedience. The 4th of February, general processions were made at Paris, at which the queen, madame de Bourbon, and the court assisted, to the cathedral church of Notre-Dame, and thence to our Lady of Recovery at the Carmelites. At both places prayers were offered up for the prosperity of the king and queen. It was now published, that the three before-mentioned towns had submitted to the king's obedience, to which Abbeville was added; but this was groundless. Masons, carpenters, and various other workmen were now collected at Paris, and sent to the towns that had surrendered, under the care of master Henry de la Cloche, king's attorney at the Châtelet, a good and loyal Frenchman, who conducted them to Roye, where they erected strong outworks and bulwarks, as well as at the other towns. These workmen remained in those parts a considerable time, even unto Easter, when the king agreed to a truce with the duke of Burgundy. The duke had been besieged in his encampment between Bapaumes and Amiens, and was in such misery and distress for provision that, had it not been for the truce, the king might have had his whole army at his pleasure.

Since the commencement of this war, the king had been very successful in his different engagements with the Picards and Flemings, as well against the foraging party from the enemy's camp as against others of the Burgundian party. Great damages had been done in the duchy of Burgundy, the county of Charolois, and in the Mâconnois, where the royal partisans gained much plunder, made many good prisoners, and slew numbers. The lords count-dauphin of Auvergne, of Comminges, of Combrodes †, of Charente, sir William

* Puiset,—a village near Orleans.

† Combrodes. Q. Comborn? John I., viscount of Comborn, counsellor and chamberlain to Charles VII., married Jane of Rochechouart, and died about 1482. Who was count or lord of Charente I cannot tell. But query, does this mean James de Bourbon lord of Charency? He

Cousinot, and several others of the nobility, would have conquered the whole country had not the king sent to stop them on account of the truce, which was very displeasing to them as well as to many more who had a regard for the king's honour. On this occasion several libels were written and placed in the churchyard of the Holy Innocents at Paris and on the town-house, greatly blaming and abusing many of the lords about the king's person.

During the truce, the king, the duke of Guienne, and others of the nobility, fixed their quarters at Ham with the constable, whence there were great goings and comings between the ambassadors of the king and those from the duke of Burgundy. Nothing, for a long time, was concluded on; but at length a truce for one year was signed,—during which, commissioners were to be appointed on each side, to examine into the matters in dispute between the king and the duke, and between their partisans. The king now left Ham, and every person retired to his home, but the royal army was quartered in the towns he had won prior to the truce.

CHAPTER CLXIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE RECEIVES INTELLIGENCE OF THE VICTORY OF KING EDWARD AND THE DEFEAT OF KING HENRY'S ARMY.—THE KING AND THE DUKE OF GUIENNE COME TO PARIS, AND THENCE GO TO ORLEANS, WHERE THE PRINCE OF PIEDMONT DIES.—OF THE DEATH OF THE COUNT D'EU.—THE DUKE OF GUIENNE AND THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC FORM AN ALLIANCE.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THE COURSE OF THIS YEAR.

[A. D. 1471.]

At this time there were great dissensions in England between Henry of Lancaster, king of that country, his son the prince of Wales, the earl of Warwick, and other nobles of that party, against Edward earl of March, who had usurped the throne. A civil war ensued, which was very bloody and murderous on both sides. This warfare lasted until the month of June in this year, when news was brought to the king of France, at Ham, that Edward had landed in England, with a large army of English, Easterlings, Flemings, Picards, and of other nations, which the duke of Burgundy had sent to his aid, and was on his march to meet the powers of Henry, Warwick, and the other lords of the Lancastrian party: that several engagements had taken place, in which many were killed on each side; but that victory had remained with Edward, as well from treachery on the part of some of Henry's army as from other causes; that the prince of Wales was slain, which was a pity, for he was a very promising and handsome prince; that Warwick was dead,—which was a great loss, as he was singularly disposed to serve the king and his realm, and the king had been at a very considerable expense in supporting him while in France, and in conveying him back to England. This intelligence was, therefore, most disagreeable to the king *.

Having received this bad news, the king departed from Ham, taking with him the duke of Guienne, the count de Dammartin, the president of his chamber of accounts, and several others, to Paris,— where, however, he made no long stay. While he was there, many feasts were given,—and the king himself kindled the bonfire in the place of the Greve, on Saint John Baptist's day. On leaving Paris he went to Orleans, where the prince of

married into the family of La Tour d'Auvergne, which renders it the more probable.

* It is evident that these events are related in a very confused and hurried manner. Edward landed in the Humber during the winter of 1470. On the 14th April, being Easter-day, 1471, was fought the battle of Barnet, in which Warwick fell, and with him Bouchier lord Cromwell, sir John Lisle, and others. Montacute also was killed by his brother's men, being detected in a treacherous manœuvre to join king Edward's party. Holland, duke of Exeter, was left for dead on the field; but he found means to escape, and got over to Burgundy, where he was seen by Philip de Comines following in the train of duke Charles from place to place, a barefooted mendicant. On the 4th of May following, queen Margaret having landed with a considerable force in Devonshire and thence marched up the country, was met by king Edward at Tewkesbury, when the decisive battle was fought which, as is well known, terminated with the utter overthrow of all the hopes of the Lancastrian party. Besides prince Edward (who is said to have been murdered in cold blood after the engagement was over) there fell Courtney earl of Devonshire, lord John Somerset (a brother of the duke's,) lord Wenlock, and many knights and gentlemen of name. The duke of Somerset (with several others) was treacherously made to quit sanctuary under promise of pardon, and afterwards beheaded: but he at least deserved his fate for having fled from the prince of Wales's side during the battle, and left him to be made a prisoner.—Stowe.

Piedmont fell so dangerously ill that he died *. The king, after this, went to visit the queen and the dauphin at Amboise, and thence to Tours. The king was much displeased at the defamatory epigrams and libels that had been published against the constable and others; and for the better discovery of their authors, he had it proclaimed throughout Paris, by sound of trumpet, that all persons who had any knowledge of them should instantly appear and give information thereof to commissioners named for this purpose, who would pay three hundred golden crowns to each informer; and that such as should have any knowledge of the authors, and fail to inform against them, would have their heads cut off. A young scholar of Paris, called Pierre le Mercier, son to a spectacle-maker in the Palace, was confined on suspicion of having written them, but soon after set at liberty, nothing being proved against him. Master Henry Mariette, who had been lieutenant-criminal in the provost's court, was also confined, as well for these libels as for certain words he had used (as was said) against master John Ladriesche, treasurer of France, but was afterward delivered from the prison of the Conciergerie by the court of parliament.

In the month of July died the count d'Eu †. It was a pity: for he was a noble, wise, and good lord, who had ever served the king most loyally to the utmost of his power. The county of Eu reverted to the crown; and the king gave it to the constable, to the great disappointment of the count de Nevers, the count d'Eu's brother, who expected to have this county after his brother's decease, with his other lands, as being his legal heir. From the month of July to Christmas, nothing particular happened in France, except that there was frequent intercourse between the ambassadors of the king and those of the duke of Burgundy, to establish a permanent peace. This year the mortality was very great throughout the kingdom from a severe flux, which carried off numbers of persons of distinction in Paris and elsewhere.

The duke of Guienne returned in the course of this year, after he had come back from Picardy to his duchy, discontented with the court. He sent for the count d'Armagnac, who was an exile, and whose estates the king had given to his brother; and on the count d'Armagnac's coming to him, he restored the greater part of them to him, contrary to the will or inclination of the king. The count d'Armagnac being joined by the count de Foix, made preparations to carry on a war against France. The king, to prevent any damage being done to his realm, despatched a large body of franc-archers, artillery, and five hundred lances to the borders of Guienne, where they were posted some time. In the mean time, news arrived that the duke of Guienne was dead at Bordeaux; but it was unfounded. Divers negotiations now took place respecting the truce which expired on the 4th of May; and on the 1st of that month the lord de Craon, master Pierre d'Oriole, and others, were employed on that business.

CHAPTER CLXIV.—POPE PAUL II. SHORTENS THE INTERVALS OF THE JUBILEES.—HE DIES.—POPE SIXTUS IV. ELECTED IN HIS STEAD: HE WAS GENERAL OF THE ORDER OF FRANCISCAN MONKS.—A YOUNG GIRL PRETENDS TO HAVE THE WOUNDS OF OUR LORD ON HER HANDS, FEET, AND SIDE.

Pope Paul II. a Venetian, and of a very avaricious character, made a change this year in the intervals of the jubilees, which had been before celebrated every fifty years: he now appointed them to be held every twenty-five years. His reasons were, that as iniquities

* By this must be meant Amadeus IX., count of Savoy, who succeeded his father Louis in 1465, and died this year. He was succeeded by his son Philibert I., who died 1476, without issue by Blanche of Milan, his wife. Philibert was succeeded by his brother Charles I., who died in 1488, leaving issue by Blanche of Montferrat one son, Charles II., who died without issue in 1495; upon which Philip count of Bresse, the brother of Amadeus the Ninth, succeeded to the dukedom, and died shortly after.

† Charles count d'Eu, the last prince of the blood of the line of Artois. His character is thus given by Du Clos:—"He was possessed of solid virtue, untarnished by vanity; little affected by false glory, he considered that of a prince not born to the throne to consist in supporting it; and he found true glory in his fidelity to his king, and his services to the state." It is a strange mistake to call the count de Nevers his brother; in which case there could have been no pretence for the king's giving away his honours and estates. The count de Nevers was his nephew, being the son of Bona of Artois and Philip count of Nevers, her husband.

were become more abundant than ever, it was necessary that there should be more frequent opportunities offered to the people to pray for and obtain from our Lord the remission and pardon of their sins. Many expressions were said to have been used by this pope which ought not to be repeated; for God is the sovereign Judge, and the only scrutiniser of hearts. He had begun to build a magnificent palace near the church of Saint Mark, at Rome, but died the 21st of July, while he was busied about it, having reigned with papal dignity seven years *.

Almost immediately on his decease, he was succeeded by pope Sixtus IV. † The new pope was, prior to his elevation, called Francis of Savona, in the Genoese territory. He was a doctor of divinity, of a good reputation, and decent manners. It was for these excellent qualities that, while general of the Franciscans, he was created a cardinal by Paul II. without his solicitation or knowledge. Shortly after he arrived at his new dignity, Bernardo Justiniani, ambassador from Venice, harangued him on the rapid advances of the Turk, who had despoiled Christendom of two empires, four kingdoms, twenty provinces, and two hundred cities, with the loss of immense numbers of men, women, and children; and Bernardo exhorted the pope to make every exertion to oppose the enemy of the faith.

Pope Sixtus was very assiduous in the reparations of the city of Rome, and restored a bridge over the Tiber, anciently called Pons Judæus, but since called the Sixtine Bridge. He re-established the hospital of the Holy Ghost, where great alms are daily distributed to sick persons and poor orphans. He was zealous for the salvation of souls, and not sparing of his pardons and indulgences to devout Christians in various parts of the world, and did many acts worthy of remembrance. During the reign of this pope, a young virgin called Stine, in the town of Hame ‡, in Westphalia, who had lately been converted to the Christian faith, was marked on the hands, feet, and side, with the wounds of our Saviour. About fifteen weeks after her conversion, on the feast of the Holy Sacrament (Corpus-Christi-day), she displayed these wounds in the presence of twelve witnesses, and foretold, that within two hours afterward they would be no more seen, which was verified; for at that precise time the wounds were all perfectly healed.

* He died of a stroke of apoplexy, brought on, as Platina says, by good living, suddenly in his chamber. This historian (who, however, suffered from some persecution under his authority) is not very favourable to his memory. His luxury and pride he represents to have been inordinate. Among other stories told of him, it is said that he prided himself excessively on his comeliness of person, and wished at his accession to have assumed the name of Formosus, but was deterred by some of his cardinals, who, being more conversant in history than himself, reminded him of the miserable fate of the only pontiff who had borne that name. He then chose that of Paul, but could never afterwards esteem himself completely happy, from his wish in that important particular having been frustrated. It was reported of him that he used to paint his face like the ladies, whenever he appeared in public. He wished at another time to issue a papal bull ordaining that all cardinals' hats for the future should be made of silk; but in this also he was overruled by the common sense of those about him. He was at least as great an enemy to learning and learned men as his predecessor had been a promoter and encourager of both; but here again it is the *learned* Platina who speaks. He was notorious for having one living witness at least of his amours, which became the subject of an epigram somewhat more pointed than is usual on such occasions.

Pontificis Pauli testes ne Roma requiras.
Filia quam genuit, sat docet, esse marem.
Sanctum non possum, patrem te dicere possum,
Cum video natam, Paule secunde, tuam.

† Pope Sixtus IV., Francis Albescola de Rovere, was the son of a fisherman of Celles, five leagues from Savona.

‡ Hame. Probably Hamela, in Westphalia, twenty-eight miles south-west from Hanover. Hamela seems to have been the scene of more miracles than one. In 1284, this town was so much infested with rats that every method was tried in vain to extirpate them. One day, a man of prodigious size came thither, dressed in a curiously-coloured robe, and offered, on certain terms, to extirpate them; which being agreed to, he drew out of his sleeve a small flute, and, as he was playing on it, the rats left their holes and followed him to the river Weser, and were all drowned. When he came to receive his recompence, the townsmen laughed at him. On the morrow, while the inhabitants were at church, it being a feast-day, he again played on his flute, and was followed by all the children under fourteen years, to the number of one hundred and thirty, to the mountain of Kopferberg, where they all disappeared with him, as was seen by a young girl who had followed and watched them.—*Martiniere's Geographical Dictionary.*

CHAPTER CLXV.—THE KING OF FRANCE OBTAINS INDULGENCES FOR THOSE WHO SHALL SAY AVE MARIA THREE TIMES.—THE DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF PARIS.—OF THE DUKE OF CALABRIA.—THE ROOF OF NOTRE-DAME OF CLERY BURNT.—THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF GUIENNE.—A TRUCE WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—OF THE SIEGE AND ATTACK OF BEAUVAIS.—THE TOWNSMEN OF AUXERRE DEFEATED.—DIFFERENT EDICTS PUBLISHED AT PARIS.—ACCUSATIONS MADE AGAINST THE CONSTABLE.—PARIS AND ORLEANS SEND SUPPLIES TO BEAUVAIS.

[A. D. 1472.]

On the first of May, in this year, a general procession was made to the church of Notre-Dame in Paris, where a solemn sermon was preached by a doctor in divinity, called master Peter Brete, a native of Tours, who declared, among other things, the king's singular confidence in the blessed Virgin; and he entreated his audience, and the inhabitants of Paris, in his majesty's name, that henceforward, when they should hear the great bell of the church toll at mid-day, they would fall on their knees, and repeat three Ave Marias for the welfare of the kingdom of France.

Not long after this procession, master John Chartier, bishop of Paris, was taken suddenly ill and died the same day. His loss was much regretted, for he was a devout and good man, and very learned. The episcopal palace was crowded with the populace of Paris to see his body, which lay in state in the great hall, where they piteously lamented him, and prayed for the salvation of his soul; on going away, the greater part kissed his hands and feet, firmly believing him to be a saint and well beloved by God. On the 15th of May, the king sent letters to the provost and sheriffs, to declare that the bishop, during his lifetime, had been his enemy, and kept up an intelligence with the duke of Burgundy and the confederate princes when before Paris, and had practised with the inhabitants to favour them. For these causes, he willed, that an epitaph be placed on his tomb, declaratory of his conduct toward his king, which the aforementioned officers ordered to be written for the purpose of being thereon affixed.

The truce between France and Burgundy, which would have expired on the 4th of May, was prolonged until the 15th of the ensuing month of June. In the month of May, the duke of Calabria, nephew to the king of Jerusalem and Sicily, whom the king had honoured by promising him his eldest daughter in marriage, went from his duchy of Lorraine to the duke of Burgundy, to treat of a marriage with the duke's daughter, thus leaving the daughter of the king; which astonished every one, that he should thus falsify his faith by neglecting a princess of France, to seek to unite himself with a daughter of Burgundy, a subject and vassal to the king of France. Prior to this, the duke of Burgundy had made a severe war on France, in favour of the duke of Guienne, and under pretence of giving him his daughter in marriage,—which he never accomplished, but acted quite contrary, and abused many others, under shadow of giving them his daughter.

On the 14th of May, an unfortunate accident happened to the church of Notre-Dame of Clery, near Orleans, which the king had lately rebuilt, and covered with a handsome roof of carpentry, slates, and lead. A plumber at work on the roof had inadvertently come down leaving a fire, which had served to heat his soldering-irons, unextinguished, which being blown by the wind, set the wood on fire, and the whole was burnt to the ground.

The king received, this day, certain intelligence by the lord de Malicorne *, a confidential servant to the duke of Guienne, that his brother was dead at Bordeaux. The lord de Craon, master Pierre d'Oriole, master Olivier le Roux, with other ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy, now returned, to inform the king what they had done, and of the truce they had prolonged to the 15th of June. During the truce, the duke, nevertheless, took the field with his army, and posted his park of artillery between Arras and Bapaumes, at a place called Hubuterne, in Artois. The king, in consequence of the death of his brother being confirmed, departed from Plessis, near Tours, and proceeded towards Guienne, and

* Guy de Somches, lord of Malicorne.

appointed new officers in La Rochelle, St. Jean d'Angeli, Bordeaux, and other places. He made the lord de Beaujeu, brother to the duke of Bourbon, governor of the duchy of Guienne.

The duke of Burgundy, still persevering in his wickedness and mad attempts against France, sent his army before the town of Nesle *, in which was captain for the king one called the Petit Picard, having under him five hundred franc-archers from the Isle of France. They endeavoured to gain it by storm, and made several furious attacks, but were gallantly opposed by Picard and his companions. The next day, about five in the morning, Picard, in company with the countess of Nesle, issued out of the town to meet the bastard of Burgundy, who commanded the army, and endeavoured to conclude a treaty. But the bastard would only consent to the following terms of capitulation; namely, that Picard and his men should be allowed to march away in safety, on surrendering the place, but leaving behind their arms and baggage. On Picard's return to Nesle, he told the franc-archers of the terms he had obtained; but though their lives were spared, they were to leave their horses, arms, and baggage; when some of them immediately pulled off their armour, even before the terms were signed; and in this interval the townsmen admitted the Burgundians, who, notwithstanding the capitulation, charged these disarmed archers, and murdered all they could. A party fled for safety to the church of Nesle, but were followed by the Burgundians, and barbarously put to death. When this slaughter had been completed, the duke of Burgundy arrived on horseback, and entered the church, which was half a foot deep of blood, from the poor creatures who there lay naked and dead. On looking around, he said, it was a fine sight! and he was glad to have with him such excellent butchers!! †

The ensuing day, Saturday the 13th, the Petit Picard and others that had been made prisoners, were ordered by the duke to be hanged; and the town was razed and set on fire. On the morrow, the Burgundian army marched from before Nesle to Roye, wherein were fourteen hundred of the company, and under the command of Pierre Aubert, bailiff of Melun and Nugnon. There were also other captains, such as Loiset de Belagny, governor of Beauvais, the lord de Mouy, the lord de Rubempré, having full two hundred lances well appointed. But notwithstanding the fortifications had lately been repaired and strengthened by the king, and the town well victualled, with plenty of artillery on the walls, they surrendered on the 16th, with the loss of all their horses, armour, baggage, and artillery, to the detriment of the king of more than one hundred thousand golden crowns. They were obliged to march out naked all but their pourpoints, with wands in their hands; and the duke remained there a long time. The duke marched from Roye, to lay siege to Beauvais, and arrived before it on the 27th of June, when he instantly began to attack it. In the course of that night, Guillaume de la Vallée, lieutenant to the seneschal of Normandy, entered the town with two hundred lances, which greatly succoured the garrison and inhabitants, for he arrived very opportunely as the Burgundians were recommencing their attack; when, mounting the walls, they made them to retreat. On the morrow, there arrived, the lord de Crussol ‡, Joachim Rohault, the company of the lord de Bueil, Guevin le Groing, the lord de Torcy, and other nobles from Normandy, to the amount of more than three hundred lances. They made a vigorous defence, and were strongly supported by the city of Paris, who sent thither a body of pioneers, with pickaxes, shovels, flour, wine, gunpowder, and plenty of all sorts of stores, which were of great relief to those in

* Nesle,—three leagues from Roye.

† Audi alteram partem. "The duke of Burgundy sent a trumpet to the inhabitants of Nesle, commanding them to open their gates to him. They ask a truce for a few days to consult concerning the terms of capitulation to be proposed. But leave being granted, while the business was still in agitation, they rise upon the duke's trumpeter and his companions, and murder them when peaceably walking in the streets. Moved to excessive anger by this act of treachery, the duke commands the lady of Nesle to quit the place, and no sooner was she departed, than he gave orders for a general massacre."—Heuterus. Thus, though the historian of Burgundy admits the massacre (stating at the same time the provocation), he says not a word about the violation of sanctuary, or about the savage expressions which the duke is here said to have uttered.

‡ Charles lord de Crussol, seneschal of Poitou, grand pannetier, and knight of St. Michael; one of the few servants of Louis who were faithful to the king without abusing their trusts. He was made governor of Dauphiné the ensuing year, and died soon after. As grand pannetier he was succeeded by his son James de Crussol, and in his new government by John de Daillon, seigneur de Lude.—Du Clos. In Moreri he is called Louis.

the town. Several sallies and skirmishes took place before the town, in which many Burgundians were killed and wounded.

At this time, a number of the inhabitants of Auxerre sallied out of their town on a foraging party, to collect cattle and whatever else they should find in the countries attached to the king, for the victualling of Auxerre, and advanced as far as Joigny and Seignelay *. The bastard of Seignelay, the lord de Plancy, and others, to the number of three hundred, took the field to fight them; and they no sooner came in sight than these gentlemen charged them so vigorously, that eight score were killed, and four score made prisoners; the rest escaped by flight, or were drowned.

As the Burgundians had approached so near to Paris as Beauvais †, sir Denis Hesselin, pantler to the king and provost of the merchants, made great preparations against them,—such as repairing the walls and battlements, cutting deep and wide trenches, having the chains to barricade the streets in good order, walling up some of the gates, strengthening others, and causing abundance of cannon to be prepared. On the 2nd of July, the lord de Rubempré arrived at Paris from Beauvais, with letters from the captains in that town to the lord de Gaucourt, lieutenant for the king in Paris, and to the provosts and sheriffs, to inform them that there was such scarcity in the Burgundian camp, that a loaf of bread, worth two farthings in Beauvais, was of the value of three sols parisis to the enemy; and that the duke of Burgundy was in such despair, that he had determined to gain the town or lose the greater part of his army. They therefore desired that there might be sent them, without delay, small artillery, crossbows, and provision; all of which was done under the conduct of the bastard de Rochechouart, lord of Meru, who carried thither sixty crossbowmen, crossbows, artillery, and provisions from Paris.

Duke of Burgundy and Troops battering the Walls of Beauvais. Designed from contemporary Paintings.

About seven in the morning of the 9th of July, after the duke of Burgundy had kept up a brisk fire from his artillery against the walls of Beauvais, at the gate of the general hospital,

* Seignelay,—a town in Burgundy, three leagues from Joigny.

† Beauvais is sixteen leagues from Paris.

a large detachment entered the ditches with faggots, and other materials, to fill them, and erected their ladders against the wall near the hospital-gate, which they vigorously attacked. The guard of this gate was intrusted to the care of sir Robert d'Estouteville lord of Beine and provost of Paris, who with his company behaved themselves most gallantly. This attack lasted from seven in the morning until near eleven in the forenoon; and the Burgundians were so roughly treated that, including those thrown down from the walls, killed, and wounded, their loss amounted to from fifteen to sixteen hundred men: it would have been much more considerable, if the besieged could have made a sally; but all the gates on the side of the enemy's camp were walled up. This was a great vexation to those nobles and valiant captains in the town; such as the count de Dammartin, Joachim Rohault, marshal of France, Salazart, Guillaume de la Vallée, Mery de Coué, Guerin le Groing, the lord de Beine, the brothers de Torcy, and several more, who had under their command from fourteen to fifteen thousand combatants. During this attack, through the mercy of God, only three or four of the royalists were slain, and it was said that this was owing to their own rashness. And although the Burgundian artillery kept up a continued fire until the 9th of July, not more than four persons were killed by it. On the day succeeding this attack, sir Denis Hesselin sent from Paris to Beauvais by daybreak, a fresh supply of arrows, cross-bows, gunpowder, and surgeons to attend the wounded.

Saturday the 21st day of July, a messenger of the king's household was confined in the prison of the Châtelet for having published in several parts of Paris, that the constable had drawn out of Beauvais the principal captains, under pretence of holding a council to consider on the means of defending that town, during which the Burgundian army had been well victualled, which would not have happened if these captains had been left in Beauvais. This charge was highly offensive to the constable; and on his complaining thereof, the messenger was, by the king's orders, delivered into the hands of master Miles, usher of the household to the constable, and conducted to him, to make good his accusations against him.

The besieged in Beauvais made a deep trench, on the day after the late attack, to enable them to sally out undiscovered,—by which means, Salazart and others of his company, one morning at daybreak, entered the enemy's camp, and killed all they met. They burned three tents, and all within them. In one were slain two persons of rank, although they offered a large sum for their ransoms. The alarm being now spread, and the shouting of "Salazart for ever!" having roused the Burgundians, it was necessary for him to retreat toward Beauvais; but in doing so, he carried off some handsome artillery, particularly some mortars that had done much mischief to the town,—and as they were heavy, they threw them into the ditch. They brought into the town two fine serpentines and a large brass cannon, called One of the Twelve Peers, which the king had lost at the battle of Montlehery. Salazart was very closely pursued, and much beaten and wounded; and though his horse had suffered greatly from the pikes of the Flemings it carried him into Beauvais, when it dropped down dead. From this sally to the 21st, nothing material occurred,—when the inhabitants of Orleans sent, by way of Paris, to Beauvais one hundred tuns of wine from their vineyards, as a present to the lords and the garrison, to invigorate them against the Burgundians. They sent thither, at the same time, large supplies of arrows, cross-bows, and gunpowder, under the escort of some of the burghers of Orleans.

CHAPTER CLXVI. — THE PARISIANS ARE MUSTERED. — THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MARCHES IN DISGRACE FROM BEFORE BEAUVAIS.—OF THE KING'S ARMY IN BRITTANY. — THE SHAMEFUL CONDUCT OF THE BURGUNDIANS IN NORMANDY, THE FRENCH RECONQUER EU FROM THE COUNT DE ROUSSI. — THE QUEEN OF FRANCE DELIVERED OF A SON, NAMED DUKE OF BERRY.—THE LORD OF BEAUJEU BETRAYED TO THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC.—LECTOURE REGAINED, AND THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC KILLED.—THE KING OF ARRAGON FLIES FROM PERPIGNAN. — THE DUKE OF ALENÇON MADE PRISONER. — THE KING GOES TO BORDEAUX. — THE SON OF THE COUNT D'ALBRET BEHEADED AT POITIERS.

At this time, the Parisians were mustered and reviewed by the lord de Gaucourt, lieutenant for the king in Paris, master John de Ladriesche, and sir Denis Hesselin, king's pantler. It was a fine show to see them all under arms, and so handsomely equipped; but it would have been finer, if all the banners and cross-bows that had been detached to Beauvais had been present. Further detachments were demanded by the captains in Beauvais, to the number of three thousand men, fully equipped; but they were refused on account of the numbers already sent thither, and because it would not only put the inhabitants to great expense but much weaken the defence of Paris. Sir Denis Hesselin remonstrated so ably with the captains in Beauvais on this subject that they were satisfied with the support already given, but requested that one hundred cross-bowmen and gunners might be sent to them, which was done.

About three o'clock in the morning of Magdalen-day, the duke of Burgundy commenced a disgraceful retreat from before Beauvais, having done nothing during the twenty-six days he was encamped there, but fire his artillery day and night against the town without materially damaging it, or hurting the inhabitants, He made two violent attacks, in which he lost numbers of his most valiant warriors, besides a great quantity of artillery, won by the king's garrison in Amiens. On the departure of the Burgundians, they destroyed all the villages on their line of march until they came before St. Valery, which was instantly surrendered to them, because there was not a force within it sufficient for resistance. They then marched to Eu, which was also surrendered for the same cause.

The constable of France, the grand-master of the household, and the other captains in Beauvais, marched thence, with eight hundred lances, on the 29th of July, for Arques, Monstiervillier, and the country of Caux, on the supposition that the Burgundians would advance thither, which in fact they did, and with a view of being beforehand with them. The Burgundians encamped at the village of Ferrieres, between Eu and Dieppe, and remained there some time, but without conquering any place except the new castle of Nicourt*, which they entered, as there were none to oppose them. They held it for three days,—and on their departure set fire to the castle and town, which was a pity, for it was a large and handsome place. They afterwards burnt Longueville, Fahy, and many other places in the bailiwick of Caen, which all his wealth would be insufficient to restore. These were all the noble duke's acts of valour until the first day of December.

During this interval, the king had remained inactive in Brittany, with about fifty thousand combatants, because he had been amused with different embassies from that duke, and entertained hopes of a pacification without bloodshed or loss of men; for he was much more anxious for the preservation of his subjects' lives than the duke of Burgundy, who was cruel and obstinate, as he had shown and was daily demonstrating. The duke, having done great damages by fire to the towns and villages of that country of Caux, now advanced toward Arques and Dieppe; but his army was there so beaten, that he quitted that part of the country and marched for Rouen, where he was more roughly treated than before; insomuch that, from the frequent and courageous sallies made from that town, he was forced to retreat in disgrace for Abbeville, spreading abroad a report that he intended to attack Noyon, and take it by storm. The lord de Crussol hastened thither for its defence, and was joined by

* Nicourt. Q. Nicorps, a village near Coutances.

others of the king's captains, to repulse his cursed fury ; but one misfortune he was the cause of,—for these captains, to secure the town and prevent the Burgundians from posting themselves in the suburbs, caused them to be burnt and destroyed—which was a needless loss, as the enemy never appeared there.

About this time, Sir Robert d'Estouteville, provost of Paris, left Beauvais with the nobles of his provostship and a certain number of franc-archers, and posted himself in the suburbs of Eu, on the side of Abbeville. The same day, the marshal de Rohault took possession of the other suburbs leading toward Dieppe,—and they immediately summoned the Burgundians to surrender. They were so much frightened at the appearance of the royalists that they instantly accepted of terms,—namely, that all the knights should march away mounted on a common hackney, and that the other Burgundians should depart with nothing but wands in their hands, leaving behind all their arms, horses, and baggage, and pay, as a ransom, the sum of ten thousand crowns. Sir Robert and the marshal lost no time in marching to St. Valery, which surrendered on similar terms, and paying six thousand crowns. They thence proceeded to Rambures*, a handsome and strong castle, in which were some Burgundians, but who came out of the castle and surrendered it to the French, on condition of being allowed to march away in safety with their arms and baggage.

While these things were passing, the partisans of Burgundy, such as the count de Roussi†, son to the constable, and others, took the field in Burgundy, and overran the country of Tonnerre, without meeting any resistance. They destroyed that country and attempted to gain Joigny,—but by timely reinforcements sent thither by the king, were prevented. They then advanced to Troyes,—but their only acts of valour consisted in setting fire to all the villages and barns on their march. These acts were retaliated, on the part of the king, by the count dauphin of Auvergne, and other nobles in his company, who burned and destroyed several small towns and villages in Burgundy. They did irreparable damages, in revenge for what the Burgundians had done to the subjects of the king, their supreme and true sovereign, to whom they had behaved as rebels.

In the month of September, the king, who had been some time in Brittany, concluded a truce with the duke, in which were included all his allies ; and in the number, he declared the duke of Burgundy to be one, who accepted of this truce,—but he had comprehended his allies also, whom he declared to be the emperor of Germany, the kings of England, Scotland, Portugal, Spain, Arragon, Sicily, and other kings to the number of seven, with several dukes and great lords. At this time, the queen of France was delivered of a son, called Francis duke of Berry, but he did not live long.

Toward the end of October, it happened, as the lord de Beaujeu, brother to the duke of Bourbon, was travelling, by the king's orders, through the county of Armagnac, as governor of Guienne, well attended by nobles and gentlemen, that while he was residing in the city of Lectoure‡, he was betrayed into the hands of the count d'Armagnac,—by which means, the said count regained his city of Lectoure. Having thus won it, he set at liberty many of the lords who had accompanied the lord of Beaujeu ; but they were soon after arrested by the king, on suspicion of having betrayed their governor, and some were imprisoned in the castle of Loches. The king was much grieved at the capture of the lord de Beaujeu, and, to obtain his liberty, he sent a considerable army, with artillery, against that city, while he himself went to Poitiers, La Rochelle, and thereabout, until St. Andrew's day, when he returned to Angers.

Among those who had been imprisoned at Loches, on suspicion of treason against the lord de Beaujeu, was a gentleman, his servant, called Jean Deymer, who was condemned and quartered for it in the town of Tours, having confessed his treachery against the king and his master. At his execution, he spoke most honourably of the lord de Beaujeu, declaring his loyalty and ignorance of the treason plotted against him, and laid the whole blame on the younger son of the d'Albret family, lord of St. Basile, in whom the lord de

* Rambures,—a town in Picardy, near Abbeville.

† Roussi,—Anthony of Luxembourg count of Roucy, son to the constable of St. Pol.

‡ Lectoure,—a city in Armagnac, the capital of Lomagne.

Beaujeu had great confidence, he having been brought up in the family of Bourbon, and having received many favours from that house.

The king made a long stay in Poitou, and on the borders of Brittany, until the day fixed for the meeting between him and the duke of Brittany. Oudet de Rie, lord de l'Escun,* to whom the king had been very bountiful, had taken great pains to bring this about,—and when it took place, the king gave to the duke the county of Montfort, besides a large sum of money. When the business had been concluded, the duke of Brittany sent information of it to the duke of Burgundy, and demanded to have returned the treaty of alliance that had been made between them.

On the 3rd of February, in this year, there appeared, about six in the evening, great lights in the sky resembling candles, whence issued brilliant flashes, to the terror of many; but they did not last long. On the 7th of the same month, the bishop of Paris, son to monsieur de la Forest, made his entry, as bishop, into the city. After the service in the cathedral, he entertained, handsomely and abundantly, at dinner, the churchmen, the members of the university, of the parliament, chamber of accounts, masters of requests, secretaries, the provost, sheriffs, and principal inhabitants.

During the siege of Lectoure, a serpentine was fired from the walls, which killed the king's commander of the artillery and four gunners. At this time, the duke of Alençon was made prisoner by sir Tristan de l'Hermite, provost of the marshals, and brought before the king, for having, as it was said, quitted his country to sell and deliver up to the duke of Burgundy all his possessions in La Perche and Normandy, together with his duchy of Alençon. On the 5th of March following, the count d'Armagnac † had negotiated a capitulation for the surrender of Lectoure with sir Yves du Fau, whom the king had sent thither on purpose,—and it was agreed that the count, his lady, family and attendants, should be allowed to depart in safety. But it happened otherwise,—for the count was murdered by the king's army who stormed the town. The cause was this: several of the royalists, under cover of the capitulation, had entered the town,—which when the count saw, he would have put them to death in spite of the treaty. The French, seeing this, cried out to their companions for assistance, when the seneschal of Limousin, and great numbers, forced an entrance where the breach had been made, and killed the count d'Armagnac and so many of the inhabitants, that the countess of Armagnac with three women and three or four men were the only persons who escaped death. The town was pillaged,—and the lord de Beaujeu with the other lords and gentlemen whom the count had detained in his prisons, were set at liberty, and waited on the king. The first intelligence the king received of this event was brought by one of his post-expresses, called John d'Auvergne; and the king was so well pleased with his diligence that he appointed him his herald, and gave him one hundred crowns of gold.

The cardinal of Arras‡ having behaved with great gallantry at the siege of Lectoure, entered the town, which was afterwards burnt, and the walls razed to the ground. When news of this conquest and of the death of the count d'Armagnac reached the king of Arragon at Perpignan, he fled thence further into his own dominions, as well on this account as because he heard that Philip of Savoy was marching an army, from Dauphiny and Savoy,

* Should be Odet Daidie, lord de Lescun. He has been mentioned before in the course of this work. As bailiff of the Coutentin he rendered considerable services to the crown in the wars of Charles VII. Among the sweeping changes made by Louis on his accession, Lescun was deprived of his office and retired into Bretagne, where he was much in the confidence of the duke and also of the unfortunate duke of Guienne. But it does not appear that in a single instance he acted contrary to the interests of the crown. He has been charged by some writers with (and sometimes as an instrument, at others as a principal in) the supposed poisoning of the king's brother. But besides that there is no good reason to believe that this prince was poisoned at all, it is not consistent with any other action of Lescun's life to imagine him in any manner concerned in such an act of villanous iniquity. He was afterwards in favour with the king, who gave him the county of Comminges on the death of the bastard d'Armagnac; and this, perhaps, was the only motive for the absurd suspicion.

† John V. count d'Armagnac, whose life was but a tissue of crimes, of murder, incest, and treason. His sister he seduced, and afterwards pretended to make her his wife, under circumstances of scandalous imposition. He was killed by a soldier named Gorgia, whom the king afterwards promoted to the office of archer of the guard. A writer of the reign of Charles VIII. pretends that he was assassinated while the treaty was on foot, but the present account seems to contradict that report.—See Du Clos.

‡ "Cardinal of Arras." John Joffredy, then bishop of Alby.

against him, to offer him battle, and to recover the town of Perpignan, which he had taken from the king of France. On Saturday morning, the 14th of March, the king, who then resided at Plessis du Parc, formerly called Montils les Tours, set off very early, and with few attendants, for Bordeaux and Bayonne. That no person living might follow him, he ordered the gates of Tours to be closed until ten o'clock had struck, and had a bridge broken down near to Tours, to prevent any one crossing the river. For further security, he commanded the lord de Gaucourt, the captain of the gentlemen in his household, to remain in Tours for the same purpose.

On the 7th of April, just before Easter, the younger son of the count d'Albret,* who had betrayed the lord de Beaujeu into the hands of the count d'Armagnac, and who, on the capture of Lectoure, had been made prisoner, was brought to Poitiers, where he was tried and condemned for this offence to be beheaded, and was then executed; after which, his body was put into a coffin, covered with a pall emblazoned with his arms, and carried by the four orders of mendicant friars in Poitiers for interment, when a handsome service was performed. In this month of April, the truce between the king and the duke of Burgundy was prolonged to the end of the ensuing year.

CHAPTER CLXVII.—THE SIEGE OF PERPIGNAN.—THE DUKE OF ALENÇON DETAINED PRISONER IN THE LOUVRE.—THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF CALABRIA.—THE EXECUTION OF JOHN HARDY FOR INTENDING TO POISON THE KING.—EDICTS FROM THE KING RESPECTING THE GENS D'ARMES AND THE COIN.—AN EMBASSY FROM THE KING OF ARRAGON.—OTHER EVENTS IN THIS YEAR.

[A. D. 1473.]

About the end of April, in the year 1473, the king of Arragon made an attack on the town of Perpignan, and gained it from the lord du Lau, who had the guard of it; but the castle remained unconquered,—and the garrison held it for the king of France a long time after the capture of the town. When Lectoure had been destroyed, the king ordered the army to Perpignan, in which were besieged the king of Arragon and his son. With the nobles and captains of this army was the cardinal of Alby, who behaved himself most prudently and courageously. This siege lasted long, even until the month of June,—when the king, to hasten it, sent thither a reinforcement of four hundred lances from Amiens and the adjacent towns, together with a large train of artillery and cannoneers.

The duke of Alençon, who had been confined in the castle of Loches, was brought to Paris, and arrived at the castle of the Louvre between nine and ten at night, the 16th day of June. He disembarked from the boats that had brought him from Corbeil, under the guard of the lord de Gaucourt and the lord de la Chaloterie, master of the household to the king, having with them fifty archers of the guards, and twenty-four gentlemen of the household. When they had left him in the castle of the Louvre, they all returned to the king, except the lord de la Chaloterie, who had the care of him,—and he was guarded by the archers of the town of Paris. The first night, he was lodged at the Silver Lion, in the street of St. Honoré: and the following day, which was Corpus-Christi-day, he was brought back to the Louvre at the same hour, between nine and ten in the evening.

During this long siege of Perpignan, the king's troops had suffered greatly from the excessive heats, and from want of provisions,—which made them agree to a truce, for a short time, with the besieged, when each party was supplied as to their greatest wants. In this interval the king sent another reinforcement of men-at-arms, artillery and provisions, under the command of the lord de Gaucourt. He also ordered master John Bouvré and the banker of the treasury to buy up all the provisions they could lay hands on, and send them to Perpignan. About this time, in the month of July, died the last born child of the

* Charles d'Albret lord of St. Basile, commonly called le cadet d'Albret. It seems there was sufficient proof of his guilt; but James de Lomagne lord of Montignac, the governor of Lectoure, though the principal person concerned in the same transactions, was pardoned in consideration of the testimony he could produce against others.

king, called the lord Francis duke of Berry. The king was so much grieved that for six hours no one dared to speak to him.

In this same month, the duke of Calabria died of the plague, in his duchy of Lorraine.* Immediately after his decease, news was brought that a German, the commander of the late duke's forces, had taken prisoner the count de Vaudemont heir to the duchy of Lorraine, with the avowal and by the instigation of the duke of Burgundy. In order to obtain the count de Vaudemont's liberty, a youth, nephew to the emperor of Germany, and then a student at Paris, was arrested by way of reprisal, and as an hostage for the count's safety. A conference was appointed to be holden this month at Senlis, between commissioners from the king and the duke of Burgundy, to settle their differences. The king sent thither the count de Dammartin, who went in great pomp, the lord chancellor, the lord de Craon, the first president of the parliament of Paris, master Guillaume de Cerisay, and master Nicholas Bataille, who after remaining there until the middle of August, returned without having done any thing. At this period, the duke of Burgundy marched an army into Guelderland, to subdue and take possession of it.†

On the 8th of August, as the king was coming out of the castle of Alençon, by accident a very large stone fell from the battlements on his sleeve: he narrowly escaped being killed by it, but was saved by his confidence in God, and the blessed Virgin Mary, in whom he put his whole trust. The commissioners from the king and the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany now left Senlis without having accomplished any of the points they had met on. In regard to the weather of this year, it was exceedingly hot from the month of June to December, more so than had been felt in the memory of any man living,—which caused the wines to be of such bad qualities that quantities were thrown away,—and there was not any frost until after Candlemas-day.

As there were now reports, that the Burgundians were marching for Lorraine and the Barrois, the king sent thither five hundred lances, under the command of the lord de Craon, whom he made his lieutenant-general. He also ordered the nobles from the Isle of France and Normandy, with the franc-archers cantoned in divers parts of Champagne, to advance towards Lorraine, where they remained for more than two months, and then returned without having seen the enemy. The duke of Burgundy brought the emperor of Germany to Luxembourg, whence he went to the town of Metz, to exhort the inhabitants to admit the duke of Burgundy and his forces: but as they refused to comply, he returned to Luxembourg and thence into Germany.

At this time the duke of Burgundy sent to Venice to negotiate a loan, that he might subsidise for three months six hundred lances from that country. These troops passed through the duchy of Milan, and proceeded to the upper parts of Burgundy, to form a junction with the subjects of the said duke, whose army was not sufficiently strong to meet

* Nicholas, only son of John duke of Calabria (who died, greatly regretted for his princely virtues, three years before) and grandson of René king of Sicily. For some time before his death, this young prince had been in treaty with the duke of Burgundy, for a marriage with Mary his only daughter and presumptive heir to his vast dominions. This negotiation was most obnoxious to Louis; and the interruption of it by the young man's death just then when there appeared to be no farther obstacle to its accomplishment gave occasion to the suspicion of another poisoning, which on some accounts seems to be attended with greater probability than that to which the death of the king's brother was attributed. By the death of this duke of Calabria, the male line of René became extinct, and the inheritance of Lorraine passed to Iolante the daughter of René, who by her marriage with Frederic count of Vaudemont (dead in 1470) had issue René count of Vaudemont, and afterwards duke of Lorraine; whom the duke of Burgundy (probably enraged at the failure of his hope of uniting the duchies of Burgundy and Lorraine by the marriage of his daughter) imprudently as well as unjustly contrived to make prisoner as related in the text; but he was very shortly obliged to set him at liberty.

† The cause of this expedition was briefly as follows:—Some years before, Adolphus the son of Arnold duke of Gueldres rebelled against his father, deposed and imprisoned him and took possession of his estates. Complaint of this outrage being made at the papal and imperial courts, the duke of Burgundy was appointed umpire, and awarded to the old duke a portion only of the hereditary state for his maintenance, with which he seemed to be well satisfied. His son, on the contrary, swore "that he would rather throw the old man into a well and himself afterwards than acquiesce in such a sentence." Justly indignant at this monstrous ingratitude, the duke upon this deprived the unnatural villain of his estates, which he thereupon purchased of the father at the price of 92,000 florins. Arnold died five years afterwards, having by his last will disinherited his son, and confirmed his sale to the duke of Burgundy. The duke of Juliers, however, had some claims to the succession which it was more difficult to compromise; and these, together with the opposition made by some of the towns of Guelderland and Zutphen to the duke's possession, involved him in an expensive and sanguinary warfare.—Du Clos.

that of the king which lay upon his frontiers. The king now married his eldest daughter*, whom he had promised to the late duke of Calabria, to the lord de Beaujeu, brother to the duke of Bourbon. The Burgundians, by treason and otherwise, suddenly invaded the country of the Nivernois, and took several towns belonging to the count de Nevers, such as La Roche, Châtillon, and others. The king's commissioners, who had before been at Senlis, now went to Compiègne, in expectation of meeting those from Burgundy, who had promised to come thither; but after waiting for some time in vain, they returned to Paris, and went thither again on the 15th of January. It was now currently reported that the duke of Burgundy, seeing he could not by open force destroy the kingdom of France, notwithstanding all the pains he had taken to accomplish it, had formed a conspiracy to poison the king; in which business he employed a person called master Ythier Marchant, who had been a servant to the late duke of Guienne, and another called John Hardy, servant to this Ythier, who, after the death of the duke of Guienne, had sought protection from the duke of Burgundy.

John Hardy undertook to manage this affair, and consequently the poisons were delivered to him, with promises of great wealth on his success: at the same time fifty thousand crowns were paid him down, for him to distribute among such as he should judge able to assist him. He had also money given him for his expenses; and this madman, Hardy, not having the fear of God before his eyes, nor foreseeing, that had his plot succeeded (which, thanks to God, it did not), the whole of the noble realm of France would have been destroyed, set out on his journey to the place of the king's residence. On his arrival at Amboise, forgetting that the king had formerly kindly received him and given him great sums of money, in order to execute his damnable enterprise, he addressed himself to a person who had the charge of making sauces in the royal kitchen, with whom Hardy was acquainted during the time they were both in the service of the duke of Guienne. Hardy communicated to him his plan, and offered him twenty thousand crowns if he would assist him to accomplish it. The saucemaker listened to him, but said he could not engage in the business without the consent of Colinet, the king's head cook, who had likewise been in the same service with themselves. He promised to mention the matter to Colinet, and urge him to join them, but desired Hardy to give him the poisons to show the head cook. Soon after, the saucemaker and head cook having discussed the business together, went and informed the king of the plot, who was very much alarmed, but most honourably and handsomely rewarded them for having discovered it. John Hardy had set out for Paris, but was instantly followed and overtaken near Estampes, where he was arrested and brought back to the king, who interrogated him, and had him examined by others, as to the charges made against him, all of which he confessed to be true.

To make the matter public, and that his trial might have the greater notoriety, the king set out from Amboise for Chartres, Meulan, Creil, and other places in the Beauvoisis, followed by Hardy, chained with heavy irons, in a low cart, under the guard of John Blosset, esquire, captain of one hundred archers of the dauphin's guard, fifty of whom always surrounded the cart. Thus guarded, he was sent to Paris to be delivered up to the provost and sheriffs, where he arrived on Thursday, the 20th day of January, about three o'clock in the afternoon; when sir Denis Hesselin, the provost, and others, went out to receive him in the suburbs, beyond the gate of St. Denis. With sir Denis were the four sheriffs, their officers, and great crowds of people, and the archers of the town in handsome array. Hardy was placed on a high chair in the middle of the cart that he might be seen by the populace, who were strictly forbidden to abuse him by words or deeds. Thus was he conducted along the great street of St. Denis to the town-house, when he was delivered up by John Blosset to the provost and sheriffs, under whose guard the king had ordered him to be placed, that they might have the honour of trying and executing him.

While the king was at Creil he issued an edict respecting the gens-d'armes of his realm, by which he declared that each lanceman should not have more than six horses, namely—three horses for himself, his page and his armour-bearer; the two archers have two horses, and one for the varlet; but they were no longer to have panniers to carry their arms. They

* "Eldest daughter." Anne of France, a most accomplished woman. She made a great figure in the succeeding reign.

were not to remain longer than one day in any village when on their march. And proclamation was made to forbid all merchants from selling or affording to any of the gens-d'armes cloths of silk or camlets, on pain of forfeiting the money these gens-d'armes might give or owe for them ; and no woollen cloths were to be sold them of a higher price than thirty-two sols parisis the ell. At the same time he issued another edict touching the coin, and ordered the grands blancs to be exchanged for eleven deniers, although before they had only been worth ten deniers—the targes, eleven deniers tournois, that had been worth twelve—the crown, thirty sols three deniers tournois ; and so on with the rest, for the whole value of the coin was changed.

On the 20th of January a reconciliation took effect between the king and the constable. He had possessed himself of the town of St. Quentin, and driven out the lord de Creton, who there commanded one hundred lances for the king. By this reconciliation the constable remained not only master, as before, of St. Quentin, but the town of Meaux and other places were given up to him, of which he had before been deprived. Commissioners were also appointed to inquire after those who had spoken disrespectfully of the constable relative to his taking St. Quentin, that they might be brought to punishment. Money was likewise given him for the pay of his troops, which was the means of preventing his town of St. Quentin from being taken. The king about this time left Amboise for Senlis, where he remained while his commissioners and those from Burgundy were labouring to bring about a peace. At length the truce was prolonged to the middle of the ensuing May, in the expectation of a more lasting agreement being concluded before then. The king went from Senlis to Ermenonville in Santerre, belonging to master Pierre L'Orfevre, counsellor in the chamber of accounts, where he staid a month, during which time the duke of Bourbon, whom the king had repeatedly sent for, came at last, but did not remain more than ten or twelve days, and returned, with the king's leave, to his own country, to celebrate Easter, promising to come back the Sunday after Easter, which he did.

On the 30th of March John Hardy, before mentioned, was condemned by the court of parliament to be taken to the gate of the prisons of the Conciergerie, and there put into a tumbrel and drawn before the town-house, where a scaffold had been erected for the quartering of his body, according to the sentence, which was executed. His head, placed on the point of a lance, was to remain in front of the town-house, and his four quarters were sent to four of the principal towns, at the extremities of the kingdom—on each of which an inscription was to be put, declaring the cause why they were thus placed—and the body was ordered to be burned and reduced to cinders at the place of execution. All the houses of the said John Hardy, particularly that in which he had been born, were to be razed to the ground, and no buildings were to be thereon erected in future ; an inscription was also to be placed on the spot declaratory of the enormity of the offence, and why these buildings had been destroyed. Hardy was executed in the presence of the lord de Gaucourt, king's lieutenant, the first president of the parliament Boulenger, the two provosts, and sheriffs, and other principal persons of the town ; and he had a celebrated doctor in divinity, called doctor Hue, assigned to him for the care of his soul. On the Saturday following the head of Hardy, which had been placed on a lance before the town-house, was taken down, nobody knew how, and thrown into a cellar hard by.

This day a handsome embassy came to Paris from the king of Arragon, and was honourably received there by the count de Penthievre *, the lord de Gaucourt and others, who feasted them well in divers parts of Paris until Palm Sunday, when their festivities ceased on account of the approaching Passion-week. The king arrived at Paris after Easter, the 16th day of April, in the year 1474.

* "Count de Penthievre." Jean de Brosse had, by his wife Louisa de Laval, René, who married Jeanne, only daughter to the historian Philip de Comines.

CHAPTER CLXVIII.—THE PARISIANS ARE REVIEWED BY THE KING.—OF THE ARRAGONIAN AMBASSADORS.—A CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE KING AND THE CONSTABLE.—A TRUCE WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—OTHER EVENTS.—THE DUKE OF ALENÇON CONDEMNED TO BE BEHEADED AT PARIS.—THE KING TAKES POSSESSION OF ANJOU.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY BESIEGES NUYS *.—HE TAKES SEVERAL TOWNS, NOTWITHSTANDING THE TRUCE BETWEEN THE KING AND HIMSELF.

[A. D. 1474.]

The king ordered a review of the Parisians on Saturday, the 20th of April. They were drawn up from the bastile of St. Anthony, along the ditches, to the tower of Billy; and thence, in battle-array, to the Grange aux Merciers: there was another division formed on the opposite side of the town. They made a brilliant and formidable appearance, for the whole number was estimated at one hundred and four thousand men, all in uniforms, with red hoods and white crosses. A large train of artillery was also drawn out of Paris, which added much to the beauty of the spectacle. The king was accompanied at this review by the Arragonian ambassadors, who were astonished at the numbers of men under arms that Paris alone had sent forth. The king was attended by his guards, the gentlemen of his household, the count de Dammartin in great pomp, Philip of Savoy count of Bresse, the lord du Perche, Salazart, and several other captains and gentlemen of renown. After the review the king went to Vincennes to supper, taking with him the Arragonian embassy; and shortly after he gave to the two principal ambassadors two cups of fine gold, embossed with figures, which weighed forty marcs, and had cost three thousand two hundred crowns of gold.

The king left Paris for Senlis, where he made some stay; and during that time two embassies came to him, one from Brittany and another from Germany—the chief of which last was the duke of Bavaria. With the embassy from Brittany came Philip des Essars, lord of Thieux, master of the household to the duke of Brittany, who had been very active against the king. He was, however, kindly received by him, presented with ten thousand crowns, and appointed general inquisitor and inspector of waters and forests in Champagne and Brie,—which office the lord de Châtillon had held, but it was taken from him to be given to Philip des Essars. While the king was at Senlis, Ermenonville, and other places in that district, an embassy arrived from the duke of Burgundy, which remained long, but concluded nothing. The king then departed for Compiègne, Noyon, and divers places thereabout, when a meeting was appointed between him and the constable to settle some differences between them near a village†, where a bridge was thrown over a river, and each had a large party of guards for his personal security. Their mutual accusations were discussed, and particularly the capture the constable had made, by force, of St. Quentin, by driving thence the lord de Creton and his garrison, which had greatly angered the king, who for this reason had stopped the payments due to the constable's troop of four hundred lances, for the months of April, May, and June. After a long conversation, the king ordered the arrears of pay to be made good, and continued as before, and they parted good friends. Peace was likewise made between the constable and the count de Dammartin, and the king on his going away freely pardoned the constable, who promised and swore never to commit any more faults, but to serve him henceforward faithfully against all, without any exception whatever.

During this period the king passed some time at Senlis, Ermenonville, Pont St. Maixence, and other places near. He went almost daily to the abbey de la Victoire to adore the statue of the Virgin, which was there in great request, and in honour to her made the prior very rich gifts, in money, to the amount of ten thousand golden crowns. This year, from his singular love to his people, and his wish to avoid the shedding of human blood, he agreed to a truce with his adversary the duke of Burgundy for one year, to expire the first of April in the year 1475; although several embassies had come from the emperor of Germany, humbly to desire that he would not conclude any truce, for that he would reduce the duke by force

* Nuys,—a town in the department of the Roer, in the present division of France.

† The place of meeting was on a barricaded bridge, near to La Fere, three leagues from Noyon.

of arms to sue for his mercy, and that whatever conquests the emperor should make he would give to the king without his putting himself to the smallest cost. Notwithstanding these flattering proposals, the king assented to a truce with the duke of Burgundy, to the great displeasure of all his good and loyal subjects. The Burgundians, nevertheless, and in contempt of the truce, at first committed many outrages on the king's territories and subjects, without making any reparation ; and it was scandalous thus to see a vassal of the king injure with impunity the country and subjects of his sovereign lord.

In the beginning of July the king returned to Paris, but only lay there one night. On the morrow he went to the church of Nôtre Dame, and thence to the holy chapel in the palace. He dined in the apartments of master John de Ladriesche, president of the chamber of accounts, in the Conciergerie of the Palace ; and about four in the afternoon he embarked in a boat at the point of the Palace, and went to the tower of Nesle, where he mounted his horse and rode to Chartres, Amboise, and thence to Nôtre Dame de Behuart, in Poitou. In this year the king sent a very large army, with franc-archers and others, and a considerable train of artillery, to conquer the kingdom of Arragon. Prayers were offered up that God would give them grace to behave well, and return in health ; for it was commonly said that Arragon was the churchyard of Frenchmen.

Monday, the 18th day of July, the duke d'Alençon was brought before the court of parliament, when the chancellor, master Pierre d'Oriole, recapitulated his former crimes, and the sentence that had been passed upon him by the court held at Vendôme, under the late king Charles (whose soul may God pardon !) and the grace the present king had shown him, not only by granting him his life, but his liberty and estates, for which favours he had shown the blackest ingratitude. The present accusations were then brought forward, when he was found guilty of high treason, and condemned by the chancellor to be beheaded at Paris, saving the good pleasure of the king to order otherwise ; and all his effects, hereditary and acquired, were confiscated to the king's use. The duke, having heard his sentence, was led back to his prison in the Louvre, under the guard of sir Denis Hesselin, sir James Hesselin his brother, sir John de Harclay, commander of the night-guard in Paris, and others appointed by the king for this purpose.

When this affair was finished the king went toward Angers, and took possession of that town and all other places and lordships in Anjou belonging to the king of Sicily, for certain reasons moving him thereto ; and the government and administration of them was given to master Guillaume de Cerisay, greffier-civil in the court of parliament. The king then returned through Beauce to Chartres, and to Bois-de-Malesherbes, where he staid a long time, hunting stags, wild boars, and other beasts, of which he found such plenty that he was very fond of this part of his kingdom ; although otherwise it is but a poor country. On the king's departure he went to Pont de Chamois, the residence of the lord de Beaujeu, where he remained until the 6th of October, and thence went to Montereau-faut-Yonne. During his absence the members of his grand council went daily to Pont de Chamois.

The duke of Burgundy had now declared war against the Germans, and had marched an army to lay siege to Nuys, a good town near Cologne, on the Rhine, where he and his army remained long. The king sent an embassy into Brittany, composed of the chancellor, Philip des Essars, and others, who, on their return, brought with them sir Pierre de Morvilliers, formerly chancellor of France, who had attached himself to the late duke of Guienne, and on his death had sought an asylum in Brittany. The Burgundians, notwithstanding the truce, took the city of Verdun, in Lorraine, of which the king was protector ; and to recover it, he sent thither three hundred lances, and four thousand franc-archers, under the command of the lord de Craon, and others. The Burgundians took also by storm a town in the Nivernois called Molins en Gibers, whither, likewise, the king sent men-at-arms and artillery. The Burgundians, however, regardless of the truce, never failed, when any favourable opportunities offered, to oppress the subjects, towns, and countries of the king of France.

CHAPTER CLXIX.—KING EDWARD SUMMONS THE KING OF FRANCE TO RESTORE TO HIM THE DUCHIES OF GUIENNE AND NORMANDY.—GOOD NEWS FROM THE FRENCH ARMY IN ARRAGON.—SOME ARRAGONIANS BEHEADED.—THE KING'S PHYSICIANS OPEN A MAN ALIVE, AND RECOVER HIM.—OF THE FEAST OF ST. CHARLEMAGNE, KING OF FRANCE.—OF THE LOSSES OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY BEFORE NUYS, AND OF THE CONQUESTS GAINED OVER HIM IN PICARDY AND BURGUNDY.—SOME BARONS EXECUTED AT PARIS.—THE REDUCTION OF THE TOWN OF PERPIGNAN.

King Edward about this time sent his heralds to the king of France, to summon him to restore the duchies of Guienne and Normandy, which he claimed as his property,—and in case of refusal, to declare war against him. The king gave his answer to these heralds, and sent by them, to king Edward, the handsomest courser in his stables; and he, moreover, sent him by Jean de Laslier, his harbinger, an ass, a wolf, and a wild boar, with which the heralds returned to their own country.

In November, the king came near to Paris, and was lodged at Ablon-sur-Seine, at Vincennes, Haubervilliers, and other places. He thence went to the house of master Dreux Budé, examiner to the court of chancery, called Bois-le-comte, while the archbishop of Lyon, the lord de Beaujeu, and others of his court, were lodged at Mietry, in the Isle of France. The king, from Bois-le-Comte, went with the above-named lords to Château-Thierry, where he made some stay. About the 12th of December, he came to Paris, for the feast of Christmas, and performed his devotions on that day in the church of Notre-Dame. Intelligence was brought to the king, on St. Stephen's day, that the English were in great force at sea, and near to the coast of Normandy, at St. Michel. He instantly ordered a body of archers, which he had just raised, and called the Dauphin's Guard, to mount their horses and hasten into Normandy. Nearly at the same time, he heard from his army in Arragon, that they had taken a place near Perpignan, called Gonne, in which were several gentlemen, inhabitants of Perpignan, whom they would have put to death, had they not promised to cause the town of Perpignan to be surrendered to the king's arms within a certain time by them named. But as they failed in their promise, some of them were beheaded: in the number, was one called Bernard de Douys. Soon after, an agreement was made between the king and the Arragonians, by which Roussillon was again restored to him. In the month of January, some Burgundian adventurers collected together, and made several inroads on France, even so far as Compiègne, plundering or killing all they met. They attempted to build themselves a place of security at Arson, near Roye, whither they had brought a number of pioneers. When the king heard of this, he sent orders for the garrisons of Amiens, Beauvais, and other places, to assemble with the company of the grand-master, the cross-bows and archers of Paris, and to put themselves under the command of sir Robert d'Estouteville, provost of Paris, and destroy these Burgundians and their stronghold. But the Burgundians no sooner heard of these orders, than they packed up their plunder, and ran away like thieves as they were. This same month, a franc-archer of Meudon was confined in the prisons of the Châtelet, in Paris, for divers robberies, and even for sacrilege in the church of Meudon. He was condemned, for these crimes, to be hanged at Montfaucon,—but he appealed to the court of parliament, whither he was led for trial. That court dismissed his appeal, and confirmed the sentence of the provost of Paris, to whom he was remanded for execution; but the surgeons and physicians of Paris petitioned the king, that as a variety of persons were afflicted with the stone and other internal disorders, and that as this franc-archer had complaints similar to those of which the lord de Bouchage* now lay dangerously ill, it was requisite that the internal parts of a living man should be examined, and that no better subject could have offered than this franc-archer, under sentence of death. The physicians and surgeons, in consequence of the king's permission, opened his body,—and having examined his bowels, replaced them, and sewed up the body. By the king's

* "Bouchage." Imbert de Balarney, counsellor and chamberlain to Louis XI., and one of his greatest favourites.

orders, every care was taken of him; and within fifteen days, he was perfectly cured, and was not only pardoned for his crimes, but had a sum of money given to him.

On the 28th of January, the king, having a particular affection and reverence for the exalted and devout virtues of St. Charlemagne, ordered, that henceforward his feast should on that day be celebrated, which was done in the city of Paris like unto a Sunday, and continued on every succeeding 28th of January.

The town of Nuys was revictualled by the Germans from Cologne, and other places under the obedience of the emperor, notwithstanding the duke of Burgundy had been so long before it, and had placed a considerable fleet on the Rhine to hinder any reinforcements, or stores, from entering the town. The duke's fleet was destroyed, and from six to seven thousand persons that were on board of it, were killed or drowned. The Burgundians, before this, had suffered great losses in the army that was besieging Nuys. In the month of March, the king ordered four hundred lances from the garrisons of Amiens, Beauvais, and other parts, to make an inroad on the territories of the duke of Burgundy, to retaliate the damages done by his partisans on the country round Roye, Peronne, and Mondidier, in contempt of the truce. The royalists, in consequence, invaded Artois, and advanced even to the suburbs of Arras, in which they lodged one whole night. By means of flails and portable windmills, they thrashed and ground all the corn they could find in the barns throughout Artois and Picardy; which, together with great numbers of cattle, prisoners, and utensils, were carried off by Salazart and the other captains to Amiens, and their different garrisons.

During this, the king never stirred from Paris, but kept his Lent there, making good cheer, and, as he said, being healthy and well satisfied. In this month, a youth, son to a brigandine maker, who had been partly brought up by a fresh-water fisherman of Paris, named Jean Pensart, knowing that this fisherman had acquired a large sum of money by the sale of his fish during Lent, which he gained by purchasing from different lords the produce of the ponds by wholesale, and being instigated by the devil, entered the house of this fisherman, and seeing where he kept his money, opened the door of the house after midnight to three Scotsmen, in order that they might rob the said Pensart. One was called Mortimer, surnamed the Esquire, and the name of another was Thomas Clark. By the assistance of this youth, they carried off the money, amounting to two thousand five hundred livres tournois. The fisherman made such diligence to recover his money that, on the same day, the youth was found within sanctuary at the Carmelites in Paris. He was instantly dragged thence, and carried to the prisons of the Châtelet, for the weight of his irons prevented his walking,—and he there confessed that the Scotsmen had taken all the money. Great activity was used in seeking them; and Mortimer was seized, and would have been carried to prison, by orders of master Philip du Four, had not two of the Scots guards attacked him and his sergeants, and effected the rescue of Mortimer. Thomas Clark was afterwards discovered, having taken sanctuary in the church of St. Catherine-du-Val-des-écoliers, and was made prisoner,—but not before he had courageously defended himself against the officers of the provost of Paris, having wounded several. At length he was overpowered, and confessed at the prison that he was guilty of this robbery.—and great part of the money was restored, which he had hidden near St. Estienne des Grès. For this and other offences, the provost condemned him to the gallows; but he appealed from this sentence to the parliament,—which appeal was dismissed, and he was sent back to the provost, who was ordered to execute his sentence, which was done on the 16th of March, on the gibbet of Paris, in the presence of sir Denis Hesselin and master Jean de Ruel, as commissioners for the lieutenant-criminal La Dehors, on account of a severe illness that prevented his personal attendance.

At this time, the town of Perpignan surrendered to the king's obedience; when the inhabitants were permitted to go whither they pleased with their effects,—but the artillery, which was very handsome and of great value, was detained.

CHAPTER CLXX.—AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY AND THE KING OF FRANCE.—AMBASSADORS FROM FLORENCE AND FROM THE EMPEROR.—PRUDENT ACTS OF THE KING.—A DEVOUT PROCESSION AT PARIS.—TRONQUOY, ROY, MONDIDIER, AND OTHER PLACES ARE TAKEN FOR THE KING.—THE TREACHERY OF THE CONSTABLE.—A GREAT DEFEAT OF THE BURGUNDIANS AND LOMBARDS BY THE DUKE OF BOURBON, WHEN THE COUNT DE ROUSSY AND SEVERAL GREAT LORDS OF BURGUNDY ARE MADE PRISONERS.—THE MEN OF ARRAS SUFFER ANOTHER CONSIDERABLE DEFEAT BY THE KING'S ARMY.—THE DELIVERANCE OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.—THE FLIGHT AND DECAMPMENT OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY FROM BEFORE NUYS.—A CONFERENCE AND TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN KING EDWARD OF ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH KING.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED AT PARIS DURING THE YEAR MCCCCLXXV.

[A. D. 1475.]

On the 7th day of April, in this year, an alliance was concluded between the emperor of Germany and the king,—which he ordered to be proclaimed first in front of the hôtels of monsieur du Maine, duke of Calabria, and of the ambassadors from Brittany, and then throughout the streets and squares of Paris. There arrived at Paris, in the course of this month, two embassies; one from Florence and the other from the emperor of Germany; which were most honourably received and feasted, as well by the king as by other great lords of his court. Early in April, the king left Paris for Vernon-sur-Seine, where he had appointed the rendezvous for the admiral and his other captains, to determine on the manner of concluding the war that was about to take place, for the truce would expire the last day of April. He then returned to Paris on the 14th; and on the 25th he departed for Pont St. Maixence, to prepare his army. The king took with him, besides the officers of his household, eight hundred lances well equipped, and a large train of great and small artillery, in which were five very large bombards: four of them were named London, Brabant, Bourg-en-Bresse, and St. Omer. In addition to the above, he had his French and Scots guard, his gentlemen, and a great company of franc-archers from the Isle of France and Normandy. Provisions were sent from all parts, for the constant supply of the army.

On the first of May, the king departed from the abbey of La Victoire, whither he had gone from Pont St. Maixence, to arrange the plan of his war against the Burgundians; and detachments were sent against Tronquoy * and Mondidier. On the 10th, the archbishop of Lyon joined the king from Paris, where he had been appointed the king's lieutenant in the council, and reported, that a very devout and general procession had taken place at Paris on the 3rd, the feast of the Holy Cross. All the children in Paris walked in procession, each holding a taper in his hand to fetch the Holy Innocent, and carry it to Notre-Dame. The archbishop of Lyon and the chancellor walked beside each other, followed by the lord de Gaucourt, lieutenant for the king in Paris, the provosts and sheriffs, the presidents and counsellors of the parliament and chamber of accounts, and such numbers of the populace that they were estimated at more than one hundred thousand persons. The Holy Innocent was borne, in this procession, by the first president of the parliament, Nanterre president in the same court, Ladriesche president of the chamber of accounts, and by the provost of merchants. All the archers of the town were drawn out to preserve order, and prevent noise and rioting.

The 2nd of May, the king sent to summon the town of Tronquoy to surrender; but the Burgundians killed those who summoned them; upon which the king ordered the batteries to be opened,—and the artillery played with such success that, by five in the evening of the same day, a breach was made, and the town taken by storm. All within were killed or hanged except one, called Motin de Caulers, whom the king caused to be spared, and made him an assessor extraordinary at Paris. The place, however, was not taken without having made a strong defence, by which the governor of Pontoise, who was said to have

* Tronquoy,—a village in Picardy, near Mondidier.

been an excellent officer, and many of the king's troops, were killed. The town was afterward destroyed and razed to the ground. On the 3rd, the royal army marched for Mondidier, because it had refused to surrender; and on the 5th it was won by capitulation, on condition that the inhabitants might depart in safety, leaving their effects behind. This place was also destroyed. On the 6th, Roye surrendered; and the Burgundians marched away with their baggage in safety. The castle of Moreul followed the example of Roye.

These victories caused such dismay, that had the king marched his army further he would soon have reduced to his obedience all the towns of the duke of Burgundy, as well in Flanders as in Picardy, for every one fled before him. To interrupt the career of this grand army, the king received information from different quarters, and even from the lord constable, that it would be necessary for him to look to the defence of Normandy, for that the English were preparing to make a landing on that coast. The constable likewise wrote to him, that he might boldly advance to Normandy without paying any attention to Abbeville and Peronne, for that during his absence he would reduce these towns to his obedience. The king followed this advice, and went into Normandy, taking with him the lord-admiral, five hundred lances, and the nobles and franc-archers: the rest of the troops were disbanded and sent to their homes. But when he arrived in Normandy he heard nothing of the English, although he went along the coast to Harfleur, Dieppe, Caudebec, and other places. During this excursion, nothing was done for the king, as was promised by the constable: on the contrary, his subjects on the borders suffered very much from his absence, by the inroads of the Burgundians.

The king went on a pilgrimage to the church of Our Lady of Ecouis *, and thence to a house called Gaillarbois † belonging to Colon, lieutenant to the lord-admiral, where he made some stay; and while he was there, he received intelligence from the constable of the arrival and landing of the English at Calais; and that the duke of Burgundy had raised the siege of Nuys. It had been reported that the duke had gained possession of that town with the consent of the emperor, and that they had united their forces to make war on the king of France, which was afterward found to be exactly the reverse of truth.

In this interval, an English herald, called Scales, was made prisoner, and many letters found on him, addressed to different persons. These letters the king saw; and the herald assured him, that a large body of English had disembarked at Calais,—and that king Edward was to be there in person on the 22nd of June, at the head of twelve or thirteen thousand combatants. He besides assured him, that the duke of Burgundy had made his peace with the emperor, and was returned to Brussels, the whole of which turned out to be falsehoods. The king was also informed, while at Ecouis, that the constable had sent to the duke of Bourbon his sealed engagement, to attempt to suborn and induce him to take arms against the king, and unite himself with the duke of Burgundy, all of which greatly surprised him. He instantly sent for the duke of Bourbon, and repeated his summons to come to him by the bishop of Mende, by whom the duke of Bourbon had sent the first intelligence of this treason, with the constable's sealed proposals. The king heard, nearly at the same time, that the duke of Bourbon, whom he had appointed his lieutenant-general against the Burgundians, had, with his army, fallen in with the enemy at Guy, near to Château Chinon ‡, and had defeated them with very great loss in killed and prisoners. Two hundred lances from Lombardy were slain; and among the dead were the lord de Conches and several others. The prisoners were the count de Roussy, the marshal of Burgundy, the lord de Longy, the bailiff of Auxerre, the lord de l'Isle §, the banner-bearer of the lord de Beauchamp, the son of the count de St. Martin, sir Louis de Montmartin, sir John de Digoigne, the lord de Rugny, the lord de Cheligny, the two sons of the lord de Vitaulx, one of whom was count de Joigny ‖, and others. This defeat happened on Tuesday the 20th of June.

* Ecouis,—a market-town in Vexin Norman, eight leagues from Rouen.

† Gaillarbois,—near Ecouis.

‡ Château Chinon,—in the Nivernois, capital of Morvaut.

§ Qy. William de l'Isle lord of Marivaux, &c., maître-d'hôtel to the cardinal of Bourbon in 1484, who died in 1511.

‖ John de Chalons lord of Viteaux, second son of John and brother of Louis prince of Orange. He married Jane, sister and heir of Louis de la Tremouille, count of Joigny, who died s. p. in 1467; and his eldest son by this lady had the title of count de Joigny in right of his mother.

In contradiction to the intelligence the king had received from the constable, the king heard from the emperor, that he had revictualled and reinforced the town of Nuys for one year; that he had taken thence all the sick and wounded, and replaced them with fresh troops; and that he had reduced the duke of Burgundy to a nonplus, having taken from him great part of his artillery, his service of plate, and other baggage.

On the 27th of June, the lord-admiral, who had been ordered by the king to invade and lay waste Picardy and Flanders with fire and sword, advanced thither with his troops, and put to death all he met, ravaging, at the same time, the whole of the country. He one day posted some ambushes near to Arras, and then despatched about forty lances to appear before the walls, who were no sooner espied by the garrison than a grand sally was eagerly made, in the expectation of discomfiting them. The forty lances, on being attacked, retreated toward the ambuscades, so that the men from Arras were surrounded and put to flight, leaving on the field from twelve to fifteen hundred dead. The horse of the lord de Romont, son to the count of Savoy *, and brother to the queen of France, was killed, but he himself escaped. The governor of Arras, sir James de St. Pol, with other lords of name and renown, were made prisoners, whom the lord-admiral caused to be led before the walls of Arras, and summoned the inhabitants to surrender the town to the king's obedience, otherwise he would order his prisoners to be beheaded in their sight.

The king had held the prince of Orange some time his prisoner, whose ransom was set at thirty thousand crowns: but in the month of June the king restored him to his liberty without ransom: in gratitude for which, he became the king's vassal, and did him homage for his principality of Orange. The king sent him home at his own expense, with powers to coin money of gold and silver, of the same alloy as the coin of Dauphiny, and to grant pardons and remissions of all offences excepting heresy and treason. The king presented to the nobleman who had made the prince prisoner ten thousand crowns in ready money. In the month of June, the king sent orders to the provost of Paris to cause public notice to be given of the arrival of the English at Calais, and to command all the vassals of the crown to hold themselves in readiness on the 3rd of July, and to assemble on that day between Paris and Vincennes, to march whithersoever they should be ordered, notwithstanding any privileges to the contrary, which, on this occasion, must be waved. In consequence of this proclamation, the Parisians sent a large body of men-at-arms, well mounted and equipped, to join their provost in the Soissonnois.

The king passed some time in Normandy, at Notre-Dame d'Ecouis and Gaillarbois, whence he departed for Notre-Dame de la Victoire, and after a short stay went to Beauvais. In this month of July, the duke of Burgundy, who had been before Nuys for twelve months, decamped by night, and in disgrace, without having gained any advantages. He returned to his own country with great losses in men and baggage, to meet his brother-in-law king Edward of England, whom he had prevailed on to come thither, in pursuance of his wicked designs against the king of France and his kingdom. At this time, the countries of the duke of Burgundy suffered much from the destruction caused by the French, in burning towns and laying waste every part they passed through. The king had sent repeatedly for the duke of Bourbon, who at length came to him while he was at Notre-Dame de la Victoire. The duke arrived at Paris in the month of August, triumphantly accompanied by nobles and gentlemen, to the amount of five hundred horse, and departed thence on the 14th to wait on the king. Having staid some time with him, he set out for Senlis, on his way to Clermont.

The king received, in the month of August, an embassy from the king of England, whose ambassadors were lodged at Lihons in Santerre; and after some conferences had been held with the king, he sent his chancellor, and the minister of finances, to Paris, to borrow a sum of money under promise of repayment on All-saints-day. The sum lent by the town was seventy-five thousand crowns of gold, which was given to the English ambassadors, in consideration of a treaty which they had concluded with the king. The town of Paris sent him,

* James, one of the youngest sons of Louis count of Savoy, was count of Romont. He married Mary, daughter of Peter de St. Pol and of Margaret of Savoy his sister. Philip de Comines exclaims against these incestuous marriages, which he says were very common in the house of Savoy.

at the same time, a large body of men-at-arms well dressed and mounted, and paid by the town. On the 29th of August, the king, in company with the archbishop of Lyon, the duke of Bourbon, and a great body of his nobility and men-at-arms, to the number, as estimated, of one hundred thousand horse, set out from Amiens to Pecquigny,* to meet king Edward of England, who came thither, attended by his van and rear battalions (the main army remained behind in battle array), to hold a conference. Two sheds of wood had been erected for the purpose, by the king's orders, on the bridge of Pecquigny, fronting each other, but divided, from top to bottom, by a trellis of wood-work, through which the two kings might thrust their hands. The king of France came to his shed the first; and instantly an English baron, there in waiting, set off to inform the king of England, who was in his camp, a good league distant from Pecquigny, where were twenty thousand English, well furnished with artillery.

King Edward soon arrived and entered his shed, having twenty-two lancemen that had followed him posted in the river, beside the bridge, the whole time the two kings were in conference. During this, a very heavy fall of rain came on, to the great vexation of the French lords, who had dressed themselves and their horses in their richest habiliments, in honour to king Edward. The king of England, on approaching the king of France, put one knee on the ground twice; and the king of France received him kindly, and made him rise†. A general conversation now ensued between the kings, the archbishop of Lyon, the duke of Bourbon, the minister of the finances, and others, to the number of a hundred persons, whom the king of France had with him. After this general conversation, the company retired, and the two kings remained alone for some time in private conference. On their parting, it was published, that a treaty had been concluded on the following terms:—A truce was agreed to for seven years, to commence the 29th day of August, 1475, and to expire on the same day in the year 1482. By this truce, all Englishmen were allowed to enter France, whether armed or not, provided there were not more than one hundred persons in any one company. The truce was proclaimed at Paris, Amiens, and in other parts of the realm. The king of England then acknowledged the receipt of seventy-five thousand golden crowns; and the king made very liberal presents to all the courtiers of Edward, to the heralds and trumpets, who made great rejoicings for the same, crying out, "*Largesse au tres noble et puissant roy de France! Largesse! Largesse!*" The king of France, moreover, promised to pay king Edward an annual pension of fifty thousand crowns ‡ for these seven years.

The king of France paid great court to the duke of Clarence, brother to the king of England, and made him many rich gifts. Edward now collected the troops he had sent to Abbeville, Peronne, and elsewhere, and, having packed up bag and baggage, marched back to Calais, to cross the sea to England. He was escorted to Calais by master Hesberge, bishop of Evreux. King Edward left with the king of France two of his barons, the lord Howard and his master of the horse §, until certain things that Edward was to send him from England should arrive. These two barons were the confidential servants of Edward, and had been greatly instrumental in negotiating the truce and other treaties between the two kings, and were in consequence much feasted at Paris.

The king of France and his lords before mentioned now left Amiens for Senlis, where he made some stay. While he was there he ordered the officers of his household, and particu-

* Pecquigny,—three leagues from Amiens, on the road from Calais to Paris.

† Comines says, that they saluted each other most respectfully,—and that, during the stay of Edward, Louis was very anxious to avoid showing any appearance of ridiculing the English.

‡ "A.D. 1475. With fifteen hundred nobles and gentlemen, and fourteen thousand archers on horseback, besides a numerous body on foot, did Edward (IV.) invade the dominions of France from Calais. Had the king been steady, his allies faithful, and his courtiers honest, nothing but a miracle could have saved the dastardly, detested Louis (XI.). But the admirable policy of that king (never displayed before or since on so honest an occasion), the want of conduct in Burgundy and sincerity in St. Pol, together with the atrocious corruption of the English nobles and indolence of Edward, combined to rescue the monarchy of France from utter ruin. Louis most wisely abandoned every punctilio, suffered with patience the insolence of the invaders, bribed judiciously with an unsparing hand, consented to an immediate payment of 75,000 crowns, and an annual tribute of 50,000,—and at length sent his enemies, defeated of their expectations and covered with ridicule, to wait the effect of promises which were never meant to be performed."—ANDREWS' HIST. OF ENGLAND.

§ Comines calls him sir John Cheam and Chaney; but according to Stow it was sir John Cheyney.

larly sir Denis Hesselin, to show these two barons all the curiosities in Paris, of which he acquitted himself so as to deserve the king's thanks. They remained in Paris eight days, during which they were daily feasted, and carried to the forest of Vincennes for their amusement. Among other entertainments, a grand one was given them at the king's palace of the Tournelles, to which were invited many ladies, damsels, and citizens' wives and daughters, to add to its brilliancy. These two barons now left Paris, to wait on the king at the abbey de la Victoire near Senlis.

This month the king departed from the abbey de la Victoire for the Soissonnois, and stopped at the abbey of Nôtre Dame de Liesse. During this journey, he took possession of the town of St. Quentin, which the constable had seized by driving out the royal garrison; for the constable had now deserted the king, and joined the duke of Burgundy. But what was worse, he had written letters to king Edward, after he had crossed the sea to England, in which he called him a coward, a pitiful and poor sovereign, for having made a treaty with a king who would not keep one of his promises, and that in the end he would find himself completely duped. King Edward, on the receipt of these letters, discovered the treachery of the constable to his sovereign. The king gave his permission for the lord Howard and the master of the horse to return to England, and presented them, on their departure, with many valuable gifts, as well in money as in gold and silver plate. He caused proclamation to be made in Paris, that they were at liberty to carry away with them as much wine as they pleased, on paying for it. The king passed the month of October at Verdun, and other places on the borders of Lorraine, and then returned to Senlis and to the abbey de la Victoire, where ambassadors met him from Brittany, who concluded a peace between him and their duke, on his renouncing all the engagements and alliances he had formed against the king. The duke of Burgundy accepted of a truce similar to that which had been concluded with the English.

On the 16th of October, this truce was proclaimed by sound of trumpet throughout Paris. It was to commence the 14th of the preceding month, and to continue for nine years; and the merchandise of both countries was to have a free passage and entrance in and throughout each of them,—and during this period, every one had liberty to repossess his landed property. The king returned to St. Denis, and thence to Sauvigny near Montlehery, to Malesherbes, to Orleans, Tours, and Amboise.

On the 20th of November, a gentleman called Regnault de Valoux, a native of Poitou, and greatly in the confidence of the count du Maine, was, by sentence of the court of parliament, brought to Paris to be executed and quartered, for having made many journeys to divers great lords of the realm, to induce them to form conspiracies against the king, and to the prejudice of the kingdom and the public welfare. By orders of the court, great attention was paid to the future salvation of the soul of Regnault; for the curate of the Magdalen-church at Paris, a very able divine, and two learned clerks, Cordelier friars, were allowed him. His members were hung on four of the gates at Paris, and his body on the gibbet.

CHAPTER CLXXI.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY DELIVERS THE CONSTABLE, LOUIS DE LUXEMBOURG, INTO THE HANDS OF THE KING'S OFFICERS, BY WHOM HE IS CARRIED PRISONER TO THE BASTILE AT PARIS.—THE COUNT DE ROUSSY IS CONDUCTED A PRISONER FROM BURGES TO MONTILS LES TOURS.—THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE KING AND HIM.—THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE CONSTABLE AT PARIS.—SOME OF THE OFFICERS IN THAT CITY ARE DISPLACED.—THE DUKE D'ALENCON DELIVERED FROM THE LOUVRE.—A COUNCIL ORDERED BY THE KING.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY DEFEATED BY THE SWISS AT GRANSON.—THE DUKE OF NEMOURS MADE PRISONER AT CARLAT, IN THE KING'S NAME, BY THE LORD DE BEAUJEU.—OTHER EVENTS IN THIS YEAR OF MCCCCLXXV.

In one of the articles of the truce between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, was a stipulation for the delivery of the constable de St. Pol into the hands of the king's officers. This was complied with by the duke; and the constable was given in charge to the

lord admiral bastard of Bourbon, the lord de St. Pierre, the lord de Bouchaige, master Guillaume de Cerisay, and others, by whom he was carried prisoner to Paris. They led him on the outside of the walls to the entrance of the bastile from the fields; but as that gate was closed. they took him to the gate of St. Anthony, and thence through part of the town to that fortress. The constable had on a short cloak of camlet, lined with black velvet, in which he was wrapped up, and mounted on a small courser in fine condition. When he dismounted, he was met in the court of the bastile by the lord chancellor, the first president of the court of parliament, and all the other presidents and counsellors of that court; there was also sir Denis Hesselin, master of the king's household, to receive him. Those who escorted him delivered him over to the care of Philip L'Huillier, governor of the bastile; but the lord admiral, before their departure, addressed the chancellor and the presidents, in the presence of the constable, nearly in the following words:—"My lords who are here present, behold the lord de St. Pol, whom the king ordered me to demand from the duke of Burgundy, in consequence of an article in the last truce concluded between them, and who performed his promise by delivering him into my hands. I have taken every care of him, and now surrender him up to you, for you to proceed on his trial with as much diligence as may be,—for this the king has charged me to say to you." After which, the lord admiral quitted the bastile. The constable being thus left in the hands of his judges, they lost no time in proceeding to his trial, and examined him on the various charges laid against him. To the interrogatories he made verbal answers, as to the different points of his imputed crimes, which were all put down in writing, copied out fair, and sent to the king.

On the 4th of December, one of the king's heralds, called Montjoye, a native of Picardy, and who had resided mostly with the count de St. Pol, while constable, came to Paris with his son, to wait on master John de Ladriesche, president of the chamber of accounts and treasurer of France, who was from the country of Brabant. He brought to him letters from the count de Marle, his wife and children, to induce him to aid, with all his interest, the constable, father to the count de Marle. The president refused to receive the letters brought by the herald, except in presence of the lord chancellor and the other ministers of the king,—and, for this reason, carried the herald to the chancellor, that the letters might be opened and examined. But as John de Ladriesche remained long in conference with the chancellor, the herald and his son returned to their lodgings, and, mounting their horses, set out for Bourget*; although they told their host to say, if any one should inquire after them, that they were gone to sleep at Bourg la Reine. When John de Ladriesche had quitted the chancellor, he sought Montjoye, to have the letters, and, not finding him, sent for him to Bourg la Reine, where he had never been; but two archers of Paris discovered him at Bourget, and brought him and his son back to Paris. They were carried to the town-hall, and examined separately by some of the king's council, and their depositions were reduced to writing by sir Denis Hesselin. They were then delivered over to the care of Denis Baudart, an archer of Paris, in whose house they were confined twenty-five days, and strictly guarded by three archers of Paris.

At the beginning of December, the count de Roussy† was conducted as a prisoner of war, from the great tower in Bourges to Plessis du Parc, formerly called Montils les Tours, where the king then resided. The king remonstrated sharply with him on the foolish conduct he had long persevered in, and the great and manifold outrages he had done to his country and subjects as marshal of Burgundy for the duke, and how disgracefully he had been made prisoner, while bearing arms against his sovereign, by the duke of Bourbon. The count had pledged his word to the lord de Combronde, from whom the duke of Burgundy had purchased him for twenty-two thousand golden crowns. Of all this the king reminded him,—and frightened him so effectually, that the count's blood ran cold. At length, however, the king agreed to his ransom, for forty thousand crowns,—but only two months were allowed him for the payment; and he was assured, that on his failure he would be put to death.

The trial of the constable now proceeded rapidly before the chancellor, presidents, and counsellors of the court of parliament, the lord de St. Pierre, and others nominated for the

* Bourget,—within a league of Paris.

† Count de Roussy,—Anthony of Luxembourg, son to the constable.

purpose. It was ordered that on Tuesday the 19th of December, the constable should appear before the parliament, to hear his sentence read. On Tuesday morning, the lord de St. Pierre, who had the care of him, came into his chamber, in the prison of the bastile, and said, "My lord, what are you about? are you asleep?" The constable replied, "Oh no! It is long since I have slept; but I am amusing myself with thinking, and other fancies." St. Pierre then said, that he must rise to appear before the court of parliament to answer some questions which the members wanted to put to him, and which could not be well done out of court. In saying this, St. Pierre added, that it had been ordered that he should accompany him, as well as sir Robert d'Estouteville, the provost of Paris. This somewhat alarmed the constable, for two reasons, which he then declared. First, because he thought it was intended by this measure to take him from under the guard of Philip l'Huillier, governor of the bastile, by whom he had been attentively treated, and place him in the hands of d'Estouteville, whom he reputed his enemy, and who, he thought, would use him harshly; and, secondly, he was afraid of being insulted, should he pass through the populace of Paris. These alarms were removed by the lord de St. Pierre, who assured him, that it was not intended to carry him to another prison,—and he engaged to convey him, without insult, to the court of parliament. On this he mounted his horse, and set out from the bastile, and went to the palace of justice, riding between the lords de St. Pierre and d'Estouteville, who made him dismount at the steps, opposite the Porte aux Merciers in the court.

As he mounted the steps, he met the lord de Gaucourt and Hesselin, who saluted him, and bade him welcome. The constable returned their salutes, and, when at the top, was led to the "tour criminelle" of the court of parliament, where he found the lord chancellor, who addressed him nearly as follows:—"My lord of St. Pol, you have hitherto been reputed a knight of the utmost courage and fortitude: since that has been your character, you will now have greater need to display it than ever." He then added, "My lord, you must take from your neck the collar of the king's order, which you now wear." The count replied, that he would willingly do so, and applied his hand to take it off his neck; but, as it was fastened by a pin behind, he desired St. Pierre to aid him, which he did. He then kissed it, and delivered it to the chancellor. He was then asked by the chancellor for the sword which had been given him when he was created constable: he replied, that he had it not,—for when he was arrested, and carried to the bastile, everything was taken from him but what he now appeared in. The chancellor held him excused for not producing the sword, and departed.

Immediately after came master John de Poupaincourt, one of the presidents of the court of parliament, and spoke as follows:—"My lord, you know that, by the king's orders, you have been confined in the bastile for certain crimes that have been laid to your charge. These crimes have been inquired into, and you have been heard, and you have put in your answers and justification. But after long and mature deliberations on the evidence on both sides, I am to declare to you, that in the judgment of the court, you have been guilty of high treason, and, in consequence, are sentenced to death by the said court, without delay,—that is to say, you are to be beheaded in the course of the day, in front of the town-house of this city,—and all your effects, personal and real, are confiscated to the king's use, together with all your lordships, and every sort of inheritance, hereditary or acquired." This sentence greatly astonished him, for he did not imagine that either the king or the parliament would have adjudged him to death; and he said, "Ah, God be praised! this is a very harsh sentence,—and I supplicate and entreat that he would give me the grace to acknowledge all his bounties this day." Then, turning to the lord de St. Pierre, he said, "This is contrary to all you have before told me would happen." He was then transferred to four doctors in divinity, one of whom was a Cordelier friar, called master John de Sordun,—another an Augustin monk,—the third, the grand penitentiary of Paris,—and the fourth, master John Hugh, rector of St. André des Arts, and dean of the faculty of theology in Paris. He requested of them and of the chancellor, that he might have the sacrament administered to him, which was not granted; but he had a mass chaunted, with which he was forced to content himself. They gave him holy water and holy bread, of which he ate some, but never drank of anything from that time.

He remained with these his confessors until one or two o'clock after midday, when he

descended from the palace, and mounted his horse, to go to the town-house, where the scaffolds were erected for his execution. He was attended by the greffier and ushers of the court of parliament,—and on his arrival at the town-house, he dismounted, and was conducted into the office, against which a large scaffold had been placed, from whence a gallery of wood led to a smaller scaffold, which was to be the place of his execution. He made, during his stay in the office, many pitiful lamentations to his confessors, and dictated his last will, under the good pleasure of the king, to sir Denis Hesselin, who wrote down his dispositions.* Having stayed in the office until three o'clock, he advanced on the scaffold,—and throwing himself on his knees, with his face to the church of Notre-Dame, he was long at his prayers with much devotion and contrition; during which, master John Sordun held a crucifix before him, which he often kissed with the utmost reverence, and crying bitterly. When his prayers where ended, he rose up, and one called Petit Jean, son to Harry Cousin, the chief executioner at Paris, came to him, and, with a small cord, tied his hands, which he most patiently suffered; after which, he led him further on to the small scaffold, where he stopped and looked at the chancellor, the lord de Gaucourt, the provost of Paris, the lord de St. Pierre, the greffier civil of the parliament, sir Denis Hesselin, and others the king's officers in great numbers, praying for the king, and entreating them to pray for his soul,—"not," as he said, "if it should cost them anything, and be anyway injurious to their interests." He then turned to the populace, and besought them to pray for his salvation. Having done this, he placed his two knees on a small woollen cushion, having on it the arms of the town, and moved it with one of his feet more conveniently. His eyes were now bandaged by Little John, while he was praying to God, talking to his confessors, and earnestly kissing the cross. Little John now took the sword, which was given to him by his father, and instantly made his head fly from his shoulders so expeditiously that the body fell at the same time on the scaffold with the head.

Little John took up the head, and, having washed it in a pail of water placed there for the purpose, fixed it on the rails of the scaffold for the view of the spectators, who amounted, as was thought, to more than two hundred thousand persons. After some little time, the body was stripped, and, with the head, wrapped in a fine linen cloth, and put in a wooden coffin which sir Denis Hesselin had caused to be prepared. A body of Cordelier friars now approached, to carry away the corpse, to inter it in their church at Paris,—to whom sir Denis Hesselin ordered forty torches to be given, to convoy the body to their church, where, on the morrow, a handsome funeral service was performed. Another was also celebrated in the church of Saint John en Grève, where a grave had been dug, on the supposition that his body would have been there buried. Indeed, this would have been the case, had not master John Sordun told the constable, that a countess de St. Pol had been buried in their church, which made it desirable that he should be there interred likewise. This the count assented to, and prayed his judges that his body might be carried to the church of the Cordeliers.†

* It was a codicil he now added to a will he had just before made at Peronne. See the particulars of both, and his trial, in the third volume of Comines.—*Preuves.*

† The posterity of the constable de St. Pol will be best understood by the following table:—

THE CONSTABLE.

ELDEST SON.
Peter II. married Margaret of Savoy, dowager of Montferrat, and died in 1482.

- Mary, countess of St. Pol, who, by her second marriage with Francis, count of Vendôme, brought the county of St. Pol, &c., into the house of Bourbon.
- Frances, married to Philip of Cleves, count of Ravenstein.

SECOND SON.
Anthony, count of Brienne, and Roussy, married Antoinette de Bauffremont, countess of Chargny, and 2dly, Frances de Croy, daughter of the prince of Chimay.

- By the first marriage—Philiberta, countess of Charny, married John prince of Orange.
- By the second marriage — Charles, count of Brienne, Ligny, Roussy, &c., died 1530. Ancestor of the house of Piney-Luxembourg

THIRD SON.
Louis, count of Ligny, married Eleanor, princess of Altamura, and died in 1503, without issue.

After the execution, the whole of the crimes of the said constable, and the sentence passed on him, were publicly read in the court of parliament, with open doors, when divers enormous treasons by him committed were now divulged. Among others, it was declared, that the duke of Burgundy, in conjunction with the count de St. Pol, had sent ambassadors, namely, sir Philip Bouton and sir Philip Pot, knights, on the part of the duke, with Hector de l'Ecluse on the part of the constable, to the duke of Bourbon, to prevail on him to join them in arms against the king, and abjure his allegiance to him; and, although the lord de Fleurac had told them that their attempt was vain, for that the duke would rather die than forfeit his loyalty, the said L'Ecluse had again returned thither with information from the constable, that the English were about invading France, and, with the assistance of the duke of Burgundy and the constable, would doubtless conquer the kingdom. He strongly advised the duke of Bourbon, that, to avoid the ruin that must ensue to his towns and country, he should join them as he would find it most profitable so to do,—for should any misfortunes befall him after this notice, he would have himself solely to blame for them. The duke of Bourbon replied to L'Ecluse, that he should not follow his advice,—for that he would rather die, with the loss of all he possessed, and be reduced to the poverty of Job, than consent, in art or part, to any thing that should be to the prejudice of the king or his kingdom. Hector, therefore, went back again as unsuccessful as before. The duke of Bourbon had, during these negotiations, transmitted the constable's sealed proposals to the king, which clearly discovered the constable's treason in this instance, and also in others which he had confessed on his trial. The examinations were all read,—but, as they were of great length, I omit them for the sake of brevity.

After the constable had confessed himself, and was preparing to mount the scaffold, he told his confessors, that he had sewed up in his doublet seventy half-crowns of gold, which he took out and gave to the Cordelier, to be distributed in charity from his love to God and for the ease of his conscience. The Cordelier replied, that they would be well employed if distributed among the poor novices of his convent: the Augustin said the same. In order to satisfy them, he desired that they would divide the sum among themselves, and make such distribution in charities as their consciences should approve of. He then took a gold ring set with a diamond from his finger, and, giving it to the penitentiary, desired that he would offer it to the image of the Virgin Mary, and place it on her finger, which he promised to perform. Addressing himself to master John Sordun, he said, " Reverend father, here is a stone that I have long worn round my neck, and which I loved much for its virtue of preserving the wearer from all poison and pestilence,—which stone I beg of you to bear to my young son, to whom you will say, that I entreat he will be careful of it, out of love to me." The friar promised to obey his wishes.

After his execution, the chancellor demanded of the four confessors if he had given them anything; and they informed him of the half-crowns, the ring, and the stone. The chancellor said, that in regard to the half-crowns and the ring, they must obey the injunctions of the deceased; but as to the stone, it must be delivered to the king, for him to do with it according to his pleasure. In consequence of the execution of the constable, the following short epitaph was made:—

" Mille quatre cens l'année de Grace
Soixante quinze, en la grande place,
A Paris, que l'on nomme Gréve,
L'an que fut fait aux Anglois treve,
De Decembre le dix-neuf,
Sur un échauffaut fait de neuf,
Fut amenè le connetable,
Accompagnié grand et notable,
Comme le veut Dieu et raison,
Pour sa grande trahison:
Et là il fut décapité,
En cette très noble cité."

On Saturday, the 23rd of December, an edict was published at Paris, by sound of

Besides these three sons, who were temporal princes, the constable had two others, John his eldest, who was called count of Marle and Soissons, and killed at the battle of Morat, in the life-time of his father, and Charles bishop of Laon, who died in 1509. His daughters were Jacqueline, the wife of Philip de Croy, count of Porcien; Helen, the wife of Janus of Savoy, count of Geneva; Philippa, abbess of Moncel; and Jane, a nun. Of all these children, Louis and Jane were the offspring of his second marriage with Mary of Savoy, the sister of Margaret the wife of his eldest surviving son Peter. The constable had besides a numerous illegitimate progeny. John, bishop of Angouleme; Jane, married to Anthony d'Ailly, lord of Varennes; Margaret, the wife of Philip d'Inchy, castellan of Douay, &c. &c.

trumpet, to notify the displacing of the master and officers of the mint, and the causes for the same. In their places, the king appointed only four persons, namely, sir Germain de Merle, Nicholas Potier, Denis le Breton, and Simon Ausoran. It was ordered by this edict, that the crowns of gold bearing the stamp of the king, and which had been current for twenty-four sols parisis three deniers tournois, should be current for thirty-five unzains, equivalent to twenty-five sols eight deniers parisis; and that the other crowns that were marked with a crescent instead of a crown, should pass for thirty-six unzains, worth twenty-six sols six deniers parisis,—and the new twelve-penny pieces were to pass for twelve pennies tournois. This day, by permission from the king, the remains of Regnault Veloux, who had been executed for treason, were collected together,—his body from the gibbet of Montfaucon, and his head from the lance to which it had been affixed, fronting the town-house,—and carried to the church of the Cordeliers for interment, where a handsome funeral service was performed for the salvation of his soul, all at the cost and expenses of the friends and relatives of the late Regnault Veloux.

On St. Stephen's day, in this year, there appeared before the town-house in Paris a Lombard knight, called sir Boufillé, who had been challenged to mortal combat on foot by an Arragonian knight, but who had failed to keep his engagement on the day appointed for the combat. To obtain such damages as in reason he ought to have, the said Boufillé had come before the count de Dammartin, whom the king had nominated judge, to decide the differences between them. Boufillé appeared in full armour, with his battle-axe on his wrist ready for the combat, and was preceded by his banner and three trumpets, followed by many servants, one of whom bore another battle-axe. After he had stated his case, and made his appeal to the count de Dammartin, he retired to his lodgings at the sign of the Great Cup, near to the town-house. Sunday, the 28th of December, the duke of Alençon, who had long been confined in the prisons of the Louvre, was, by orders from the king, taken thence about six in the evening, to be lodged in any private house that should be by his guards thought sufficiently secure. Sir Denis Hesselin, Jacques Hesselin his brother, and sir John de Harlay, commander of the night-guard of Paris, were appointed to conduct him; which they did, to the house of the late Michael l'Huillier, whither he was preceded by four lighted torches.

In the month of January following, the king caused proclamation to be made in Paris, that whereas, from long antiquity, the kings of France had been allowed by the different popes to assemble, every five years, the prelates of France for the reformation of the church; and whereas this had been neglected for some years, the king, desirous to guard and preserve the rights of the Gallican church, now ordered a council of the prelates and churchmen to be holden at Lyon, or in some town near; and for this purpose the king commanded all archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries, to be resident in their several dioceses, that they might be in readiness to attend this council at whatever place it should be appointed to be holden, under pain of having all their temporal property seized on by the king, should they fail of obeying this edict as to their residence, within six months after the proclamation of the said edict. Another proclamation followed the above, stating, that, whereas the king, to answer some urgent demands respecting the public welfare, had ordered a crown to be paid for every pipe of wine that was exported, and that all other provision was to pay in proportion, which taxes had for some time been neglected to be raised,—he therefore ordered the tax of a crown to be paid from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, on every pipe of wine exported, but that the taxes on other provision were to cease and be annulled. Master Laurence Herbelot, king's counsellor, and Denis Chevalier, formerly notary to the Châtelet, were appointed to collect this tax,—although the king had, a little before, nominated master Pierre Jouvelin inspector of accounts, who was now displaced by this new appointment.

In the month of February, the king left Tours and Amboise for the Bourbonnois and Auvergne. He there performed a nine-days' devotion at the church of Our Lady at Puy, and afterwards went into the Lyonnois and Dauphiny. During his stay at Puy, he received intelligence that the Swiss had met the duke of Burgundy and his army as they were on their march to enter Swisserland, and had defeated him with the loss of sixteen or eighteen

thousand men, and taken all his artillery. It was thus told :—When the duke of Burgundy had won the town of Granson, he marched his army along the lake of Neufchâtel, toward Fribourg, and found means to gain two castles at the entrance of Swisserland. The Swiss, though informed of this as well as of the capture of Granson, kept advancing to meet him; and, on the Friday preceding the first Sunday in Lent, surrounded these castles so effectually that none could come out. They posted two ambuscades in a small wood hard by, and near to the main body of the Burgundians. On the morrow very early, the duke began his march with the artillery; but he had no sooner passed the ambuscades, than the Swiss, who did not amount to more than six thousand infantry armed with culverins, began to fire with such success on the enemy, that the duke's van, panic-struck, took to flight, with very great loss *. The Swiss charged the main body, which fled also; and the duke himself escaped with great difficulty, attended by only four persons: he never stopped, but often looked behind him, until he came to Joigné, which was eight country leagues from the place of his defeat, and equal to sixteen leagues of pretty France, which may God preserve and guard! The duke lost the greater part of his best captains,—and there was great slaughter among the Burgundians. After this disgraceful flight, and after the Swiss had taken all his artillery, plate, and baggage †, they won the two castles, and hanged all the Burgundians within them. They also regained the town of Granson, and took down from the gibbets the Swiss and Germans, to the number of five hundred and twelve, whom the duke had caused to be hanged, and buried them. At the same time, they seized on an equal number of Burgundians then in Granson, and tied them up with the same ropes, and at the same places where the Germans and Swiss had been hanged.

The king, during the month of March, had sent the lord of Beaujeu to besiege the duke of Nemours, in the town of Carlat in Auvergne, with a considerable force and a large train of artillery. The duke surrendered himself into the hands of the lord of Beaujeu, who conducted him to the king then in Dauphiny; whence he was, by the king's orders, carried prisoner to the castle of Vienne. During the siege of Carlat, the duchess of Nemours, daughter to Charles d'Anjou, duke of Maine, was brought to bed in the castle; but whether from vexation at the situation of her husband's affairs, or from illness in childbirth, she died: it was a pity, for she was a good and honourable lady. The duke was afterwards removed from the castle of Vienne to Pierre-en-cise, near Lyon.

In the month of April, the count de Campo Basso ‡, a Lombard or Milanese, who had the command of two hundred Lombard lances at the siege of Nuys, and had also been with the duke at the defeat at Granson, left the duke of Burgundy, and went to Brittany, claiming relationship with that duke, under pretence of going on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint James in Gallicia. The duke of Brittany received him well, and made him handsome presents in money. Campo Basso published abroad, that the duke of Burgundy was cruel and inhuman; that all his enterprises would prove abortive; and that he was only losing time, people, and money by his foolish obstinacy §.

* Comines says, that he lost but seven men-at-arms. Louis de Châlons, lord of Château Guyon, was the only man of note killed.

† The spoils of the duke greatly enriched the poor Swiss, and would have been of more advantage had they known the value of the prize. They sold his silver plates and dishes for pewter. The largest diamond then in the world, having an immense pearl fastened to it, was picked up by a Swiss, replaced in its case, and thrown under a cart, and sold afterward to a priest for a florin, who again resold it for three francs. This diamond was, for some time, the first in the crown of France: it is now the second, and known under the name of Sanci, from having been last in the possession of Nicholas de Harlai, lord of Sanci, celebrated in the reigns of Henry III., Henry IV. Sanci bought it of Don Antonio, prior of Crato, who died at Paris, and his pretensions to the crown of Portugal with him. Varillas in his Hist. of Henry III., makes a fine but false story of this diamond.—Comines.

It used to be said that this diamond was called *cent-six*, from weighing 106 carats. I believe the emperor Napoleon has it attached to his sword.

‡ Count de Campo Basso. "Every author who mentions him calls him by this name; but his true one was Nicholas de Montfort. He probably descended from some lord of the house of Montfort l'Amaury, several of whom established themselves in the kingdom of Naples, and took the title of Campo Basso from lands situated in the province of Molissa of that kingdom. Cifron, maitre d'hôtel to the duke of Lorraine, when made prisoner by the duke of Burgundy, who caused him to be hanged, would have told him of the intended treachery of Campo Basso, but he would not hear him. Louis XI. informed him that Campo Basso was a traitor; but he refused to believe it, thinking it only a device of the king to gain Campo Basso to his service."—Comines.

§ To explain the occasions and consequences of the several wars in which the duke of Burgundy was engaged down to the period of his death, would be to overload this meagre chronicle with a profusion of commentary which it hardly seems to deserve. It is better to refer generally to the histories of the times, especially to Comines, for all these particulars.

CHAPTER CLXXII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY BORROWS MONEY TO RAISE FORCES TO RETALIATE ON THE SWISS FOR HIS LATE ILL SUCCESS.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE KING OF SICILY AT LYON, WHERE THE KING OF FRANCE THEN WAS.—WHAT PASSED BETWEEN THEM.—OF THE SENESCHAL OF NORMANDY, WHO MURDERED HIS WIFE AND HIS HUNTSMAN FOR ADULTERY.—THE DUKE OF LORRAINE OPPOSES THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AT MORAT IN SWISSERLAND, AND IN THE COUNTY OF ROMONT*.—THE KING OF FRANCE MAKES SEVERAL PILGRIMAGES.—THE DUKE OF LORRAINE RECOVERS THE TOWN OF NANCY.—THE KING OF PORTUGAL ARRIVES IN FRANCE.—OTHER EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE IN THE YEAR ABOVE MENTIONED.

[A. D. 1476.]

In the month of May, in this year, the duke of Burgundy, smarting from the defeat at Granson, was more eager than ever to be revenged on the Swiss and Germans, and determined to lay siege to the town of Strasbourg; but this he was unable to do without reinforcements of men, and without obtaining a loan of money from his different towns. To succeed in this business, he despatched his chancellor, master William Gounet, and other delegates to the number of twelve, to the principal towns under his government, to relate to them his distress from the defeat at Granson, and to express his determination to be revenged on the Swiss, which induced him to apply to them for money and men. He wanted them to advance him a sixth part of their property, and six men each town, one of whom was to be equipped in armour. The towns in Ghent, Bruges, Brussels, Lille, and the estates of Flanders, replied to this application from the delegates, that in regard to the duke of Burgundy, whom they considered as their natural lord, if he were hardly oppressed by the Germans, or had not a sufficiency of men to return to his own country in safety, they would expose their lives and fortunes in the bringing of him home; but in respect to continuing the war, they had resolved not to afford him any further assistance in men or money.

In this interval, the king of France had made Lyon his chief residence, making good cheer; and thither came to him his uncle the king of Sicily, to whom he gave a cordial reception on his arrival, carrying him to see the fair and the handsome citizens' wives and daughters of Lyon. Thither also came a cardinal, nephew to the pope, who had committed some outrages against the king at Avignon, and also against the archbishop of Lyon legate from the pope. The cardinal waited some time for an audience,—but at length the disputes between him, the king, and the archbishop, were amicably settled. At the same time, the king of Sicily entered into engagements with the king, that the county of Provence, after his decease, should revert, with all its rights and privileges, to the king, and be united for ever to the crown. In return for this, queen Margaret of England, daughter to the king of Sicily, and widow of Henry VI. was released from her imprisonment by the king of France, who paid king Edward fifty thousand golden crowns for her ransom. In consequence, queen Margaret joined in the cession of the county of Provence to the king after her father's death, on having a sufficient pension secured to her annually for her life.†

On the 13th day of June, the seneschal of Normandy, count of Maulevrier, and son to the late sir Pierre de Brézé, killed at the battle of Montlehery, went to the village of Romiers, near Dourdan, which belonged to him, for the sake of hunting. He took with him his lady, the princess Charlotte of France, natural daughter of the late king Charles VII. by Agnes Sorel. After the chace, when they were returned to Romiers to sup and lodge, the seneschal retired to a single-bedded room for the night. His lady retired also to another chamber,—when, moved by her disorderly passions (as the husband said), she called to her a gentleman from Poitou, named Pierre de la Vergne, who was head huntsman to the seneschal, and made him lie with her. This was told to the seneschal by the master of his household, called Pierre l'Apothicaire; when he instantly arose, and, taking his sword, broke open the door of

* Romont,—a town of Swisserland, in the canton of Fribourg, and capital of an extensive bailiwick, which was *formerly a county.*

† This is entirely a mistake. Queen Margaret had been set at liberty in November 1475, and on the 7th of March following, she renounced all her claims to the county in favour of the king. This was two months before the treaty with king Réné was concluded.—Du Clos.

the chamber where his lady and the huntsman were in bed. The huntsman started up in his shirt,—and the seneschal gave him first a severe blow with his sword on the head, and then thrust it through his body, and killed him on the spot. This done, he went into an adjoining room, where his children lay; and finding his wife hid under the coverlid of their bed, dragged her thence, by the arms, along the ground, and struck her between the shoulders with his sword. On her raising herself on her knees, he ran his sword through her breast, and she fell down dead. He sent her body for interment to the abbey of Coulons, where her obsequies were performed,—and he caused the huntsman to be buried in the garden of the house wherein he had been killed.

While the king was at Lyon, he kept a large army, ready for any event, in that neighbourhood,—and there heard that the duke of Lorraine had joined the Swiss, Berners, and Germans, in their opposition to the duke of Burgundy, who, in his madness and folly, had again entered Swisserland. He had with him a considerable train of artillery, and a great number of merchants, who, bringing provisions, followed the army that was encamped before a little town in Swisserland, called Morat, with the intent to besiege it. On the 22nd day of June, very early in the morning, the duke of Lorraine made an attack on the duke's van, and defeated the whole of it. This van consisted of more than twelve thousand combatants, and was under the command of the count de Romont*, who, in great haste, found means to escape, with eleven others.

The Swiss that were in Morat now joined the troops of the duke of Lorraine, forced the camp of the Burgundians, and put to death all they met without mercy†. The duke of Burgundy was glad to retreat with the few of his army who had escaped this general slaughter, and again fled, frequently looking behind him, to Joigné, which was distant fifteen or twenty French leagues from the field of battle. He again lost all his baggage, which consisted of his plate, tapestries, and numberless valuables. The Swiss and Germans, in consideration of the great services the duke of Lorraine had done them, presented him with all the Burgundian artillery that had been taken, to make him amends for his artillery which the duke of Burgundy had carried off from Nancy when he had stormed that town. According to the accounts of the heralds and pursuivants who examined the field of battle, there were twenty thousand seven hundred men slain this day, as well within as without the encampment.

The Swiss pursued the Burgundians after the defeat, and slew many on their flight to Joigné,—and set fire to and destroyed the whole of the county of Romont, and put to death without mercy all who fell into their hands. When this business was done, the duke of Lorraine withdrew to Strasbourg, and departed thence with four thousand combatants, to lay siege to his town of Nancy, in which were from a thousand to twelve hundred men in garrison for the duke of Burgundy. Having formed his siege, he went into Swisserland, and returned thither with a strong reinforcement of men.

The king, having made a long stay at Lyon, went to Plessis les Tours, to the queen and dauphin, and remained there some time. He thence made a pilgrimage to the church of our Lady of Behuart, to offer up his thanksgivings that his affairs had prospered so well during his stay at Lyon. He sent also many rich gifts to churches wherein the holy Virgin was particularly worshipped. Among others, he gave two hundred golden crowns to the church of our Lady at Ardembourg in Flanders. On his return from Lyon, he was accompanied by two dames of that town as far as Orleans: one was called La Gigonne, who had been married to a merchant of Lyon,—the other was named La Passefillon, wife to another merchant of the same place, called Anthony Bourcier. The king, in order to do honour to these two women, made them very handsome presents,—and married La Gigonne to a young Parisian, named Geoffry de Caulers, to whom he gave money and offices. The husband of La Passefillon he appointed counsellor in the chamber of accounts at Paris, in the room of master John Reilhac, whom, for this purpose, he displaced. On leaving Orleans, he put these women under the protection of Isabeau de Caulers, wife to master Philip le Begue, examiner of accounts in the exchequer at Paris, to conduct them to

* Count de Romont. Jacques de Savoye, count de Romont, baron de Vaux, son to Louis duke de Savoye and Anne of Cyprus.

† In an open building at Morat, the blanched bones of the Burgundians slain at this battle are now shown.

that city. The king went from Orleans to Amboise and Tours, where the queen and the dauphin were, and thence on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Behuart, and other places of devotion, and then returned again to Plessis les Tours.

When the town of Nancy had been some time besieged by the duke of Lorraine, it was surrendered to him on capitulation, that the Burgundians should march away in safety with their baggage. It was not more than a month after the duke of Lorraine had revictualled and regarrisoned Nancy, before the duke of Burgundy, who, on his defeat at Morat, had retreated to the town of Rivieres, near Salines, in Burgundy, where he had assembled as large a force as he was able, appeared before it to besiege it in his turn. The duke of Lorraine, in the mean time, had gone into Swisserland, to collect a sufficiency of troops to succour Nancy, and to raise the siege.

About this period, the king of Portugal, who laid claim to the crown of Spain in right of his queen, left Portugal, and came to Lyon, and thence to Tours, to solicit the aid of the king in the recovery of his lawful rights. He was kindly received by the king, and remained some time at Tours, where he was handsomely feasted by many of the nobles, but all at the king's expense. On leaving the king, he went to Orleans, where he was well received, and thence came to Paris, and made his public entry. He arrived on Saturday, the 23rd of November, between two and three in the afternoon, at the gate of St. Jacques; but the different ranks in Paris went out to meet him as far as the windmill, dressed in their holiday clothes, and in the same manner as if he had been king of France. The provost of marchands and the sheriffs issued out first, dressed in robes of cloth and white and red damask, trimmed with martin skins: they were accompanied by the burghers and officers of the town. After them came sir Robert d'Estouteville, provost of Paris, attended by his lieutenants, civil and criminal, the king's counsellors, and practitioners at the Châtelet, who were very numerous and decently dressed. Then came the lord chancellor d'Oriole, the presidents and counsellors of the court of parliament and of the exchequer, and the officers of the mint and of the treasury, followed by numbers of prelates, archbishops, bishops, and other noble persons.

Thus attended, the king of Portugal entered the gate of St. Jacques, where he again met the provost of marchands and the sheriffs, who presented him with a very handsome canopy, emblazoned at each corner with his royal arms, and in the centre with the arms of Spain. Having this canopy supported over him, he was conducted to the church of St. Estienne des Grecs, where he found the rectors of the university, who harangued him on his welcome to Paris. He then advanced to the church of Notre-Dame, and was there received most honourably by the bishop. Having finished his prayers, he proceeded across the bridge of Notre-Dame, and was met at the entrance of Marchepalu by fifty lighted torches, that placed themselves around the canopy. At the end of the bridge of Notre-Dame, a large scaffold was raised against the house of a mantua-maker, named Motin, on which was represented a pageant, allusive to his arrival at Paris; and then he was conducted to his lodgings, at the house of master Laurence Herbelot, in the rue des Prouvaires, where he was well received.

Many rich presents were made him, as well by the city as by other persons,—and he was carried to see all that was remarkable at Paris and in its neighbourhood. He was first taken to the court of parliament, which was very resplendent,—for all the chambers were adorned and hung with tapestries. In the great chamber, he was met by the lord chancellor d'Oriole, the presidents, prelates, and counsellors, handsomely dressed; and a cause was pleaded before him, touching the patronage of the crown, by master François Hasle, archdeacon of Paris, and the attorney-general, who were opposed by master Pierre de Brabant, advocate in that court, and the curate of St. Eustache. The pleadings of the two advocates were very eloquent and pleasant to hear: after which, he was shown the different chambers and apartments of the court. On another day, he was carried to the hall in the bishop's palace, to be present at a theological disputation; and thence he went to see the prisons and court of the Châtelet, which was likewise hung with tapestry,—and all the officers of the court were dressed each in his official robe. Sunday, the 1st of December, all the members of the university passed in procession under the windows of his lodgings, to attend high mass at the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. In his different visits, he was always attended by the lord de

Gaucourt, who gave him, at his hôtel, a magnificently rich supper, to which was invited a very numerous company of both sexes.

In the month of October, it was discovered, at Tours, that a person called Jeanbon, a native of Wales, who had a handsome pension from the king, and who was married to a woman from Mantes with a good fortune, had conspired, at the solicitation of the duke of Burgundy (as he himself had confessed), to poison the dauphin of France. For this crime, he was condemned, by the provost of the king's household, to be beheaded. At the place of execution, he was asked if he wished to say anything more; he replied, Nothing, except that he hoped the king would be pleased to have compassion on his wife and children. The prisoner was then told that he might have the choice of being beheaded or of having his eyes put out. He chose the last; and it was done by the provost, who then gave him up to his wife,—and the king ordered that his pension should be continued in her name.

CHAPTER CLXXIII.—THE DUKE OF MILAN IS MURDERED.—THE TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF THE BURGUNDIAN ARMY, AND DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, BY THE VICTORIOUS DUKE OF LORRAINE, BEFORE NANCY.—THE REDUCTION OF THE COUNTRIES AND TOWNS THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HAD USURPED FROM FRANCE, SUCH AS ARRAS, HESDIN, &C.—SEVERAL BEHEADED IN ARRAS, CAMBRAY, AND IN OTHER TOWNS.

In the month of December, and during the feasts of Christmas, the duke of Milan* was unfortunately assassinated by a gentleman of that country. He had accosted him in the great church of Milan, under pretence of speaking with him, while he was walking there with a foreign ambassador, and had thrust his knife through the slashes of his robe, three or four times, into his lower belly—so that he fell down instantly dead, without saying a word. The cause of this action was, that the gentleman, his relatives and friends, had employed all their money to purchase a vacant abbey for one of their kindred,—and the duke had deprived him of it to bestow it on another, and would not suffer their relative by any means to enjoy it. The gentleman, having made many fruitless requests to the duke on this business, determined to put him to death, which he did as above related. Had this gentleman failed, he had a companion bent on the same business, who would have killed the duke of Milan, because he had detained his wife as a mistress against her inclinations. By the judges and nobles of Milan, it was resolved that the whole of the families of these two persons, males and females, should be put to death, wherever they should be found,—their habitations demolished, and razed to the ground,—all their possessions destroyed,—and even their trees bearing fruit should be pulled up by their roots; and this sentence was carried into execution.

In the month of December, the lady Agnes of Bourbon departed this life, at the castle of Moulins, in the Bourbonnois. She was the widow of the late prince Charles duke of Bourbon and of Auvergne, by whom he had a noble issue, as well males as females,—namely, the present noble prince John duke of Bourbonnois and Auvergne, who married the most excellent princess Jeanne of France, eldest daughter to the late king Charles of France; Louis lord of Beaujeu, who died young; Charles archbishop of Lyon, primate of France and cardinal of Bourbon; Pierre lord of Beaujeu, married to the eldest daughter of the present king of France; the prince bishop of Liege; the lord James, who died at Bruges; the lady Jeanne, married to the prince of Orange, lord of Arlay; the lady Margaret, married to Philip of Savoy, lord of Bresse†. The defunct lady had long lived a holy life, and her loss was much regretted and bewailed by her children, family, and friends, and by all the inhabitants of the Bourbonnois and Auvergne,—and may her soul be blessed! Her remains were interred in the church of Souvigny.

The duke of Burgundy, as before related, had marched to besiege the town of Nancy, and

* Duke of Milan,—Galeas Maria Sforza. Having indulged his illicit passions at the cost of the most respectable houses in Florence, two injured noblemen, Lampognano and Visconti, assassinated him. His infant son was placed under the guardianship of Ludovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, who seized the dukedom for himself.—Andrews.

† He was afterwards duke of Savoy.

had reduced it to such distress, by famine, that negotiations were opened for its capitulation. But on the eve of Epiphany, the duke of Lorraine arrived with twelve or fourteen thousand Swiss and Germans to raise the siege, combat the Burgundians, and secure Nancy. Four days before his arrival, which was on the 5th of January, the count of Campo Basso, the lord Ange, and the lord de Montfort, quitted the duke of Burgundy, and abandoned his camp, —and, prior to the battle, the count of Campo Basso carried away with him full nine-score men-at-arms. On the Saturday following, the other two captains, before named, took with them six-score men-at-arms, who were all resolved to turn to the French party,—but this was kept secret on account of the existing truce ; and it was ordered, by those to whom they had addressed themselves, that, for the present, they should march into Lorraine. This was done, with the exception of a party which remained for the guard of Condé*, on the Moselle, through which place all the provisions for the Burgundian army passed, from the vale of Metz and the country of Luxembourg. The count of Campo Basso† joined the duke of Lorraine, and informed him minutely of the exact state of the Burgundian force. On this day, the 4th of January, the duke of Lorraine arrived at St. Nicholas de Varangeville, with his reinforcement of Swiss, who amounted, from an account taken, to ten thousand five hundred. Of Germans there were also many, beside Lorrainers and other fighting men.

On Sunday, the 5th, the duke of Lorraine dislodged, about eight in the morning, and marched the Swiss to Neuville, and beyond a pond, when they formed their army in array. The Swiss were formed in two divisions ; the one commanded by the count d'Abstain and the governors of Fribourg and Zurich,—the other, by the governors of Berne and Lucerne‡. About mid-day, the whole began to advance,—one division along the river side, and the other on the great road leading from Neuville to Nancy.

The duke of Burgundy had already drawn up his army in battle-array without his camp, having in front a rivulet that was by the hospital called La Magonne, between two strong hedges, and between him and the Swiss. On the great road by which the other division of the Swiss was advancing, he had posted the main body of his artillery. Thus, as the two divisions of the Swiss were advancing, the Burgundians fired on them when within cross-bowshot, and did them some mischief ; but that division which had taken the main road, wheeling through a small wood, fell on the duke of Burgundy's flank. While this was passing, the duke ordered his archers, who were on foot, to wheel and front the Swiss, and formed two wings of his men-at-arms to give them battle,—one wing under the command of Jacques Galiot, an Italian captain, and the other under sir Josse de Lalain, high bailiff of Flanders. When the Swiss found themselves on the duke's flank, and on higher ground, they made as desperate a charge as ever men made, discharging, on their advance, their portable culverins. This discharge (which was not like a tax-gatherer's) threw the duke's army into confusion, and was followed by their flight.

This division of Swiss now attacked the wing commanded by Jacques Galiot, and defeated it instantly. The other wing, under sir Josse de Lalain, had advanced on the Swiss, but were so courageously received that the infantry were soon put to flight, and followed by the cavalry as fast as spurs could make them. They made for the bridge of Bridores, half a league from Nancy, and on the road to Thionville and Luxembourg. But here their hopes of passing were destroyed by the treachery of Campo Basso, who had barricaded the passage of this bridge with carts and waggons, and was with his men drawn up under arms on the opposite side ; so that when the Burgundians were thus checked and overtaken by the Lorrainers, who followed at their heels, they were forced to attempt fording the river,—and there the slaughter was much more than on the field of battle, for such as attempted to pass the river were either killed by the Swiss or drowned : very few escaped death, or being made prisoners. Some, on noticing this ambuscade of Campo Basso, fled to the woods : but they

* Condé,—within two leagues of Nancy.

† Campo Basso, when near to St. Nicholas, threw off the red scarf (the badge of the Burgundians), and surrendered himself to the duke of Lorraine.

‡ The army of the duke of Lorraine is thus divided, according to Du Clos. The infantry commanded by Guillaume Harfer, general of the Swiss ; the cavalry by the count of Tierstein. The corps de bataille consisted of 8000 infantry, supported by 1500 horse on the right, and 500 on the left wing. The rear guard was composed of only 800 foot. Réné commanded the whole army in person, and had with him the counts of Linange and Salins, the lords of Bassompierre, Blamont, &c. &c.

were pursued by the peasants,—and for four leagues round nothing was to be seen but dead bodies. The pursuit after the Burgundians lasted during two hours after nightfall; and the duke of Lorraine inquired, on all sides, what was become of the duke of Burgundy; whether he had fled, was slain, or made prisoner: but at that moment no one could answer his questions. The duke of Lorraine, on this, dispatched a confidential servant to John Dais, town-clerk of Metz, to learn if the duke of Burgundy had passed through that town; and on the morrow, John Dais sent for answer, that assuredly he had not passed that way,—and that no one knew what was become of him, for he had not taken the road to Luxembourg.

On the morrow, Epiphany-day, the count of Campo Basso brought the duke of Lorraine a page, who had been made prisoner, named Baptiste, a native of Rome, and of the Colonna family, in the employ of the count de Châlon, a Neapolitan, who was with the duke of Burgundy. On being interrogated, the page led a large company of Lorrainers to the place where the duke of Burgundy lay dead*, and naked, with fourteen others in the same state, but at some distance from each other. The duke had received a blow from a halbert on the side of his head, above the ear, which had pierced to his jaw: a pike had been thrust through his thighs, and another pike had passed through his fundament. This body was known to be the duke's from six marks: the first, and principal, was the loss of all his upper teeth, which had been caused by a fall: the second, by the scar of a wound that he had received on the right side of his throat at the battle of Montlehery: the third, by his long nails, which he wore of a greater length than any other person of his court: the fourth, by a scar of a carbuncle, which he had formerly had on his shoulder: the fifth, by an ulcer at the lower part of his belly, on the right groin: and sixthly, by a nail that was wanting to one of his toes. By all these marks, he was acknowledged to be the duke of Burgundy by his own physician, a Portuguese, named Matthieu, and also by the grooms of his bed chamber, the great bastard of Burgundy, sir Olivier de la Marche, his chaplain, and others of his court, prisoners to the duke of Lorraine.

The body having been so clearly ascertained to be that of the duke of Burgundy, it was carried into Nancy, washed and cleaned, and then placed on a table, and dressed in a vesture of cloth from the neck to the feet, with a pall of black velvet over the body, in a dark chamber hung with black velvet. Under his head was a pillow of black velvet; and at the four corners of the table were large lighted tapers, with the crucifix and holy water at his feet. While he lay in this state, the duke of Lorraine came to see him, dressed in mourning, and wearing a large golden beard that descended to his girdle, in imitation of the ancient Preux, and in honour of the victory he had gained over him. Having taken one of his hands from under the pall, he said, "May God receive your soul! You have done us many and grievous injuries and vexations." After which, he took some holy water, and sprinkled it over the corpse. All who pleased now entered to see him; and the duke of Lorraine had him handsomely interred, and caused a solemn service to be said over him.

In consequence of the death and defeat of the duke of Burgundy and his army, the duke of Lorraine and his captains held a council, and determined instantly to enter the duchy and county of Burgundy, and other parts under the dominion of the late duke, to reduce them to the king's obedience, which was accomplished without any resistance. Those of the country of Auxerre submitted also, and took the oaths of allegiance to the king.—In this battle the greater part of those who had accompanied the duke were slain †. The great bastard of Burgundy was made prisoner, whom the duke of Lorraine afterwards carried to the king of France in Picardy. The bastard Baldwin of Burgundy, and several other great lords, were also taken prisoners.

The king of France being assured of the death of the duke of Burgundy, and the events

* Underneath are two epitaphs made on the duke of Burgundy, taken from Heuterus, historian of the Low Countries, and Teschenmacher, in his history of Cleves.

"Te pacis piguit, te tæduit atque quietis,
Carole, sicque jaces? jamque quiesce tibi."

"Te piguit pacis, teduitque quietis, in urna
Mortue jam Carole, litis amice jace.
Æthera num pateant tibi, vel descensus averni,
Solicitus nec eras, me neque cura premit."

† Among them the lords of Bievres, Contay, and la Viefville. The two bastards, Anthony and Baldwin, the counts of Nassau, Retel, Chimay, Oliver de la Marche and others, were made prisoners.

that had subsequently taken place, left Tours on a pilgrimage of devotion. He returned by Chartres Villepreux * and Aubervilliers*, to Nôtre Dame de la Victoire, and thence to Noyon and Compiégne. In this interval, very many of the places that had been occupied by the duke of Burgundy were surrendered to him; such as Mondidier, Peronne, Abbeville, Montreuil-sur-mer, and others near to Arras. But those in this last town at first refused to submit, and fortified themselves with men-at-arms, provisions, and artillery. Many agents were sent by them to the king, who at last succeeded in obtaining a truce; during which the king made the greatest preparations of gens-d'armes, artillery, and of warlike stores, that had been seen, waiting the determination of those in Arras—whether they would submit peaceably, or renew the war. To defray the expenses of so large an armament, the king borrowed great sums from Paris, and the other principal towns in his kingdom. The king, however, found means of gaining possession of the city of Arras †, into which he made his entry on the 4th of May, and fortified it more strongly against the town of Arras,—into which a number of persons attached to the Burgundian party had thrown themselves, and even many from those towns that had lately submitted to the king, who, though for the most part adventurers, and without any leader of note, had strengthened the fortifications, and uttered daily blasphemies against the king. To these they added all manner of insults,—such as erecting gibbets in the town and on the walls, on which they hung his badge of the white cross, showing their naked posteriors to him, and other indecencies.

During these insulting follies, some of the inhabitants of the town waited on the king, to endeavour to obtain a pacification; and, although these adventurers had persevered over long in their impudence, the king agreed to accept the submission of those in Arras, as offered to their sovereign lord, for neglect of proper homage and of different dues; and that the revenues of the said towns should be collected by his commissioners, and in his name, until the princess of Burgundy should have performed her homage by proxy. The king also promised not to send any body of men-at-arms into the town of Arras, without the consent of the inhabitants.

These matters being settled, the king sent into the town the lord cardinal of Bourbon, the lord chancellor, sir Guiot Pot, bailiff of the Vermandois, sir Philip de Crevecoeur lord Desquerdes, governor of the said town, with other nobles, to receive the oaths of the inhabitants of Arras; but while this was doing, some of the townsmen rebelled, and came in arms to the abbey of St. Waast, where the cardinal and the other lords were at dinner, bawling out "Kill, kill them!" The commissioners were more frightened than they had ever been in their lives; but at this time no mischief happened. When they returned to the city of Arras, the king departed to celebrate Easter at Therouenne. He thence went to Hêdin, when the town surrendered: but some pillagers of the Burgundy party seized on the castle, against which the king ordered his artillery to play, and a wide breach was soon made; but as the royalists were preparing to enter it, those within surrendered, on having their lives and fortunes spared, and on being permitted to march away in safety.

A. D. 1477.

Early in the above year, after Hêdin had been gained, some of the inhabitants of Arras, under pretence of going to the king of France, obtained passports from the lord admiral. He, however, suspected their intentions, and caused them to be followed, when it was found that they were going to Flanders to the princess of Burgundy, and were in consequence arrested and brought back to Hêdin, where they were tried. It was now discovered that the object of their journey was treasonable; and they were accordingly sentenced to be beheaded in the market-place of Hêdin, to the number of eighteen: among them was master Oudart du Bucy, attorney-general of the town of Arras and country of Artois. His head was cut off in a hood of scarlet cloth lined with fur: both were nailed fast to the top of a pole, that the head might not be carried away; and under the hood was written, "This is

* Towns in the isle of France.

† The city of Arras. Arras is divided in two parts,—one called the city, the other the town. The city was surrendered to the king by the lord d'Esquerdes, or des Cordes; but it was necessary to gain the town, which was done by negotiation.

the head of master Oudart de Bucy, king's counsellor in his court of parliament at Paris * ".

When these examples had been made, the king went on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne. He was very indignant at the rebellious conduct of the inhabitants of Arras, and declared that the town should be destroyed. To effect this, he ordered a large force to march and besiege it, which was done, and the artillery began to play on the town, when the king returned to the city about the end of April. The fortifications were much battered, and the bulwark which those in the town had erected against the city was so completely destroyed that the view of the interior of the town was laid open. The inhabitants now gave themselves up for lost; but they found means to obtain the king's mercy, although he had abandoned the town to be plundered by his men-at-arms and franc-archers, who were very much discontented thereat, considering that the pillage of the town had been solemnly promised to them. As the men of Arras had persevered in their rebellion, had insulted the king, and proceeded from bad to worse by killing many of his troops, they thought them undeserving of mercy. However, the capitulation was signed: and the royal army marched into Arras on Sunday, the 4th of May.

This matter being settled, the king went to the abbey of Nôtre Dame de la Victoire; and the lord admiral, the nobles, and franc-archers separated for their own homes. While the king was at the above-mentioned abbey, news was brought that fifty of his archers had been refused admittance into Peronne, whither they had carried five prisoners in his name. He went, therefore, to Peronne, thinking that a rebellion was intended, and stayed there some time. Having had information that the Flemings were arming, with the intent to invade his country, he issued a proclamation, which was published at Paris on Sunday the 18th of May, for all persons, of every description, whether privileged or not, to be ready in arms to resist the invasion of the Flemings. The king went to Cambray, which surrendered on capitulation, and remained there until Trinity Sunday, to recruit his men-at-arms.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.—THE KING SUMMONS HIS PARLIAMENT FROM PARIS TO NOYON, TO TRY THE DUKE OF NEMOURS.—A FORGER EXECUTED AT PARIS.—OF THE VICTORY OF THE LORD DE CRAON OVER THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.—OF THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF GUELDRES BEFORE TOURNAY.—THE DUKE OF NEMOURS EXECUTED AT PARIS.—A PARTY OF FLEMINGS DEFEATED.—SEVERAL PERSONS HANGED AT PARIS FOR HAVING ASSASSINATED THE SON OF THE PUBLIC EXECUTIONER.

The king sent his letters-patent to Paris, to order the presidents and counsellors of his parliament, and the masters of requests of his household, to come to Noyon, and form there a court of justice in his presence, and, in conjunction with the princes of his blood, to try the duke of Nemours, who had long been confined in the bastile of St. Anthony at Paris. The parliament, in obedience to this order, set out from Paris on the 2d of June, to arrive at Noyon the ensuing day, which had been appointed for this trial.

On the 14th of June, a person who had been of the king's household was imprisoned for having forged the king's signet, and that of one of his secretaries, by which means he had sent letters to divers towns, and obtained large sums of money, which he had appropriated to his own use. He was tried before the provost, or his lieutenant, of the royal household, and sent to Paris, to have the following sentence executed upon him, namely, to be pilloried with a paper cap on his head, then burned in the forehead, his right hand cut off, to be banished the kingdom, and all his effects and inheritances to be confiscated to the king. In this month of June, the king gave the command of an army to the lord de

* The townsmen of Arras had broken the terms of their late treaty, and had revolted. Oudart de Bussy was one of the principal authors of it. He had accepted from the king an office in the parliament of Paris, but instead of exercising it with honour, had rebelled. The king ordered him to be beheaded in his hood, and afterward exposed, as mentioned in the text.

Craon*, to march into the country of Burgundy, and make war on the prince of Orange† for some injuries which the lord de Craon had complained of having been done him by the prince, who was not of the same family with himself. The king, also, who had appointed the prince governor of that country, displaced him, and gave it to the lord de Craon, although he had been the means of reducing it to the king's obedience.

The prince of Orange detached into Burgundy a knight of that country called sir Claude de Vaudray, who made head against the lord de Craon for some time, until it was known that the prince had entered a town called Guy‡, when the lord de Craon advanced to besiege it. He remained before it two days,—when, learning that the lord de Château Guyon§, brother to the prince of Orange, was marching to his relief, he advanced in battle-array to meet him, and a great conflict ensued, insomuch that there were killed on both sides from fourteen to fifteen hundred combatants. To return thanks for this defeat, the king ordered a general procession to be made at Paris, to the church of St. Martin des Champs.

In the course of the month of July, the duke of Gueldres|| had marched from fourteen to fifteen hundred Germans against the town of Tournay, thinking to burn the suburbs, and quarter himself at Pont d'Epierre, near the town. Two sallies were made from the town: in the first, the duke was mortally wounded, and his body was carried into Tournay. In the second sally, four hundred of the king's lances and some of the townsmen attacked and put to flight the Germans and Flemings,—two thousand of whom were slain, and seven or eight hundred made prisoners. Te Deum laudamus was chaunted at Paris, and bonfires were made in all the streets for this signal victory.

On Monday, the 3d day of August of this year, messire Jacques d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours and count de la Marche, having been conducted as a prisoner to the Bastile of St. Anthony on the 4th day of August in the preceding year, by reason of certain offences and crimes by him committed and perpetrated,—during which time of his imprisonment in the said Bastile, many interrogatories were put to him concerning the said charges, to which he answered verbally and in writing, on many different days, as well before the chancellor of France, named Pierre d'Oriole, as others, the presidents and counsellors of the court of parliament, and also before certain great clerks of the kingdom, dwelling in divers cities and towns of the said kingdom, summoned and assembled for this purpose in the city of Noyon, with and in company of the said officers of the parliament, and in presence of the lord de Beaujeu, then representing the person of the king,—the proceedings held by the court aforesaid against the said duke of Nemours were examined, and also the defence by him made, and, after mature deliberation, it was decreed, that sir John le Boulenger, first president of the parliament, accompanied by the greffier criminel of the court, and sir Denis Hesselin, master of the king's household, should instantly set out for the Bastile, and declare to the duke of Nemours, that the court, having fully considered the charges laid against him, and the whole of his defence and confessions, have found him guilty of high treason, and sentence him to be beheaded for the same, this day, in the market-place at Paris, and all his effects and inheritances to be confiscated to the king. The execution took place at three in the after-

* Lord de Craon. George de la Trémouille lord of Jonvelle, baron of Craon, first chamberlain to the king, with whom he was a great favourite, and held the governments of Champagne, Brie, Burgundy, and Touraine. He obtained the county of Ligny from the confiscations of the constable of St. Pol, and had the governments of other towns in the kingdom. The barony of Craon in Anjou fell to his lot.

† Prince of Orange,—John de Châlon, second of the name.

‡ Guy. Q. if not Gray? on the Saône, ten leagues from Besançon.

§ De Château Guyon,—Louis or Hugh de Chalons, half-brothers to the prince of Orange.

|| The duke of Gueldres (Adolphus) had been confined a prisoner in the castle of Courtray ever since the events which are there mentioned. But, on occasion of the king's imprudent invasion of the duke of Burgundy's territory, the Flemings brought him out of his prison to command their forces and become the husband of their young sovereign Mary of Burgundy. His death put an end to this design; and the competitors for the hand of the heiress were then reduced to three, viz. the dauphin of France, John son of the duke of Cleves, and Maximilian son of the emperor Frederic and king of the Romans. The violent conduct of Louis towards the states of Burgundy blasted the expectations which he might otherwise have very reasonably entertained for his son. Mary is said to have felt a personal repugnance to the heir of Cleves, and an equal partiality for her imperial suitor. In his favour, therefore, the die was ultimately cast; and their marriage took place on the 18th of August in this same year, 1477.

noon of that day, on a scaffold erected in the market-place. After he was beheaded, the corpse and head were put into a bier, and delivered to the Cordelier friars, to be buried in their church. About seven or eight-score Cordeliers came in procession to fetch the body, and forty torches were given to them to escort the bier to their church*.

The king was this month at Therouenne, and thence detached part of his army to drive away a body of Flemings who had encamped near to Blanfossé †. They no sooner heard of this order than they immediately decamped, but not before the royalists arrived, and slew upwards of two thousand of them. They were also pursued far into Flanders; and the king's army passed by Mont de Cassel to Fiennes and other places, which they razed, or took possession of, and killed full two thousand more of the Flemings. Many solemn processions were made at Paris for these successes.

In the month of August, the son of Henry Cousin, the chief executioner at Paris, called Petit John, (who had already done several notable deeds in the way of his profession, and, among others, had beheaded the late constable of St. Pol,) was murdered in Paris at the instigation of a carpenter, named Oudin du Bust, a native of Picardy. This Oudin had conceived a mortal hatred against Petit John, because he had some time before beaten him, in consequence of a quarrel that had arisen between them. The cause of this quarrel was Oudin having demanded the amount of a deed for money he had lent Petit John, which had been repaid all but the expenses of the bond. To be revenged, Oudin had formed an acquaintance with three disorderly youths of Paris; one was called l'Empereur du Houlx, sergeant-at-mace; the other, Jean du Foing, a plumber; and the third, Regnault Goris, a silversmith, and son to Martin Goris, broker of jewellery. All these four, having determined on their plan, waylaid Petit John, and attacked him at the corner of the Rue des Grenelles, near the hotel of the Moulinet. The first that came up to him was l'Empereur du Houlx, who, under the mask of friendship, took him firmly under the arm, telling him not to be afraid of the others, for they would do him no mischief. As he said this, Regnault Goris approached, and hit Petit John on the head with a stone, that made him stagger. His pretended friend then let go his hold; and John du Foing thrust a javelin through his body, so that he fell dead on the spot. When he was dead, Oudin du Bust came and cut off his legs; and then they all four separated, and took sanctuary within the church of the Celestines; whence, on the following night, they were taken, by orders from sir Robert d'Estouteville, provost of Paris, and the members of the council, in consequence of the informations that had been laid before them, clearly proving the murder to have been committed by a preconcerted plan. The Celestines appealed against this, as a breach of their privileges; but the court of parliament dismissed their appeal, and declared the murderers incapable of being received in sanctuary. The bishop afterward claimed them as his clerks; but the parliament published an edict, to declare that they should not enjoy the privilege of clerks, and returned the matter to the provost, who sentenced them all to be hanged.

They appealed against this sentence to the court of parliament, who confirmed it; and they were all four executed on the gibbet of Paris by the hands of Henry Cousin, father to the late Petit John, who was thus avenged on them for the murder of his son, the 28th day of August. They were hanged in a row: first, l'Empereur du Houlx, then John du Foing, Regnault Goris, and, last of all, Oudin du Bust. The three first were handsome youths: and for this business, a young son of a shoemaker was publicly flogged, and banished the realm, for having conspired the death of Petit John, although he was not actually present when he was killed.

* This nobleman would have fallen unpitied had it not been for the execrable inhumanity which accompanied his execution, his children being brought to the scaffold, and made to stand there in such a position that the blood of their father might sprinkle their bodies. Mary of Anjou, his wife, died in childbirth of the effects of the shock which she experienced on hearing of his captivity. Of his three sons, Louis only lived to the age of manhood. He was restored to his father's honours, and fell at the battle of Cerignole on the 28th of April 1503. Of his daughters, Margaret was the wife of the mareschal de Gié, Catherine married John duke of Bourbon, and Charlotte Charles de Rohan.

† Blanfossé,—a village of Picardy, near Breteuil.

CHAPTER CLXXV.—THE CARDINAL OF ST. GEORGE IS DETAINED PRISONER AT FLORENCE, WHERE THE ARCHBISHOP OF PISA IS STRANGLED, AND SEVERAL OTHERS PUT TO DEATH, FOR HAVING MURDERED GIULIANO DE' MEDICI.—RHODES BESIEGED BY THE TURKS.—OF ST. SYMON AND ANOTHER THAT WERE CRUCIFIED.—OF A DEVOUT HERMIT WHO LIVED FIFTEEN YEARS ON THE HOLY WAFER.—OF A MONSTER, BORN IN THE TOWN OF VERONA.—OF A MARVELLOUS COMET,—AND OTHER EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS.

About this time, and soon after the death of the duke of Milan, a violent conspiracy was formed in the city of Florence, by the family of Pazzi, of which Francesco di Pazzi was the leader, against the family of the Medici. Francesco, accompanied by several of good family in Florence, and other conspirators, assassinated, with a dagger, Giuliano de' Medici in the church of Santa Maria di Fuori, during the celebration of the mass. His elder brother, Lorenzo de' Medici, was also wounded, but recovered *. For this crime, the reverend father in God, Nicholas, cardinal of Saint George, and nephew † to count Jerome, was detained in close confinement; and Francesco Salviati, archbishop of Pisa, was publicly hanged in his archiepiscopal robes at the gates of the Medici palace. Several of the conspirators, and their relatives, were hanged at the same time and place, and others executed in divers manners. Pope Sixtus IV., in revenge for these executions, fulminated, in the name of the cardinals in consistory, an excommunication and interdict against the city of Florence; and incited a cruel war against Tuscany, in the name of the church; in which war numbers lost their lives.

During this time, an ambassador from the republic of Venice obtained the liberty of the cardinal of St. George, who returned to Rome: nevertheless, the war was still continued between the church and the Florentines; but it was at length ended, and the excommunication and interdict were taken off.

The Jews, about this time, stole a child of twelve years of age, called Symon, in the city of Trent, whom they crucified, and caused to suffer the mysteries of the passion, in ridicule of what our Saviour had suffered,—for which they were most severely punished, according to their deserts. The body of the child was carried in procession, as a martyr, to the cathedral, whither great crowds of people flocked from all parts; for through the devotion of this child many miracles were performed in remembrance of the passion of our Lord. A similar crime was committed by the Jews in the city of Opiterge‡, within the principality of Venice, where they martyred a youth in like manner. They were brought to Venice, and, having confessed their guiltiness of this abominable crime, were burnt alive between the two marble columns in the place of St. Marco.

At this time, a girl was born at Verona, which had one head, two feet, and four arms: two were larger than the others, which she could move,—but the others were smaller and motionless. She had two bellies joined to the stomach, and two openings through which she passed her excrements, and other natural superfluities. In this state, she was carried throughout Italy, begging money of all that were desirous to see and examine her.

About this time, there were great inundations, with very high winds, that overthrew many buildings.

The Grand Turk now led a numerous and puissant army by sea and land to besiege the city of Rhodes, which he bombarded at several places, and slew very many Christians. He surrounded the city on all sides, and advanced even to the tower of St. Nicholas, which was thought impregnable; but he was on the point of taking it, and ready to shout, "Town won!" when the grand-master displayed from the walls a great banner, painted with the representation of the blessed cross; which banner was no sooner displayed than the Turks became blinded, and, by the Divine aid of our blessed Saviour, were repulsed. They made no further attempts on the city,—but there were numbers slain on both sides. The Turks,

* For further particulars, see Scipione Ammirato, and other Italian historians,—and particularly the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, by W. Roscoe, Esq.

† Cardinal of St. George. Q. if it should not be "of *Riario*, and nephew to pope Sixtus IV.?"

‡ Opiterge. The ancient Latin name was Opitergium,—the modern Oderso: it is in the Venetian states, twelve miles from Trevigio.—Martiniere.

on their ill success at Rhodes, invaded part of the kingdom of Sicily, and gained many towns. They put the inhabitants to death, and seized their effects, so that they were become a cruel pestilence to Christendom. They took the city of Otranto, and slew almost all the inhabitants, on account of their religion, which they suffered with singular patience for the honour of God,—and at length they seized the archbishop, whom they put to death by sawing him in two.

A devout hermit who resided in Swisserland, near Underwalden, subsisted for the space of fifteen years on the holy wafer, which he received at the monthly sacrament, without taking any other food. This has been attested by many persons, witnesses of the fact. I have forgotten to mention a marvellous comet that appeared in the year 1477, on St. Agnes' day, in the month of January,—and therefore the bloody wars that took place between different princes, with the great miseries that ensued, need not be wondered at. This comet was visible at Cologne, in the opposite direction to the constellation Libra, having an immense tail, thirty degrees in length. On St. Blaise's day, the third of February, it remained stationary in the constellation of Aries, throwing its tail to the eastward, near the Pleiades. It was of different colours,—sometimes white, at others all on fire, inclining to a lemon colour. The astrologers considered it as indicative of battle, epidemic disorders, and plagues: and in consequence, the following summer was hotter than had been remembered by any then living. In some parts, subterraneous fires broke forth, from the vehemence of which may God preserve us!

We will now return to notice events that happened in France, Flanders, Burgundy and England, at the period we quitted them to make mention of the surprising circumstances contained in this chapter.

CHAPTER CLXXVI.—THE KING, ON HIS RETURN FROM PICARDY, SETS AT LIBERTY THE PRISONERS IN THE CHASTELET.—OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE AND SIR CLAUDE DE VAUDRAY IN THE COUNTRY OF BURGUNDY.—THE STATUES OF ST. LOUIS AND ST. CHARLEMAGNE REMOVED.—THE KING HAS TWELVE GREAT BOMBARDS MADE. EDWARD KING OF ENGLAND CAUSES HIS BROTHER THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO BE DROWNED IN A BUTT OF MALMSEY.—AN ACCUSATION IS LAID AGAINST DANIEL THE SERVANT TO OLIVIER LE DAIM.—ON THE RETURN OF THE KING FROM PICARDY, GREAT ENTERTAINMENTS ARE GIVEN AT PARIS IN THE YEAR MCCCCLXXVIII.

The king of France, before he left Picardy, appointed the lord bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France, his lieutenant-general for the management of the war in that country. He assigned, for the cantonments of his men, the cities and towns of Arras, Tournay, Lens, La Bassee, and other places on the frontiers of Flanders, which still held out for the princess of Flanders, daughter to the late duke of Burgundy. Having arranged these matters, the king went to pay his devotions to Notre-Dame-de-la-Victoire, whose image was richly ornamented, and thence proceeded to Paris. As he arrived on the feast-day of St. Denis, from his reverence to the saint he delivered all the prisoners confined in the Châtelet. The king made no long stay in Paris, but went to Tours, Amboise, and places in that district, where he the more willingly resided.

During this interval, the Burgundians and other enemies to the king, under the prince of Orange and sir Claude de Vaudray, committed great devastations in Burgundy, and defeated many parties of the royal forces, more especially at the town of Gray-sur-Saône, wherein they were quartered. The Burgundians killed a number of gentlemen of the companies of Salazart and Coninghame, a Scots captain. The king had this year great devotion for St. Louis and St. Charlemagne, and ordered that their statues of stone, which had been placed in their rank with those of the other kings of France in the great hall of the Palace, should be removed and placed beside the chapel at the upper end of the said hall,—which was done; and the expenses of their removal were paid by Robert Cailletel, receiver of taxes in the city of Paris.

In the month of December, the king, to increase his artillery, ordered twelve great bombards to be cast of a prodigious length and weight. Three of them were to be cast at Paris, three at Tours, three at Orleans, and three at Amiens; and at the same time a quantity of iron bullets were cast at the foundries at Creil, of which charge was given to master John de Reilhac his secretary. In the quarries near to Peronne, were also made many stone bullets for the bombards,—and great stores of scaling-ladders and small pieces of ordnance were constructed, for the attack of several towns in Flanders and Picardy that remained to be reduced.

At this period, king Edward of England, having been assured that his brother the duke of Clarence had intentions of crossing the sea to give assistance to his sister, the widowed duchess of Burgundy, ordered him to be arrested and confined in the tower of London, where he remained for some time. During his confinement, the king assembled his council, who condemned him to be drawn on a sledge from the Tower to a gibbet, and thereon hanged,—after which, his entrails were to be thrown into a fire, his head cut off and his body quartered. But this sentence was changed at the intercession of his mother, and the execution deferred until the month of February following, when he was taken out of prison, and, after he had confessed himself, was thrown alive into a butt of Malmsey Madeira, which had one of its ends taken off, and held therein, with his head downwards, until he expired*. He was then taken out: his head was cut off, and carried to be buried at the Carmelites' church, beside his duchess, daughter to the late earl of Warwick, who had been slain at the battle of Coventry, at the same time when the prince of Wales, son to the sainted Henry of Lancaster, fell†.

An event happened at this time, at Paris, that made some noise. Daniel de Bar, servant to master Olivier le Daim‡, first barber and valet-de-chambre to the king, was arrested and

* This improbable story is, I believe, satisfactorily refuted and justly ridiculed by historians.

† The earl of Warwick was killed at the battle of Barnet,—and the prince of Wales was ungenerously murdered after the fatal battle of Tewkesbury, for a spirited answer to an insolent demand from Edward IV.

‡ Never was the proverb of "like master like man"—"tel maître, tel valet," so truly exemplified as in Louis XI. and Olivier le Diable, Olivier le Mauvais, or, as the king ordered him to be called in his letters of nobility, Olivier le Daim. I copy from the 222d number of Proofs to Comines what M. Godefroy said of this infamous character:—

"Philip de Comines cries out justly against the choice the king made of a man of such a character as his ambassador to the princess of Burgundy. Master Olivier (for thus he was called in the Low Countries, where, to this day, the masters of any trade are called by their Christian names only) was born in the little town of Thielt, a dependency on the castlewick of Courtray in Flanders. He went to France and became barber to the king, whose confidence he gained by his intrigues. Having acquired great riches, the desire of appearing with éclat in the country of his birth, which is the usual presumption of persons suddenly raised from the dregs of the people to high rank, blinded him so much that he accepted of an embassy, which he naturally should have refused, if he had not been devoured with pride.

"The magnificence of his equipage only served to make him more despised by his countrymen, and the barber was plainly seen under the dress of a prince. The Ghent men would have made his time pass unpleasantly, and, if he had not avoided it by a precipitate retreat, would have suffered what he afterward could not escape from. He was one of the most profligate and unprincipled men in the world."

Here follows what a French author, named Boitel, relates of the latter end of his life, in the 321st page "Des Intentions Morales, Civiles, et Militaires d'Antoine le Pipre," printed at Antwerp in the year 1625.

"You must know that Louis XI. king of France, bewitched with friendship for Olivier le Daim (whose first trade was that of barber), made him governor of the castle of Loches, which was and is at this moment a handsome establishment, appointed him to the government of St. Quentin, in Picardy, and made him one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. He had purchased considerable lordships from the great riches he possessed, and plunged into all kinds of luxuries, as well during the king's life as after his death. It happened one day that a young gentleman committed a crime, for which the provost of the king's household had him confined. His wife, fearing the consequences might be fatal to her husband, solicited every one who she thought had credit with king Charles VIII. Thinking that Olivier le Daim might enjoy the same favour as with the late king, from seeing him richly dressed, followed by many of the courtiers, and having admittance to the king's apartments when he pleased, she addressed herself to him, and entreated that he would obtain her husband's liberty. Olivier, observing that the suitress was young, handsome, and elegantly made, promised the deliverance of her husband, provided she would yield to his desires, which after many difficulties she consented to.

"To perform his promise, he went to the provost, and desired that he would not criminate the gentleman, which he refused. He then begged that he would allow him to escape, as if he had forced his way out of prison; but this he more obstinately refused. Master Olivier, seeing himself thus disappointed, began to reproach the provost for his ingratitude,—for he had given him his place, and had also obtained for him from Louis XI. many rich presents; and when that king was much irritated against him for bad management in his office, he had appeased the king's anger. In short, these reproaches had such an effect on the provost, that he told him to consider on some means for the prisoner to escape, provided that he were not brought into trouble, nor implicated,—for those who had caused him to be confined had great power. Master Olivier replied, that the most secure method would be to strangle him in his dungeon, and to throw the body into

imprisoned by the court of parliament, in consequence of several informations laid against him, and especially on the complaint of Marion, the wife of Colin Panier, and another dissolute woman, who charged the said Daniel with having forced them, and with having committed upon them the beastly and abomninable sin of sodomy. When the parliament and the provost began to examine more minutely into these charges, the women contradicted themselves, and denied the facts, confessing that they had been induced to make such accusations at the instance of Panier, the husband of Marion, and of another called Janvier, enemies of the said Daniel, in order to be revenged on him. The two women were therefore sentenced by the provost to be whipped naked, and banished the realm; and their effects were to be confiscated to the king, out of which sufficient damages should first be taken for the said Daniel, as an indemnification for these false charges. This sentence was executed in all the squares of Paris, on Wednesday, the 11th day of March.

In this month, the king came from Tours toward Paris, and staid two days at Ablon-sur-Seine, at the house of Marc Senamy, assessor of Paris; whence he came to his palace of the Tournelles, and on the morrow morning paid his devotions at the cathedral to the blessed virgin Mary. This done, he went to Louvres, and places in that neighbourhood, where he staid some time, and then proceeded to Hêdin, Amiens, and other towns in Picardy. While he was there, the lord Howard came to him from the king of England, to endeavour to conclude a peace between him and the Flemings. The king appointed the lord de St. Pierre to confer with him on the subject; and in the interval, the king marched the whole of his army and artillery into Picardy.

A. D. MCCCCLXXVIII.

After Low Sunday, in the month of March of the above year, the duchess of Orleans arrived at Paris, in company with the duke of Orleans,—a young son of the duke of Cleves, nephew to the duchess,—madame de Narbonne, daughter to the late duke of Orleans, and wife to the viscount of Narbonne, son to the count of Foix,—the son of the count of Vendôme, and a number of lords, gentlemen, ladies, and damsels, who were twice most magnificently feasted in the city of Paris.

The first entertainment was given by the cardinal of Foix, in the hôtel d'Estampes, near the Bastile; and the second, by the lord cardinal of Bourbon, at his hôtel, where he gave a

the river; for then his enemies would be satisfied, and his wife, by avoiding the infamy of a public execution, would likewise be contented,—and this would be the means of gratifying all parties.

"Having fixed on their plan, master Olivier solicited the lady to come that night to his lodgings, which she complied with, assuring herself that on the morrow she should obtain her husband's liberty; but she was deceived: for while Master Olivier was caressing her in bed, his valet-de-chambre Daniel, with another called Oyac, strangled the miserable gentleman in the provost's prison, and then dragged the body to the Seine. The corpse floated on the water, as they were unable to sink it. The boatmen drew it to the bank, where it lay the whole day, and was viewed by numbers, who immediately recognised it for the body of such a gentleman. The wife, who had risen early, in the expectation of meeting her husband, was told that he had been drowned, and was then lying on the bank of the river. Thither she hastened and found the report but too true.

"This unfortunate lady flung herself on the corpse, and, with bitter tears, cursed Olivier le Daim, who had deceived her, and ravished her honour, under promise of procuring her husband's liberty. Her lamentations excited the pity of the populace in so great a degree that they informed the officers of justice of what had happened. On this, master Olivier was arrested, and sentenced to the torture; but without suffering much, he confessed the fact, imagining his judges would not dare to condemn him, and, if they should, he trusted to his favour with the king. He was, however, completely mistaken; for, being hated for his abuse of authority under Louis XI., he was sentenced to be hanged and strangled. His servant Daniel was condemned to make a pecuniary restitution to the widow. With regard to Oyac, he was not hanged, because it had appeared on the trial that he would not assist to strangle the gentleman in prison, although he had aided to throw him into the river; for which he was condemned to have his ears cut off, his tongue pierced, and to be banished the realm.

"Master Olivier was pitied by one: and it may be shown, from an infinity of examples, that a disgraceful or an unfortunate death is commonly the lot of such as put their trust in the favour of princes, abuse their authority, and only make use of their great riches in the commission of the most enormous crimes. God becomes tired of their iniquities, and commences even in this world to punish them for their wickednesses."

There is a similar story told in 491 of the Spectator; but it is not mentioned by Comines, or by any other historian of that period that I am acquainted with.

Heuterus relates a story, something similar, of a governor of a town under Charles duke of Burgundy, upon whom that prince afterwards caused exemplary punishment to be inflicted for his crime. The story of Colonel Kirke, which, if true, was attended with circumstances of even greater barbarity than the crime of Olivier, is now believed to be a fiction, grounded probably on the Burgundian anecdote by some Jacobite writer.

grand supper on Wednesday the last day in March. At this supper there was the greatest plenty of every delicacy that could be procured, with music and singing, mummeries, farces, and other gallant amusements. This supper was served up in the gilt gallery, where all the guests attended but madame de Narbonne, who, on account of her being far gone with child, and to be more at her ease, supped with her husband and seven more, in the lower apartments of the said hôtel, belonging to John Roye, secretary to the duke of Bourbon, who had the care of his hôtel.

CHAPTER CLXXVII.—THE KING OF FRANCE'S SOLDIERS SEIZE THE MONEY THAT WAS SENT TO PAY THE FLEMISH TROOPS, AND GAIN ALSO THE TOWN OF CONDÉ FROM THEM.—A CORDELIER FRIAR, NAMED ANTHONY FRADIN, PREACHES AT PARIS, AND IS AFTERWARDS BANISHED.—THE POPE SENDS A LEGATE TO THE KING OF FRANCE AND TO THE DUKE OF AUSTRIA.—THE DECEIT OF THE LAST TOWARD THE KING.—A TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN THEM.—SIR CHARLES D'AMBOISE REGAINS MANY TOWNS FOR THE KING IN THE DUCHY OF BURGUNDY.

In the month of April, Guerin le Groin, bailiff of St. Pierre-le-Monstier, and Robinet du Quesnoy, who had each the command of one hundred lances for the king, received information, while cantoned in Picardy, that the Flemings were sending a large sum of money to Douay for the pay of their troops and the support of the town. These captains took the field to intercept this money, which they did, killing many, and making prisoners of others of the escort. Intelligence of this was instantly carried to the garrisons in Lille and Douay, who made all haste to recover the money and prisoners; but, although they were in great numbers, the French not only saved themselves, but slew four-score or better, and carried off the money in safety; their loss not amounting to more than twenty-six or twenty-seven men. The king arrived in Picardy during the month of May; but nothing of consequence passed except gaining from the Burgundians the little town of Condé, which was inconveniently situated for sending provisions and stores to Tournay. A garrison for the duke of Austria was in the place, who defended it for a short time; but when they saw the great army that was advancing to besiege it, they surrendered the town and castle to the king, on being allowed to march away in safety with their arms and baggage.

In this year, a Cordelier friar, a native of Ville-Franche, in the Beaujolois, came to preach against the profligate manners of the times at Paris. He preached long and strongly on the vices which blemished the creatures of God, and with such good effect, that many women who had abandoned themselves to carnal pleasures and other debaucheries changed their course of life. Some gave themselves up to religious pursuits, abandoning those pleasures they had of late so wildly followed. He blamed all ranks, and preached on the justice and government of the king, the princes, and great lords of the realm; adding, that the king was ill-served; that he had about his person servants who were traitors; and that, if he did not discard them, they would destroy him and the kingdom also. The king, when told of this, ordered that the friar should be forbidden to preach; and for this purpose, master Olivier le Daim, the king's barber, came to Paris to see that he was put under an interdict. This was very displeasing to several of both sexes, who were much inclined to follow him, for the sake of his sermons; and, for fear any insult should be offered him, they had him watched night and day in the convent of the Cordeliers in Paris. It was said that numbers of women went to him secretly, by day and night, with knives and staves hidden under their clothes, to spike such as should endeavour to hurt him, or hinder him from preaching: telling him not to be afraid, for that they would perish sooner than any mischief should befal him.

During this time, a legate from the pope came to the king in Picardy, to remonstrate with him on the enormous evils the infidels were doing to Christendom, and to exhort him to make peace with the duke of Austria, and unite in opposing the further progress of the Turks. By this means the war against the Burgundians was somewhat relaxed, in the

hope of establishing a peace; but, although the war ceased on the part of the king, it was still continued by the enemy in the county and duchy of Burgundy, where several towns were recovered from the king, and numbers of his troops killed.

On Tuesday the 26th day of May, a public proclamation was made by sound of trumpet, which was the ancient custom, in all the squares of Paris, to forbid all persons, whatever might be their rank, to cause any assemblies of the people in Paris without the express leave and licence of the king; for that, of late, many persons had assembled, under pretence of hearing certain sermons preached in the said town by friar Anthony Fradin, of the order of Cordeliers; and that numbers had also assembled at the convent of the Cordeliers to guard the said friar, to whom no insult whatever had been offered by the officers of his majesty's justice, but to whom some of the king's counsellors had been sent to interrogate him on certain secret matters of which the king was desirous to know the truth; that persons had remained for nights in the said convent, under pretext of guarding, as they said, the above friar, which was matter of great scandal.

In consequence thereof, and by the advice of the court of parliament and of the provost of Paris, all persons, of whatever rank or condition, were henceforward forbidden to hold such assemblies in the convent of the Cordeliers, or elsewhere, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects. In regard to those who might at that time be assembled at the Cordeliers, they were ordered instantly, on this proclamation being made, to depart thence to their own homes, under pain of the aforesaid penalties. All husbands were strictly charged to forbid their wives going thither, and to hold similar assemblies in future. When this proclamation was read, many of the auditors, by way of derision, said that it was all nonsense; that the king was ignorant of the business; and that it was very ill-judged to issue so foolish a proclamation.

Monday, the 2nd of June, the first president of the parliament and others, who said they were so charged by the king, declared to friar Anthony Fradin, that he was banished the kingdom of France, ordering him instantly to quit the realm. This he did on the following day; but when he left his convent, great crowds of the populace sighed and cried on account of his departure. They were so much angered thereat that, in their rage, they uttered many marvellous and scandalous things. Numbers of both sexes followed him far beyond Paris, and then returned.

The king remained in Picardy, with the intent of reducing to his obedience such towns and places as the duke of Burgundy was possessed of at the time of his death, and which he had acquired by his rebellious conduct. For this purpose, he had with him the handsomest train of artillery, and finest body of men-at-arms, franc-archers, and other soldiers, that had been seen in France. He was long inactive, in the expectation of receiving some propositions from the Flemings and Maximilian duke of Austria, who, by his marriage with the princess Mary of Burgundy, was their lord. Ambassadors at length came from the duke of Austria to the king, while at Arras and at Cambray, who proposed to restore peaceably to the king the counties of Artois and of Boulogne, with the towns of Lille, Douay, Orchies, St. Omer, and others, together with the entire duchy of Burgundy. In return for these, the king was to give up the possession of Cambray, Quesnoy le Comte, Bouchain, and some other towns. For the more ready communication on the above matters, the duke of Austria marched his army, which was said to consist of twenty thousand combatants, between Douay and Arras, where he encamped. Under pretence of these exchanges, the duke amused the king with fine promises until the end of June, when the king did not gain any one thing that had been promised, although he had liberally restored to Maximilian all the towns on his part, thinking that the duke would as liberally keep the engagements on his side; but he had been completely deceived throughout.

The army which the king had sent to upper Burgundy, to recover the towns in that district, under the command of sir Charles d'Amboise *, governor of Champagne, had been very successful. He reduced to the king's obedience the towns of Verdun, Monsavion, and Semur-en-Auxois, by assault or capitulation. He laid siege to the town of Beaune, which lasted some time; but in the month of July, its inhabitants surrendered on condition that

* Sir Charles d'Amboise,—lord of Chaumont.

they should have their lives and fortunes spared, on payment of a fine of forty thousand crowns for their rebellion. They were also condemned to make restitution to the merchants of Paris and other towns in the kingdom for all wines sold, but not delivered, and for all the sums of money they had borrowed. The garrison were allowed to march, with their baggage, whithersoever they pleased.

In the month of July, a grand embassy came to the king, in Arras, from duke Maximilian of Austria, and the chief towns in Flanders. They were heard by the king in council; and, after mature deliberation, a truce was agreed on, to last for one whole year, during which a free intercourse was to be allowed to the merchants of France and Flanders, with their merchandise. When this was settled, the king departed for Paris; but did not enter the town, as he was told that an epidemical disorder carried off numbers of the inhabitants. He went, therefore, to Vendôme, where he staid some time, and thence went to Behuart, and to other places of pilgrimage *.

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE PRESENTS RICH GIFTS TO SEVERAL CHURCHES. —A COUNCIL HELD AT ORLEANS ON THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION.—AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF CASTILLE.—A TAME LION ESCAPES IN AUVERGNE, AND DOES MUCH MISCHIEF.—THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF ARTOIS BEHEADED AT TOURS.—A NEW BOMBARD ON TRIAL BURSTS, AND KILLS MANY PEOPLE AT PARIS.—A GASCON CAPTAIN, NAMED ORIOLE, AND HIS LIEUTENANT BEHEADED AT TOURS.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THE COURSE OF THIS YEAR MCCCCLXXVIII.

The king, on his return from Picardy, made many rich presents to divers churches and saints. When he was at the abbey of Notre-Dame-de-la-Victoire, near Senlis, he gave two thousand francs to be employed in procuring silver lamps to hang before the altar of the Virgin. He covered the shrine of St. Fiacre with silver, which amounted to the weight of seven or eight-score marcs. From his great and singular faith in St. Martin, he ordered a handsome trellis of silver to be made round his shrine, in his church at Tours, which was done, and weighed from sixteen to seventeen thousand marcs, and cost, when finished and put up, full two hundred thousand francs. It should be known, that to furnish silver sufficient for all these great works, commissioners were appointed to seize on all the plate they could find in Paris and other towns, which was reasonably well paid for; but, notwithstanding this, great quantities were hidden and no longer seen in those places where they were used to be visible; and henceforward, on this account, when any weddings or other feasts took place, where much silver plate was wont to be exhibited, nothing was seen but handsome cups of glass and dishes of earthenware.

About this period, the king held a grand council of prelates, churchmen, and learned men, as well from the universities of Paris and Montpellier as elsewhere, in the town of Orleans, to consult on the best means of recovering the Pragmatic Sanction, and of preventing the money for the vacant benefices being sent out of the kingdom to Rome. At this assembly the lord de Beaujeu presided as representative for the king; and the lord chancellor, with other lords of the council, attended. The lord chancellor, in the presence of the lord de Beaujeu and the rest, opened the meeting, by declaring the cause of this assembly being held at Orleans, and the reasons which had moved the king to call them together. He was replied to by master John Hue, dean of the faculty of theology, in the name of the university of Paris, who made many remonstrances on the subject, and spoke loudly and boldly, because he was supported by the university. Another learned clerk spoke also, as representative of the university of Montpellier. When this assembly had continued some time, the king came to pay his devotions to Our Lady at Clery †, and thence came to Orleans, where he only staid half a day. The assembly now broke up, without

* This year Louis XI. went to Boulogne-sur-mer, to make homage of his kingdom to the Holy Virgin.

† Clery is two or three leagues from Orleans.

having concluded anything,—and it was adjourned to Lyon, to be there holden on the first day of May following.

While the king was in Touraine, he sent sealed letters to his good citizens of Paris, to make known to them, that, having sent ambassadors to the king of Castille and Leon, respecting some differences that had arisen between them, they had reported, on their return, that the king of Castille was perfectly satisfied with what the ambassadors had said from the king, and had promised and sworn to observe a strict alliance with him. For this the king was desirous that public thanksgivings should be offered up to God and to the Blessed Virgin; that a general procession should be made at Paris, with bonfires in all the streets. A procession was, consequently, made from the church of Notre-Dame to that of St. Genevieve, where a sermon was preached by the prior of the Carmelite friars, in which he detailed at length the honourable intentions of the king, and the contents of his letter.

A gentleman in Auvergne having kept a tame lion, he, after some time, escaped, and was the terror of the country; for he devoured men, women, and children, whenever he chanced to meet them. The country people rose against him to kill him, and his master accompanied them. On meeting the lion, he recognised his master, and came up to him, when he was instantly put to death. Another extraordinary event happened also in Auvergne, by a spring bursting forth where no water had been before, which event was preceded by an earthquake.

In the month of November of this year, Simon Courtois, whom the king had made his attorney-general for the county of Artois, taking advantage of the truce, left Arras, under pretence of looking after his concerns in Flanders; instead of which, he went to the princess of Flanders, consort to Maximilian of Austria, and, unmindful of the honour the king had just conferred on him by making him his attorney-general, told the princess that he was her very humble servant, as all his family had been. He added, that if she would accept of his allegiance, and make him her attorney-general, Artois should be restored to her; for he would rather that it was in her hands than in the king's. This was told to the king's governor in Arras, who had Simon Courtois arrested and sent to Tours, where, having confessed the above, he was beheaded.

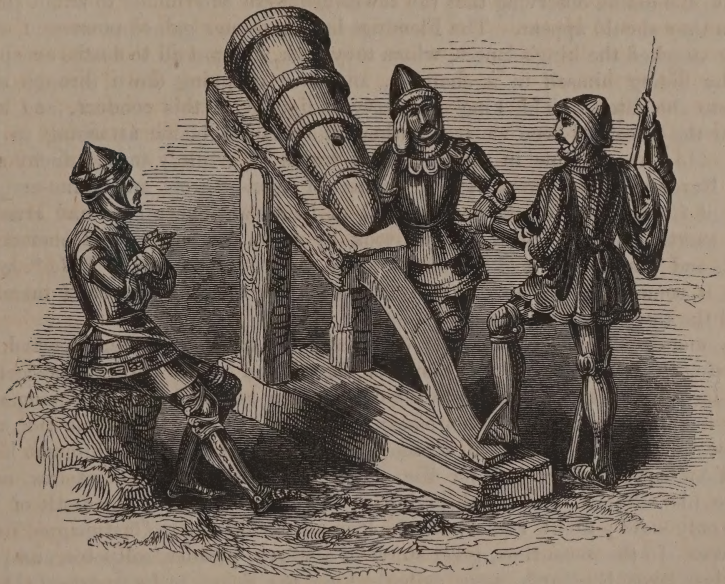
A great bombard, that had been cast at Tours, was brought to Paris the Monday before Epiphany to be proved, and was, for this purpose, drawn out into the fields in front of the Bastile of St. Anthony. It was pointed toward Charenton, and when first fired, threw the ball as far as the gallows on the bridge of Charenton; but as those present did not think it had discharged all the powder that had been put into the chamber, they ordered it to be recharged, and the chamber perfectly cleaned of all that remained within it, which was done, and an iron ball, weighing five hundred weight, put into its mouth, before which stood John Maugué, the founder of it. As the ball rolled down the bombard, by some unknown accident the powder in the chamber took fire before the match was put to it, and by its discharge tore in pieces John Maugué and fourteen other persons, whose heads, legs, arms, and bodies, were blown into the air. The ball killed a poor innocent bird-catcher that was attending his nets in the fields; and the bursting of the bombard maimed fifteen or sixteen others, several of whom died; so that by this accident twenty-two or twenty-three persons lost their lives. The remains of John Maugué were collected, put on a bier, and carried to St. Mery for interment; and proclamation was made through the streets of Paris, that all people should pray for the soul of John Maugué, who had lost his life in the king's service.

The 22nd of May, the body of Laurence Garnier, of the town of Provins *, which, by sentence of the court of parliament, had been hanged on the gibbet a year and a half, for his having murdered a receiver of taxes in the town of Provins (but for which a pardon had been granted, though not confirmed by the court), was taken down, at the request of his brother, by Henry Cousin, the executioner at Paris. The body was put on a bier, covered with a pall, and from the gibbet carried into Paris by the gate of St. Denis; four of the town-criers preceded the body, ringing their bells, and having the arms of Garnier emblazoned

* Provins,—an ancient town in Brie, diocese of Sens.

on their breasts. Round the bier were four wax tapers and eight lighted torches, borne by men in mourning, having on their breasts similar arms to the criers. In this state was the body carried through Paris to the gate of St. Anthony, when it was placed on a mourning-car, to be conveyed for interment at Provins. One of the before-named criers went first, crying aloud, "Good people, say your paternosters for the soul of Laurence Garnier, who, while living, resided at Provins, and whose body has been lately found dead under an oak, that God may have mercy on his soul!"

On the 18th of March, a gentleman of Gascony, named Oriole, was brought prisoner to Tours. He had commanded a company of one hundred lances for the king: but his company having been lately broken, with some others, he was disgusted; and it was reported to the king that he had used threatening language, and that he was plotting with his lieutenant to quit the service and attach himself to the duke of Austria. He was convicted of high treason, and, for this and other offences, was beheaded at Tours in company with his lieutenant. After the execution, master Henry Cousin, who had beheaded them, carried their heads and part of their members to be fastened to the gates of Bethune and Arras. The lord de Mauves, whose company of a hundred lances had been broken, was also confined a prisoner in Paris. He was arrested at the Hôtel-du-Cornet, near to St. Jean-en-Grêve, by Philip l'Huillier, governor of the Bastile, and was afterward carried by him or others to the king at Tours, where he was set at liberty, as innocent of the crimes laid to his charge.



The Great Bombard of Tours. From a French translation of Quintus Curtius in the Royal Library, British Museum.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.—OF THE KING'S PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—THE FLEMINGS ARE ADMITTED INTO CAMBRAY.—SEVERAL TOWNS IN BURGUNDY REDUCED TO THE KING'S OBEDIENCE, WHO OFTEN VISITS CHAMPAGNE IN CONSEQUENCE.—AMBASSADORS ARRIVE FROM SPAIN.—THE DUKE OF ALBANY COMES TO PARIS.—THE DUKE OF AUSTRIA DEFEATED NEAR THEROUENNE, AND THE SON OF THE KING OF POULAINE TAKEN PRISONER.—THE KING'S TROOPS ARE AGAIN SUCCESSFUL, AND GAIN SEVENTEEN TOWNS.—FOUR-SCORE FLEMISH VESSELS ARE CAPTURED BY COULON AND OTHER ADVENTURERS FROM THE COASTS OF NORMANDY, IN THE COURSE OF THE ABOVE YEAR.

[A. D. 1479.]

The king of France, immediately after Easter, made preparations for a renewal of the war, as the truce with Maximilian was nearly expired, and as no ambassadors had arrived from Austria to propose a prolongation of the truce, or to conclude a definitive peace, as had been hinted during the last conference. In the month of May following, although the truce was not expired, the inhabitants of Cambray admitted into their town Flemings, Picards, and other enemies to the king, of the party of the duke of Austria, who drove out the royalist garrisons of the town and castle, notwithstanding the king had given the guard of it to the lord de Fiennes. Soon after, three or four hundred lances, Flemings and Picards, appeared before Bouchain, in which were only sixteen lances as garrison for the king. They instantly retired into the castle, observing that the townsmen were determined to admit their enemies as soon as they should appear. The Flemings had no sooner gained possession of the town than they attacked the king's lances, whom they took, and put all to death, except one, who escaped by hiding himself in a chamber, and then dropping down through one of the privies into the ditch. The king was very indignant at this conduct, and not without reason, for the truce had been violated without the smallest blame attaching to him or his subjects. He lost no time in sending large trains of artillery to the duchy and franche comté of Burgundy, and great reinforcements of men-at-arms and franc-archers to the governor of Champagne, whose appointment of lieutenant-general he had renewed. The governor exerted himself diligently, and took by storm the castle of Rochefort, killing all within it, and plundering it of its effects. He thence proceeded to Dôle *, which, after battering it some time, he also won by storm, when many of the chief merchants were slain, and the town was razed to the ground.

In the month of June, sir Robert d'Estouteville, lord of Beyne, departed this life at Paris, having been provost of the same for forty-three years. He was succeeded in this office by Jacques d'Estouteville, son to the deceased, in recompense, as the king said, for his loyal services at the battle of Montlehery, and in other affairs. While the king was at Montargis, he was much rejoiced at the good news that was there brought him from sir Charles d'Amboise, and set out for the abbey of Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, near Senlis, and made his offerings and thanksgivings. He thence came to the castle of Vincennes, where he only staid a night, and set out for Provins, on his road to Champagne, Langres, and other places. In the mean time, great stores of artillery, powder, saltpetre, and particularly sixteen very large bombards, were embarked on the Seine, to be transported to Châlons, Champagne, and Bar-le-Duc, to attempt the conquest of Luxembourg; but that expedition did not take place.

Saturday, the 3rd of July, a handsome embassy from Spain arrived at Paris, under the care of the bishop of Lombez and the abbot of St. Denis, by orders from the king. The provost of merchants and the sheriffs went out of the town to meet them, accompanied by different ranks of people. Having made their entrance into Paris, they went to St. Denis, where they were grandly feasted by the abbot, having been entertained on their passage through Paris by certain of the king's officers.

In this year, the duke of Albany came to Paris, having been driven out of Scotland by the

* Dôle,—on the river Doux, in Franche Comté.

king his brother, to seek a refuge with the king of France*. Great honours were paid him; and the lord de Gaucourt, as king's lieutenant, with all the professions of Paris, went out to meet him, and accompany him on his entry into Paris, by the gate of St. Anthony, on the road leading to Vincennes. He was lodged in the rue St. Martin, although he had not more than ten or twelve horse in his company: and the king ordered that Monypenny and Concressault, two Scotsmen of rank in the French service, should attend upon him†.

In the month of August, the Flemings, who were quartered in the frontier towns of Flanders, took the field with the intent to combat the king's forces, and advanced toward Therouenne. They battered the town much with their artillery; but it was gallantly defended by the lord de St. André, lieutenant of a hundred lances under the duke of Bourbon, and other lords and captains of the king's army. While this was passing, the different royal garrisons in Picardy collected together for the relief of Therouenne; and, having taken the field, they came in sight of the Flemish army within one league of Therouenne. This army was very numerous, and was said to have consisted of sixty thousand combatants, under the command of the duke of Austria, the count de Romont, and others of that party. A sally was made from Therouenne by the garrison the moment their friends were near, by several companies of lancemen, under the command of the lord des Cordes and other captains; and their attack was so rapid and vigorous that the vanguard of the duke of Austria was defeated, with great slaughter and loss of baggage. While the van of the enemy were pursued, some of the king's franc-archers too busily employed themselves in plundering their baggage; and the count de Romont, who had from fourteen to fifteen thousand infantry under his command, fell on them, and slew the greater part. It was said that the loss on both sides that day amounted to nearly fifteen thousand men, of which from eleven to twelve thousand were Burgundians. The French likewise made nine hundred or a thousand prisoners; and in the number was the son of the king of Poulaine‡, and another youth, said to be the favourite of the duke of Austria, with many others of good family and large fortunes §.

On the king's side, the captain Beauvoisien, and Vaast de Mompedon, bailiff of Rouen, were killed, and about three hundred of the franc-archers. After this defeat, the duke of Austria, the count de Romont, and others of their captains, having rallied their men, marched to a place, called Malaunoy, in which was a Gascon captain, called le Cadet Remonnet, having with him seven or eight score Gascon cross-bows. The Burgundians attacked the place, which was for some time well defended by the Gascons; but at length it was stormed and the greater part of the garrison put to death: the rest saved themselves by leaping into the ditches. With regard to Remonnet, he was made prisoner, and, on assurance of his life, carried to the duke of Austria, who, regardless of the assurance that had been given, had him hanged, three days afterward, in cold blood. The king of France was so enraged at this that he ordered fifty of the principal prisoners that had been taken to be hanged by the provost marshal, by way of revenge. Seven of the chief prisoners were hanged on the spot where Remonnet had been executed,—ten before Douay, ten before St. Omer, ten before Arras, and ten before Lille. The provost was escorted, to perform these executions, by eight hundred lances and six thousand franc-archers, who afterwards advanced into the country of

* It is singular that the three contemporary monarchs, Edward IV. of England, James III. of Scotland, and Louis XI. of France, should have been charged with the murder of their brothers. The duke of Guienne is believed by the best historians to have died a natural death; and the earl of Mar (youngest brother of James III.) met his fate, according to the account adopted by Drummond of Hawthornden, in a manner merely accidental. The execution of George duke of Clarence, though it may well be said that the king ought to have pardoned his brother, yet, as it was the consequence of actual treason fully proved in the regular course of law, certainly does not merit the appellation of a murder.

† For further particulars relative to the duke of Albany, I refer to Pinkerton's History of Scotland. In a note to the Chronique Scandaleuse by the abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy, he says,—"Alexander Stuart, brother to James III. king of Scotland, died at Paris, 1483, and was buried in the convent of the Celestins." But by Pinkerton he was alive in 1484, and was accidentally killed, when a spectator at a tournament between the duke of Orleans and another knight, by a splinter from a lance. His son John was duke of Albany, and regent of Scotland during the minority of James V.

‡ Who this imaginary personage may be intended for, I cannot tell. If for Maximilian, it is entirely a mistake. He was not made prisoner. Nor was there any other prince or son of a king present at the engagement.

§ This battle of Guinegate decided nothing; for, though Maximilian was beaten, he remained master of the field; and Comines says, that had he attempted Therouenne or Arras, he would have found both towns empty.

Guines and Flanders, where they took seventeen towns or strong-holds, burning and destroying the country, and carrying off cattle, sheep, horses, and everything portable, to their different garrisons.

At this time, Coulon and other adventurers at sea from the coasts of Normandy captured four-score Flemish vessels, which were on their voyage to fetch rye from Prussia, to victual their country, and the produce of the herring-fishery for that year. It was the greatest loss that had befallen the Flemings at sea for upwards of a hundred years, and they suffered much from it.

CHAPTER CLXXX.—AN EMBASSY ARRIVES FROM THE KING OF ENGLAND TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE KING ISSUES A COMMISSION AGAINST THE DUKE OF BOURBON.—THE CARDINAL OF ST. PIETRO AD VINCULA COMES TO FRANCE AS LEGATE.—THE KING SETS THE CARDINAL BALUE AT LIBERTY. — A BODY OF SWISS TROOPS SUBSIDISED INSTEAD OF THE FRANC-ARCHERS.—A VERY SEVERE WINTER.—TRUCES ARE ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE FLEMINGS AND THE ENGLISH.

[A. D. 1480.]

At the commencement of this year, the lord Howard, a prothonotary, and other ambassadors from England, crossed the Channel to wait on the king of France respecting the maintaining of the truce. They were handsomely received, and magnificently feasted by the king, who, on their return, made them rich presents in money and in silver plate.

In this year, the king issued a commission to master John Avais, counsellor in his court of parliament, and to John Doyac, of the town of Cusset*, in Auvergne, to examine into different charges that had been made against the duke of Bourbon, his towns, officers, and subjects. These two men accepted their commission with pleasure, in the hope of destroying the duke of Bourbon, against all truth and justice, but in order to gain the good graces of the king, and to force the duke into banishment. In obedience to the commission, they summoned all the principal officers of the duke, such as his chancellor, his attorney-general, the captain of his guard, and others, to appear personally before the court of parliament on an appointed day, when they were severally interrogated by commissaries, and detained long in Paris. Master Francis Hasle, the king's advocate, pleaded against them, and wanted stronger measures to be pursued,—but they were all set at liberty by the court, and returned to their homes. Master John Hebert, bishop of Constance, was next summoned to appear before the parliament, to answer to certain crimes of which he was accused. On his appearance, he was examined, and, by orders of the court, was committed as a prisoner to the prisons of the Conciergerie,—and all his temporal effects were confiscated to the king's use.

In the month of August, a truce was concluded with the duke of Austria for seven months: during three of them a free intercourse was to be allowed for merchants and merchandise to pass and repass from each country,—three others were to be void of all warfare,—and the seventh for consideration as to war or peace.

Monday the 4th of September, the cardinal of St. Pietro ad Vincula†, legate from the pope, arrived at Paris, and was most honourably received there by all ranks of people, who went out to meet him by the gate of St. Jacques. All the streets through which he passed to the church of Notre-Dame, where he made his devotions, were hung with tapestry. When these were finished, he proceeded to the lodgings that had been prepared for him at the college of St. Denis near the Augustins, accompanied by the cardinal of Bourbon. On the Tuesday master Olivier le Diable, called le Daim, the king's barber, feasted the legate, the cardinal of Bourbon, and many other prelates and nobles, as grandly as possible. When dinner was over, he carried them to the park of Vincennes, to amuse themselves in hunting deer; after which they returned to their different homes.

On Thursday and Friday, the vigil and feast of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, the legate attended vespers in the church of Notre-Dame; and great crowds were there to see

* Cusset,—a town in the Bourbonnois, near St. Gerand.

† Julian de la Rovere, afterwards Pope Julius II.

the ceremonies observed on the occasion, which were solemn and magnificent. On Sunday the legate dined and supped with the cardinal of Bourbon at his hotel. There were present at these entertainments many archbishops, bishops, and nobles of high rank; such as the archbishops of Besançon and Sens, the bishops of Chartres, Nevers, Therouenne, Amiens, Aleth*, and others; the lord de Curton, Moireau, master of the household to the king, and many more. Monday the 14th, the legate went to St. Denis, where he was feasted by the abbot, and thence into Picardy and Flanders, to attempt bringing about a peace between the king and the duke of Austria. He staid some time at Peronne, thinking he should have an easy access into Flanders, whither the king sent master Francis Hasle, the provost of Paris, and others, who returned without having done anything. The legate came back to Paris on the 21st of December, and went to the hôtel of Bourbon, where he was entertained by the cardinal at supper, and lay there that night. On the morrow he left the hôtel of Bourbon by the Golden-gate, and crossed the river to the hôtel of Nesle, where he mounted his horse, which was waiting for him, and proceeded, with his attendants, to Orleans, and there remained until the king had set at liberty the cardinal Balue, who came to the legate at Orleans.

The king had remained almost the whole of the winter in Touraine. About the Epiphany he went to Poitiers, and other places, and returned to Tours, and to Forges†, the end of January. It was about this time that the king reduced the whole body of franc-archers in France, and substituted, in their place, the Swiss with their pikes; and he caused a prodigious quantity of pikes, halberds, and large daggers, to be made, by all the cutlers in his kingdom.

The winter, this year, began late: there was no frost until St. Stephen's day, and it lasted only until the 8th of February. But, if it began late, it was most severe; for the oldest persons did not remember the frost so sharp: the rivers Seine, Yonne, Marne, and all that fall into the Seine, were so hard frozen that all kinds of carriages passed over as on dry land. Great mischiefs were done to several bridges by the thaw: some were quite ruined, and carried away on the before-named rivers,—and large pieces of ice drove many boats against the bridges of Notre-Dame and Saint Michel at Paris. They, however, for some hours, formed a rampart, and perhaps saved these bridges; but the danger was thought so great that all who lived upon them carried away everything of value out of their houses. The ice broke seven of the large piles at the Temple-mill. During this hard weather, no floats of wood came down the river,—which raised the price excessively, insomuch that the billet cost seven or eight sols parisis. To relieve the poorer sorts, the country people of the neighbouring villages daily brought green wood in carts or on horses' backs to Paris. The wood would have been dearer if the astrologers had told truth, for they predicted that this frost would last until the 8th of March: the thaw, however, began three weeks sooner than they had foretold,—but the weather continued extremely cold until May was far advanced, which destroyed all the buds of the early vines, and the fruit-blossoms were cut off.

In the course of the winter, and even during the month of April, when the truce with the Flemings expired, no hostilities took place; for the duke of Austria had sent an embassy to the king, at Tours, and a prolongation of the truce was agreed on for one year, in the expectation that in the interval means might be found for a general peace. Another embassy came likewise from England respecting the truce; and the king took the trouble of going as far as Château Regnault §, to meet the ambassadors and hear their business. This being settled, they returned to king Edward,—and on their departure, it was publicly said, that the truce between France and England had been renewed for a very long time.

In the month of March, the king was suddenly taken ill while at Plessis-le-Parc, near Tours, and was for some time in very great danger; but, by the grace of God, his health was restored, and he was soon perfectly recovered.

* Aleth,—a small city in upper Languedoc.

† Forges.—There are several towns of this name, one in Aunis, near la Rochelle, which I should suppose to be the one in the text; another in Normandy, famous for its mineral waters.

‡ Château Regnault,—a town in Touraine, near Tours.

CHAPTER CLXXXI.—THE KING OF FRANCE FORMS A CAMP BETWEEN PONT DE L'ARCHE AND PONT DE ST. PIERRE.—ARMOUR WHICH THE DUKE OF BRITTANY HAD ORDERED FROM MILAN IS INTERCEPTED.—THE KING TAKEN ILL AT TOURS.—DURING CERTAIN PILGRIMAGES HE MAKES, HE VISITS THE DAUPHIN AT AMBOISE, AND GOES THENCE TO ST. CLAUDE.—A GREAT FAMINE THIS YEAR.

[A. D. 1481.]

Early in this year the king ordered an enclosed camp, which he had caused to be made of wood, to be erected on a large plain near Pont de l'Arche, to be ready when he should take the field against his enemies, and went thither to see it. Within were posted a numerous body of men armed with pikes and halberds, according to his new regulations. The command of these troops was given to sir Philip de Crevecœur, lord des Cordes, and to master William Picard, bailiff of Rouen. The king ordered the men to remain in this camp the space of a month, to see how it would answer, and what sorts of provision would be the most suitable to them. This camp was ordered to be ready on the 15th of June; and the king, on his way thither, celebrated the feast of Whitsuntide at the church of Our Lady in Chartres. Thence he came to Pont de l'Arche, and to this large inclosure, which was formed between Pont de l'Arche and Pont de Saint Pierre. One side of the inclosure had a ditch on the outside,—and within were pitched tents and pavilions, with the artillery and all requisite stores. The king judged from its proportions what quantity of provision would be necessary were the space completely filled with all he intended to send. When he had visited and fully examined it, he departed, very well satisfied, for Chartres, Selome, Vendôme, and Tours, having ordered the troops that had been encamped to march back to their former quarters.

The duke of Brittany had sent, in the course of this year, to purchase armour at Milan; such as cuirasses, salades, &c. which were packed up with cotton to prevent their rattling, and like bales of silks. These packages were put on mules, and arrived in safety until they came to the mountains of Auvergne, when the officers of John Doyac* seized them and sent instant information thereof to the king, who, by way of recompense, gave the armour to John Doyac and his servants.

The vines almost universally failed this year throughout France,—and the wines of the preceding year, though of little worth, were sold in consequence at an extravagant price: what at the beginning of the year was sold for four deniers the bottle at taverns, now rose to twelve. Some merchants of Paris, who had preserved their wines at Champigny-sur-Marne and other places, sold it by retail very dear, viz. at not less than two sols parisis the bottle, which was at the rate of thirty-six livres the hogshead. The scarcity was so great that the wine-merchants were obliged to fetch wine from the farther parts of Spain, which was brought to Paris.

The garrisons on the frontiers of Picardy and Flanders, regardless of the truce, made constant inroads on each other, carrying on a deadly warfare; for whatever prisoners were made, they were unmercifully hanged by both parties, without ever accepting of ransoms.

The king, when recovering from his late illness, set out from Tours for Thouars, where he had a relapse, and was in great danger of dying. To obtain better health, he sent great offerings, and large sums of money, to divers churches, and made many religious foundations. Among others, he founded in the Holy Chapel at Paris a perpetual mass, to be daily chaunted at seven o'clock in the morning, in honour of St. John, by eight choristers from Provence, who had belonged to the chapel of the late Réné king of Sicily, and on his decease had been taken into the service of the king of France. He established one thousand livres parisis as the fund for this mass, to be received annually from the receipt of taxes on all sea-fish sold in the markets at Paris. The king had also vowed to make a pilgrimage to St. Claude†, which he undertook, but went first to make his offerings to our Lady of Clery, and thence

* John Doyac was governor of the province of Auvergne.

† St. Claude, in Franche Comté, six leagues from Geneva.

departed for St. Claude. For the security of his person, he was escorted by eight hundred lances, and a large force of infantry, amounting in all to six thousand combatants. Before he set out from Touraine, he went to Amboise to see his son the dauphin, whom he had but little noticed, gave him his blessing, and put him under the care of the lord de Beaujeu, whom he made lieutenant-general of the kingdom during his absence. The king declared to the dauphin that he must obey the lord de Beaujeu in whatever he should order him, the same as if he himself were present and gave the orders.

Corn was exceedingly dear this year throughout France, more especially in the Lyonnois, Bourbonnois, and in Auvergne, insomuch that great numbers of people died of famine; and had it not been for the profuse alms and succours from such as had corn, the mortality would have been more than doubled. Crowds of poor people left the above-named provinces, and came to Paris and other great towns. They were lodged in the barn and convent of St. Catherine-du-Val-des-écoliers, whither the good citizens of both sexes came from Paris to relieve and nurse them. They were at length carried to the great hospital, where the most part of them died; for when they attempted to eat they could not, having fasted so long that their stomachs were ruined.

CHAPTER CLXXXII.—THE DEATHS OF THE LADY JANE OF FRANCE, DUCHESS OF BOURBON, AND OF THE COUNTESS OF FLANDERS, AND ALSO OF SEVERAL PERSONS AT PARIS.—EVENTS THAT HAPPENED THERE.—THE KING RETURNS FROM HIS PILGRIMAGE TO ST. CLAUDE TO NOTRE-DAME OF CLERY, AND TO OTHER PLACES.—AMBASSADORS ARRIVE FROM FLANDERS.—OF THE CAPTURE OF THE TOWN OF AIRE.—OF THE ASSASSINATION OF THE LORD LOUIS OF BOURBON, BISHOP OF LIEGE.—OTHER EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THE COURSE OF THE ABOVE YEAR.

[A. D. 1482.]

On Thursday the 4th of May, between four and five in the afternoon, that noble example of good morals and virtue, the lady Jane of France, wife to John duke of the Bourbonnois and Auvergne, departed this life, in her castle of Moulins in the Bourbonnois, in consequence of a fever, which the art of medicine could not subdue. She was buried in the church of our Lady at that town, and was greatly lamented by her lord, her servants, and indeed by all in France who were any way acquainted with her virtues, and the many excellent qualities she was endowed with. Some little time prior to this event died the countess of Flanders and of Artois, sole child to the late Charles duke of Burgundy, wife to the duke of Austria, and niece to the duke of Bourbon*. She left issue two children, a son and a daughter, who remained at Ghent under the guardianship of the Flemings.

In this same year of 1482, many noble persons of both sexes died of fevers, and other incurable disorders. In the number were, the archbishops of Narbonne and Bourges, the bishop of Lisieux, master John le Boulenger, first president of the parliament, sir Charles de Gaucourt, lieutenant for the king in the town of Paris, who was much regretted,—for he was a handsome frank knight, a prudent man, and very learned. Several counsellors and advocates of the parliament died also: among others, master Nicolle Bataille, who was said to be the greatest lawyer in all France, a good and pleasant companion, and was, not without reason, much lamented. It was said that he died of indignation and grief at the conduct of

* Her death was occasioned by a fall from her horse while hunting. Maximilian was really much attached to her. But if he had not been so, his sorrow for her loss could scarcely have been the less sincere, as the death of their natural sovereign left him with very little personal claim on the affections of the states of Flanders and other parts of her remaining dominions. Her only son was Philip of Austria duke of Burgundy, who, by his marriage with Joanna the heiress of Castille and Arragon, transmitted the kingdom of Spain to his posterity. Her daughter Margaret was first affianced to the dauphin, but afterwards most imprudently rejected by him for Ann of Bretagne. She was then affianced to John prince of Spain; but he died before the solemnization of the nuptials. At last she found a husband in Philibert the fair, duke of Savoy, but had no children by him; and after his death (which happened within three years from the time of their union) she retired to the court of the emperor her father, and became, towards the end of her life, justly celebrated as the governess of the Low Countries. She died in 1532.

his wife, the daughter of the late master Nicolle Erlaut, who had been treasurer of Dauphiny. Notwithstanding that she had enjoyed all possible pleasure with her husband, had brought him twelve children, and he was not more than forty-four years of age when he died, yet she conducted herself most wantonly, and like a common strumpet, with several rakish fellows, during her marriage. In the number, she was particularly attached to a young lad called Regnault la Pie, son to a woman who sold sea-fish in the Paris market. He had been formerly in great confidence with the king, as his valet-de-chambre, but had been dismissed for some faults and irregularities, of which Olivier le Diable, called Le Daim, his companion, and barber to the king, had accused him. This woman became passionately fond of him, and for his support sold or pawned her jewels, and the plate of her husband, and even robbed her husband of money to give to her lover. Of all this the husband was informed: and anger and grief thereat caused his death, which was a great loss. May his soul rest in repose in the kingdom of Heaven!

The king returned from St. Claude to the abbey of Our Lady at Clery very ill. He performed nine days' devotion there; and by the grace of the blessed Virgin, in whom he had singular faith, he went away greatly recovered and eased of his complaints. During his stay at Clery, there was great mortality in his household: among others died a doctor of divinity, whom he had lately appointed his counsellor and almoner; he was the son of a butcher, a native of Tours, and his name was doctor Martin Magistri. The king, on leaving Clery, went to Mehun-sur-Loire, and to St. Laurens des Eaux, and remained thereabouts until the middle of August, when he returned to Clery to celebrate the feast of the Virgin. While at Clery, a handsome embassy came to him from Flanders, who explained to his ministers that the cause of their coming was to endeavour to obtain a conference to be holden,—for that the sole wish of the country of Flanders was to have a lasting peace with the king. These ambassadors were well received by him; and he gave such answers as satisfied them. On their return to Flanders, they were, by the king's orders, conducted by the lord de St. Pierre to Paris, and well feasted by the provost of marchands and sheriffs; thence they set out for Ghent, and the other towns in Flanders whence they had come.

After the return of the Flemish ambassadors, the king ordered the troops that were in garrison in Picardy to take the field under the command of the lord des Cordes. This army made a fine appearance, consisting of fourteen hundred well-furnished lances, six thousand Swiss, and eight thousand pikes. They marched triumphantly, but without noise, to lay siege to the town of Aire, which is a considerable place between St. Omer and Therouenne, and was garrisoned by a party from the duke of Austria. The French soon opened their batteries and frightened the inhabitants; but some of the captains of the garrison, having a good understanding with the lord des Cordes, concluded a capitulation for the surrender of the place to him. It was managed by a knight called the lord des Contrans*, who was of Picardy, and governor of the town for the duke of Austria. On his surrendering the place, he took the oaths of allegiance to serve the king faithfully; and the king, as a recompense, gave him the command of a hundred lances. He also received thirty thousand golden crowns in ready money.

In the months of August and September of this year, sir William de la Mark †, surnamed the Wild Boar of the Ardennes, conspired to levy a bloody war against that noble prince, and reverend father in God, the lord Louis de Bourbon, bishop of Liege, by whom he had been brought up and educated. His object was to assassinate the bishop, that his brother might succeed him in the bishopric. To assist him in his abominable enterprise, the king of France supplied him with men; and he collected in and about Paris a body of three thousand good-for-nothing fellows, whom he clothed in scarlet jackets, having on their left sleeve the figure of a boar's head. They were lightly armed; and in this state he led them into the country of Liege, where, on his arrival, having intelligence with some traitors in the city, he urged them to excite the bishop to march out of the town, that he might accomplish his ends on him. Under pretence, therefore, of attachment to his person, they advised him

* Lord des Contrans. It is Cohem in Comines.

† Third son of John the First, count of Aremberg, and brother of Robert de la Marck, first duke of Bouillon. He married Jane of Arschot, baroness of Schonhouen, by whom he had John, baron of Lumain, who died 1526.

strongly to march against the enemy at the gates, and assured him that they would all follow him in arms, and support and defend him to the last drop of their blood, and there was not the smallest doubt but the Wild Boar would be defeated with disgrace. The bishop complied with their advice, sallied out of Liege, and advanced to where La Mark was posted. La Mark, observing this, quitted his ambush and marched straight to the bishop; and the traitors of Liege, now finding their bishop in the hands of his enemy, fled back to their town without striking a blow. The bishop was greatly dismayed at this,—for he had now no one with him but his servants and vassals; while La Mark came up to him, and without saying a word, gave him a severe cut across the face, and then killed him with his own hand. This done, La Mark had the body stripped and placed naked in front of the cathedral church of St. Lambert in Liege, where he was shown dead to all the inhabitants who wished to see him. Almost immediately after his death, the duke of Austria, the prince of Orange, and the count de Romont, arrived with troops to succour him; but on hearing of his unfortunate fate they marched away without doing anything*.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.—THE KING'S ILLNESS CONTINUING, HE COMES FROM TOURS TO AMBOISE, TO RECOMMEND TO HIS SON OLIVIER LE DAIM.—OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE DAUPHIN WITH THE COUNTESS MARGARET OF FLANDERS.—A PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE KINGS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, WHICH INCLUDES THE GOOD DUKE OF ALBANY.—THE KING RECOMMENDS HIS HEALTH TO THE DEVOTIONS OF THE MONKS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. DENIS.

The king was again so dangerously ill, at Plessis le Parc, that he was much afraid of dying, and, for this reason, was carried to Amboise to see his son. He made many wise remonstrances to him on the state of his kingdom; and, as he thought his was an incurable disorder, he exhorted him, after his decease, to have some of his most faithful servants, whom he would name, in his good remembrance. He mentioned first, master Olivier le Diable, called le Daim, his barber, and John de Doyac, governor of Auvergne, as having served him loyally; and that Olivier had done him most essential services, which he could never have accomplished himself without his aid; that Olivier was a foreigner; and he advised him to make use of him, and keep him in those offices which he had given him. The king recommended also the lord du Bocage, and sir Guyot Pot, bailiff of the Vermandois, charging the dauphin to follow their counsels, which he had always found good and prudent. He desired of his son that he would not dismiss any from their offices, and that he would pay every attention to his poor people, whom he had reduced to great distress and poverty. He remonstrated with him on many other subjects, which were afterward made public in the court of parliament, and in the principal towns of the realm †. The king advised the dauphin to give the command of his troops to the lord des Cordes, whom he had always found able and trusty, of excellent conduct, and a notable knight. Having held this discourse, the king then returned to Plessis, near Tours.

At this time, the king sent for a number of musicians, who played on low-toned instruments, whom he lodged at St. Come, near to Tours. They were about six-score in number, and, with some shepherds from Poitou, that played on their pipes, assembled before the king's apartments, but never saw him, and there played for his amusement, and to prevent him from falling asleep. On the other hand, he collected a great many devout people of

* Louis XI. is exculpated by Du Clos, in the account which he gives of this transaction, from any concern in the bishop's murder other than that of having furnished "the Wild-Boar" with the means of raising a force for the purpose of securing a passage through the territories of Liege for the French armies in any future attempts to subdue the country of Brabant. When the bishop was so treacherously abandoned by his followers, "the Wild-Boar" advanced directly to him and thus addressed him: "Louis of Bourbon, I have sought thy friendship, and thou hast refused it to me." Saying this, he clove his head with a battle-axe, and ordered his body to be thrown into the Meuse. The crime did not pass unpunished, the murderer being executed at Utrecht two years afterwards by order of Maximilian.

† See the 366th number of Proofs to the memoirs of Comines, for a copy of the instructions of Louis XI. to the dauphin.

both sexes, such as hermits, and others of holy lives, to pray incessantly to God that his days might be prolonged *.

In the months of October and November, an embassy arrived from Flanders; and the king referred them to master John de la Vacquerie, a native of Picardy, and who had lately been appointed first president of the court of parliament, the lord des Cordes, and others. They held frequent conferences, and at length agreed to a treaty of peace between the king and the Flemings; and by one of the articles, the dauphin was to marry the daughter of the duke of Austria, then under the guardianship of the town of Ghent. The king was much rejoiced at this, and was very willing to sign the treaty. Te Deums were chaunted throughout the realm, for joy of this event, and bonfires made in all the streets of Tours †. It was now reported, that the Flemish ambassadors were gone to Ghent, to bring back to Paris their countess; and that the king had ordered the lady of Beaujeu, his eldest daughter, the countess of Dunois ‡, sister to the queen, the lady of Thouars, the lady of the lord admiral, and other ladies and damsels, to be ready to receive her, as it was expected she would arrive at Paris about the 8th of December: but her arrival was postponed until some trifling matters of dispute, that had arisen on the part of the Flemings, should be settled.

In this year, a war broke out between the kings of England and Scotland; and the Scots advanced very far into England, where they did much mischief: but notwithstanding the Scots were one hundred thousand men more than the English, a treaty was entered into by means of the duke of Albany, brother to the king of Scotland. The duke of Albany had laid claim to the crown of Scotland, which he said his brother had usurped from him; for that they were twin-children, and he had been the first that was delivered on earth, and therefore, by right of seniority, the crown was his. The duke of Albany had concluded a treaty with the English, which had prevented any battle being fought: and the Scots army returned to their country, and the English to their garrisons §.

In the month of January, the Flemish ambassadors, who had concluded a peace by means of the marriage of the dauphin with the lady Margaret of Austria, returned to France. By orders from the king, the principal persons of Paris went out to meet them, having at their head the bishop of Marseilles, the king's lieutenant in Paris, the provost of marchands, and the sheriffs. A doctor in divinity, named Scourable, made the ambassadors a fine harangue, which pleased them greatly. On the morrow, which was Sunday, the 4th of January, they attended high mass at the church of Notre-Dame, whither a general procession was made; and the doctor, Scourable, preached an excellent sermon, which gave much satisfaction. Te Deum was sung, and bonfires were made, and public tables were spread in the principal streets. When the church-service was over, the ambassadors were grandly entertained by the city of Paris in the town-hall.

The lord cardinal of Bourbon was as much, if not more, rejoiced than any one, on peace being restored: and in honour of it had a splendid morality, or farce, exhibited at his hôtel of Bourbon, which numbers of the Parisians went to see, and were much delighted with their entertainment. It would have been more brilliant, but the weather was very rainy and wet, which damaged the tapestry and other decorations that adorned the court of the hôtel, for it was covered and hung with tapestry, of which the cardinal had very great abundance. The ambassadors, having been spectators of this entertainment, departed from Paris, on the ensuing day, to wait on the king at Amboise. They had a most gracious reception, and saw the dauphin twice, who treated them very kindly. On their quitting Tours, whither they had afterward gone, the king ordered thirty thousand crowns, stamped with the sun, to be given them to defray their expenses, besides a handsome service of plate which he presented to them. On the return of the ambassadors to Paris, they had all the articles of the peace

* Among others he sent for Francis of Paule, afterwards St. Francis, and the founder of the order of Minimes in France.

† For particulars relative to the treaty of Arras, see number 369 of Proofs to Comines.

‡ Agnes, daughter to Louis duke of Savoy, wife to Francis I. count of Dunois.

§ Mr. Pinkerton attributes to Richard duke of Gloucester the rebellion of the duke of Albany, and his assumption of the title of Alexander King of Scotland. Albany joins Gloucester on his march against Berwick; but the Scottish king is forced to return on account of a revolt of his nobles, who destroy his favourites.

See Pinkerton's History of Scotland,—for the account in the text is very erroneous.

publicly read, with open doors, in the court of parliament, and then enregistered. After this act, master William Picard, bailiff of Rouen, conducted them from the court of parliament to his house, in the Rue de Quinquempoix, where he entertained them, and a large company, with a most plentiful dinner. The king wrote letters, addressed to all ranks in Paris, by which he earnestly besought them instantly to go to the church of St. Denis, and pray to him to make intercession with our Lord Jesus Christ that the north wind might not blow; because, according to the opinions of physicians, the north wind did much harm to the health of mankind, and to the fruits of the earth. By the king's orders, numerous processions were made at divers times from Paris to St. Denis, where public prayers were offered up for his recovery, and many masses chaunted.

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.—THE LORD AND LADY DE BEAUJEU, AND OTHERS, COME TO PARIS, TO RECEIVE THE DAUPHINESS.—THE DEATH OF KING EDWARD OF ENGLAND.—THE DEATH OF THE LADY MARGARET OF BOURBON, COUNTESS OF BRESSE.—THE ENTRY OF THE DAUPHINESS INTO PARIS, AND HER RECEPTION THERE.—THE STEEPLE OF THE CHURCH OF SAINTE GENEVIEVE BURNED.—THE MARRIAGE OF THE DAUPHIN AND DAUPHINESS.

[A. D. 1483.]

On Saturday, the 19th day of April, after Easter, the lord and lady de Beaujeu arrived at Paris, on their way to Picardy, to receive the dauphiness from the hands of the Flemings, who, by the late treaty of peace, were to deliver her into the hands of the lord de Beaujeu, as representative of the king. The lady of Beaujeu made her entry into Paris, as the king's daughter, and created some new corporations of trades. She and her lord were handsomely accompanied by great barons and their consorts; such as the lord d'Albret *, the lord de St. Valier, and others, the lady of the lord high admiral, and many more ladies and damsels, who staid three days in Paris, during which they were magnificently entertained by the cardinal of Bourbon.

In this month of April, Edward, king of England, died,—as some said, of an apoplexy, and others, that he was poisoned by drinking too much of the good wine of Challuau, which he had received as a present from the king of France. It was said, however, that he was not carried off immediately, but lived long enough to secure the crown to his eldest son. In this same month died also the lady Margaret of Bourbon, countess of Bresse, wife to Philip of Savoy, of a lingering illness, which her physicians could not check: it was a pity, for she was a good lady, full of virtue, and much beloved.

On the 3d of May, by orders from the king, all ranks in Paris, from the highest to the lowest, went in solemn procession to St. Denis, to pray for the prosperity of the king, the queen, the dauphin, and all the princes of the blood, and also to return thanks for the flourishing appearance of the fruits of the earth.

Monday, the 2d of June, the dauphiness made her public entry into Paris about five o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by the lady of Beaujeu, and many others. She entered by the gate of St. Denis, where three stages were erected: on the uppermost was a representation of the king as sovereign; on the second were two beautiful children, dressed in white damask, to represent the dauphin and the lady Margaret of Flanders; on the lower one were representations of the lord and lady of Beaujeu. On each side of the different personages were hung escutcheons of their arms emblazoned. There were likewise four figures, to represent the peasantry, the clergy, the tradesmen, and the nobility; each of whom addressed a couplet to her as she passed. All the streets were hung with tapestry, and there were other pageants allegorical to the dauphin and dauphiness. In honour of her arrival, all the prisoners in the different jails were set at liberty, and several new corporations of trades were made.

On the 7th of June was a great thunder-storm at Paris between eight and nine at night. A flash of lightning set fire to the steeple of the church of St. Genevieve, burned all the wood-work, which had lasted nine hundred years, and melted all the covering of lead, and

* Alan, lord of Albret, father of John, who was afterwards king of Navarre.

the bells within the steeple. It was supposed that one hundred weight of lead on the steeple was destroyed, so that it was pitiful to see the damages done.

During the month of July, the marriage-feast of the dauphin and the lady Margaret of Flanders was celebrated in the town of Amboise; at which were present the most noble persons of the kingdom, who had come thither by the king's orders, from the cities and principal towns of his realm.

CHAPTER CLXXXV.—THE HOLY AMPULLA IS BROUGHT FROM THE CHURCH OF SAINT REMY AT RHEIMS TO THE KING OF FRANCE, WHEN DANGEROUSLY ILL, AT PLESSIS LE PARC.—THE DEVOUT DEATH OF LOUIS XI.—HE IS BURIED IN THE CHURCH OF OUR LADY AT CLERY.—MAY GOD PARDON HIS SOUL!

In the course of this year, the king determined to have the holy ampulla brought to him from Rheims: which had descended filled with oil, by the Divine grace, by means of a white dove, in the year 500, to good St. Remy of Rheims, to anoint and consecrate king Clovis of France, the first Christian king, who died in the same year, and his body is interred in the church of St. Genevieve at Paris.

The Holy Ampulla brought to Louis XI. at Rheims. An Archbishop is represented in the act of removing the sacred vessel from the jewelled case in which it was preserved. The relic drawn from a plate in Montfaucon, and the costume from contemporary authorities.

This sacred ampulla had remained in the church of St. Remy for 983 years, when it was taken thence by Claude de Montfaulcon, governor of Auvergne, whom the king had especially

commissioned for the purpose. It was brought to Paris on the last day of July, and was carried with much reverence, and in procession, to repose in the holy chapel of the palace, where it remained until the morrow, and was then conveyed to the king at Plessis le Parc. It was accompanied by the rods of Moses and Aaron, and the cross of victory, which had been sent to the good king St. Charlemagne, that he might obtain a conquest over the infidels. They had remained undisturbed in the holy chapel, with other relics, until they were removed, on this first day of August, by the bishop of Sees, and others appointed by the king to bring them to him at Plessis.

The 25th of August the king's illness so much increased that he lost his speech and senses. News was brought to Paris on the 27th that he was dead, by letters from master John Briçonnet, which obtained belief, from the writer being a man of honesty and credit. In consequence of this intelligence, the provosts and sheriffs, to provide against accidents, ordered a strong guard at each of the gates, to prevent any persons from entering into or going out of the town. This caused it to be currently rumoured that the king was dead; but the report was unfounded, for he recovered his speech and senses, ate and drank, and lingered on until the 30th of August, when, between six and seven in the evening, he gave up the ghost; and his corpse was instantly abandoned by those who had been so obsequious to him during his life. His body was dressed as usual in such cases, and carried from Plessis to tne church of Our Lady at Clery for interment, as he had thus ordered it before his decease; for he would not be buried with the noble kings of France, his predecessors, in the habitual church of St. Denis; but would never give any reason that induced him to refuse being there interred. It was, however, generally thought that it was owing to his attachment to the church of Our Lady at Clery, to which he had been a very great benefactor.

During his reign there were some low persons always about him, such as Olivier le Diable, called le Daim, John de Doyac, and others, who had committed very many acts of injustice, in whom he had greater confidence than in all his ministers or kindred. They had so overloaded the people with taxes that, at the time of his death, they were almost in despair; for the wealth he gained from his subjects he expended upon churches, in bestowing great pensions among ambassadors, and people of low degree, to whom he could not resist making great gifts, insomuch that he had alienated the greater part of the domain of the crown. Notwithstanding the many serious affairs he had had upon his hands during his reign, he brought all his enemies under subjection; and he was so feared and redoubted that there were none so great in France, not even those of his blood, who slept in safety in their houses.

Before his decease he was sorely afflicted with different disorders, for the cure of which his physicians prescribed many extraordinary remedies. May these afflictions be the means of preserving his soul, and gain him admittance into paradise, through the mercy of Him who reigns for ever and ever! Amen*.

CHAPTER CLXXXVI.—THE GREAT CHRONICLES OF THE MOST CHRISTIAN, MAGNANIMOUS, AND VICTORIOUS KING OF FRANCE, CHARLES VIII., COLLECTED AND PUT TOGETHER BY ME, PIERRE DESREY, SIMPLE ORATOR OF TROYES IN CHAMPAGNE.

PROLOGUE.

I cannot sufficiently wonder when I consider the extraordinary mutability of fortune in this transitory life, nor hinder the tears from filling my eyes. I had determined to write a chronicle of the life of that most illustrious king, prince Charles VIII. of France, in the

* The only surviving children of Louis XI. were Charles VIII, Anne, the wife of Peter de Bourbon lord of Beaujeu, and Jane the wife of Louis, duke of Orleans, afterwards Louis XII.

expectation that it might have been of great length; but although he was a magnanimous prince, full of prowess and victorious, the fickleness of Dame Fortune, having allowed him several praiseworthy and triumphant conquests, resigned him into the hands of Atropos in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and in the prime of manhood.

As a commencement to this chronicle, I must say that king Louis XI. departed this life in the month of August, in the year 1483, and that his only son, king Charles VIII., succeeded him; who, in his youth, was somewhat tender and of delicate health; but, as he grew up, he gave signs of a good understanding, that could distinguish between vice and virtue,—and, in the course of a few years, he became a man of greater ability by putting a check to his voluptuousness. From this it may easily be foreseen how worthy he would probably have become if death had not carried him off so early. His father, the late king, would not allow him to learn the Latin tongue, as he thought polite literature would prove a hindrance to his attending to the well-governing of his kingdom; more especially as the father perceived that his son had quick parts, and, being well informed in some things, he thought applying to letters would also prove dangerous in his delicate state of health; for, in his early years, he would have been unable to have gone through any laborious course of study.

However, not long after the death of his father, he willingly began to read books in the French language, and also made an attempt to learn the Latin. He commenced his reign, like a pious prince, by paying his devotions toward his God, and by listening to the counsels of wise men, that he might be instructed how to govern his kingdom with uprightness. He was naturally affectionate to all his kindred, and earnest that they might unite with him for the general welfare of his people and kingdom.

CHAPTER CLXXXVII.—KING CHARLES VIII. CROWNED AT RHEIMS.—HE AFTERWARDS VISITS SEVERAL TOWNS IN FRANCE.—HE MAKES HIS ENTRY INTO PARIS.—MASTER OLIVIER LE DAIM AND HIS SERVANT DANIEL EXECUTED THERE.—JOHN DE DOYAC HAS HIS EARS CUT OFF, AND HIS TONGUE BORED WITH A HOT IRON.

[A. D. 1484.]

In the year 1484, king Charles, being fourteen years of age, was conducted by the noble princes of his blood, namely, the duke of Orleans, the count of Angoulême, the count of Foix, the count of Vendôme, the lord of Beaujeu, the lord of Dunois, the duke of Lorraine, and numbers of other princes, barons, and gentlemen, to the city of Rheims, to be consecrated and anointed with the holy oil. He was also attended by the twelve peers of France, or their substitutes, who all appeared to serve him in their different functions, according to ancient usage in such cases established. After the ceremony of the consecration he departed from Rheims, to visit some of the adjoining towns, where he was received with all due honours: the streets were hung with tapestries,—and the clergy, with all ranks of people, came out to meet him,—and bonfires and every demonstration of joy at his arrival were displayed in every town he came to. About this time, one Daniel, a native of Flanders, and servant to master Olivier le Daim, was condemned for certain crimes by him committed, to be hanged on the gibbet at Paris*, which was done. And not long after, his master Olivier, who had been in the confidence of the late king, was sentenced to a similar punishment for having acted criminally, and been too bold in his wickedness. Another of the late king's favourites, John de Doyac, was, within a short time, condemned by the court of parliament to be publicly whipped by the hangman, and to have one of his ears cut off, and his tongue bored with a hot iron in the pillory, at the market-place of Paris, for having made too free with the effects of some of the princes, and for having insulted them. He was afterward carried from Paris to Montferrant, where he was again whipped, and had the other ear cut off.

* See a preceding note.

After king Charles had been consecrated at Rheims, he was conducted to the abbey of St. Denis to be crowned, and to perform the accustomed ceremonies. Thence he was carried by the aforesaid lords to Paris, and made his entry as follows:—On the 6th of July all ranks in Paris issued out in handsome order, each person well dressed, and according to his estate, to wait on the king at St. Denis, and to do him the honour and reverence belonging to him. The bishop of Paris and all his clergy were among them, together with the whole court of parliament, the provost of Paris, all the officers of the courts of justice and of accounts, the provost of marchands, the sheriffs, dressed in their robes of state. This procession advanced a little beyond the chapel of St. Ladre, where it met the king, accompanied by the duke of Orleans and the lords before named. The provost and sheriffs having paid due obeisance, presented to the king the keys of the gate of St. Denis, through which he was to make his entry into Paris. Each company having paid their respects, and made offers of all appertaining to their different professions, withdrew to tne rear, to follow the king according to their rank.

Thus accompanied, the king entered Paris on a courser, having rich trappings of cloth of gold, armed in brilliant armour, excepting his helmet of parade, which was triumphantly borne before, on a courser of great value, and caparisoned in the same manner as that he rode on. Instead of a helmet, he wore a most brilliant crown, adorned with precious stones, to show that he was king, and a rich canopy of cloth of gold was carried over him. The princes and the other lords were richly armed, and their horses were superbly decorated in divers manners, to do honour to the king on his entrance into the capital of his realm. The gentlemen and pages of honour were likewise superbly dressed, and so numerous that it is impossible to notice them. Many pageants, mysteries, and other devices, were displayed by the town, having an allegorical allusion to the king's name of Charles. The streets were all hung with tapestries: and there were persons appointed in the principal ones to offer meat and wine to all passengers. In short, every one exerted himself to show his loyalty, and his cordial love to the king. He was conducted by the clergy in their robes, many bearing relics and rich jewels, to the church of Notre-Dame. At the corner of the rue Neuve de Notre-Dame, he was met by the rector of the university of Paris, attended by all the doctors and other persons of science, who, having made his reverence, delivered an eloquent oration. The king then proceeded to the cathedral, and offered up his thanksgivings; which being done, he was conducted to the palace, where a magnificent and plentiful supper was served up in the great hall to the king, the princes of the blood, and other great lords. He lay that night at the palace, and remained in Paris some days.

After this entry the king held a royal session in his court of parliament; and he sojourned several days in the city of Paris, where he daily displayed the great love he had for his people, and for the general welfare of his kingdom. He had been well instructed in his youth as to religion, and ever remained a good Catholic, beloved by his subjects. Many councils were held during the king's stay at Paris, of the princes of the blood and great lords, on the most effectual means for the relief of his subjects; and when the conduct of the late king in granting such prodigal pensions, in the profusion he was accustomed to do, was laid before them, it was considered that the revocation of these grants, and applying them to the use of the state, would be the best and speediest mode of affording ease to the people. These affairs being settled, sumptuous jousts and tournaments took place, on the joyful arrival of King Charles in his town of Paris.

The king, on quitting Paris, went to visit other towns, such as Rouen, Troyes, and Orleans, into which he made his public entry attended by his princes and nobility. These and other towns which he visited received him most honourably, and tried to rival each other in their exertions to display greater magnificence and more splendid entertainments on the king's coming among them, so much was he respected and beloved throughout his kingdom.

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII.—THE DEATH OF POPE SIXTUS IV.—HE IS SUCCEEDED BY POPE INNOCENT VIII.—OF THE VICTORIOUS WAR OF KING CHARLES IN BRITTANY.—HE MARRIES THE PRINCESS ANNE DAUGHTER TO THE NOBLE DUKE FRANCIS OF BRITTANY.—OTHER EVENTS.

In the course of the latter end of this year pope Sixtus IV. died at Rome: he had been general of the Franciscans, and had well and catholicly ruled the holy see during the space of nearly thirteen years. He had been very solicitous about the public welfare in the reparation of churches, and in embellishing the city of Rome, without sparing his private purse where he thought the honour of God was any way interested *. On the 13th of August, he was succeeded in the papal dignity by Innocent VIII †. He was from Genoa, of parents in the middle ranks, but much respected and beloved. His father's name was Aaron, but his own was John Baptista; and he was a cardinal-priest, under the title of Cardinal of St. Cecilia, but commonly called the cardinal of Melfe. He was the poorest and most humane of the whole college of cardinals, and was deserving of his election to the papal chair for his benignity and humility. He was magnanimous, and very prudent in all his actions; and from his conduct during his legation at Sienna, he gave a good example to his brother-cardinals, and of what might be expected from him if raised to the popedom. On that event taking place, he opened the treasures of the church to all faithful Christians for the remission of their sins. He lived in good union with the Romans and all other people in Christendom.

At this period, king Charles, with the advice of his council, made arrangements for the war in Picardy. The command of that army was given to sir Philip de Crevecœur, lord des Cordes; for Maximilian duke of Austria, who had married the heiress of the late duke of Burgundy, had raised a powerful army, to enable him to demand with success the country of Artois, and other parts in Burgundy, although they had been occupied by the late king, Louis XI., and were since peaceably possessed by his son, the present king. The lord des Cordes was therefore ordered into Picardy, to resist any hostile attempts that should be there made, and to oppose Maximilian. According to the chronicle of master Robert Gaguin, a severe war broke out in the year 1485, in Brittany, which was so prudently conducted on the part of king Charles that he victoriously gained almost the whole of that duchy. During this war, duke Francis of Brittany died, leaving two daughters: the one called Anne succeeded shortly after to the duchy, on the death of her sister. The king now took the field in person, and, attended by many great lords and valiant captains, made several attacks on the town of Nantes, to prevent these daughters of the late duke of Brittany from marrying without his consent. This campaign, however, was not very successful: for king Henry VII. of England had sent a large force to the assistance of the Bretons, although, a short time before this, Henry had fled from that country as a fugitive, and sought an asylum with king Charles. He remained with him some time, as he was liberally aided with money and men, with whom he crossed the sea to England, where, after the death of king Richard, he peaceably enjoyed that kingdom, by means of the aid he had received from king Charles, which clearly shows the ingratitude of the English monarch ‡.

The before-mentioned master Robert Gaguin was sent on an embassy on this subject to England, in company with the lord Francis de Luxembourg and Charles de Marigny §. However, after all, the French army, under their king, was victorious, more especially at the battle of St. Aubin ‖, while the king was at Laval, when the Bretons and English were

* In a note, p. 135 of Mr. Andrews' History of Great Britain, a very different character is given of this pope: "As ignorant as turbulent." "He received without respect or hospitality the learned Greeks who fled from Constantinople, and gave so trifling a reward to Theo. Gaza for a translation, that the angry sage flung it away, and, leaving the audience, repeated a Greek proverb, that "thistles only could delight the palate of an ass." Luckily the pope did not understand the language of the sarcasm.

† Innocent VIII.—John Baptista Cibo, a noble Genoese, but originally of Greek extraction. He was called, prior to his elevation to the papacy, the cardinal of Melfe. He had several children before he entered holy orders, and did not neglect them during his reign.

‡ See the English historians.

§ Their passport is, in the Fœdera, dated 10th December 1490, for themselves and four-score horses.

‖ See l'Histoire de la Bretagne.

totally routed, with very great slaughter. The French gained the field of battle; and for two leagues around, nothing was to be seen but dead bodies. Near to where the battle was fought was a wood in which the Bretons had lodged a great deal of gunpowder; and thinking that the French would attempt posting an ambuscade therein they played their artillery, which set fire to this powder, and it blew up to the great astonishment of the French, who, by Divine Providence (the true protector of the French blood) had not entered this wood. The explosion alarmed a stag, who ran out of the wood, with eyes full of tears, and made for the French army as for a place of refuge. It should be noticed, that, prior to the engagement, large flocks of pies and jays were seen to fight with such obstinacy in the air, at a place called La Croix de Malere, that when victory declared for one party, the roads and fields were covered with the vanquished, which seemed to the French a very extraordinary circumstance.

After the battle of St. Aubin, a pursuit took place, when many prisoners were made, and others driven to seek shelter in some of their strong places, to save their lives. The French in consequence of their victory conquered the greater part of Brittany. The principal lords of Brittany now began to consider on the means of establishing a lasting peace with the king of France; and as they thought his projected union with the lady Margaret of Flanders was not agreeable to him, since war with Maximilian her father had hitherto been the only fruits of it, they proposed that he should marry the duchess Anne of Brittany; and by this means that duchy would be firmly united to the crown of France, and would form an alliance of the utmost utility to all parties.

CHAPTER CLXXXIX.—KING CHARLES GENEROUSLY RESTORES ROUSSILLON TO KING FERDINAND OF ARRAGON.—THE INSTITUTION OF THE ORDER OF FILLES REPENTIES AT PARIS.—THE TOWN OF ST. OMER IS TAKEN BY THE LORD DES CORDES.—A TREATY OF PEACE CONCLUDED WITH THE KING OF ENGLAND AFTER THE SIEGE OF BOULOGNE.—THE TREASON COMMITTED BY CARQUELEVANT IN THE TOWN OF ARRAS.—AMIENS WELL GUARDED.—THE TREATY BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA.

When the king was returned from his expedition into Brittany, and had concluded a treaty with the Bretons on the terms before mentioned, he generously restored to Ferdinand king of Arragon the county of Roussillon, and gave him a free acquittance of the sums of money this county had been mortgaged for; and for the accomplishment of this, he sent thither, as his ambassador, the lord Louis d'Ambois, bishop of Alby. There were some, however, who thought that this county should not have been restored; and to appease all murmurings on the subject, the king had it published that he had only acted in conformity to the orders given by his late father, king Louis, when dying. It was therefore the opinion of many, that a perpetual friendship should now be established between the kings of France and of Arragon.

In the year 1494 was established the order of repentant women and girls, who had been public strumpets at Paris. The institution of this order, in honour of the blessed Mary Magdalen, was commenced by a devout sermon preached by friar John Tisserant, a Franciscan monk; and a house that belonged to the family of Orleans was granted to them, wherein reside many devout women.

After the restoration of the county of Roussillon, the lord des Cordes was so active with his army, in Picardy, that he gained by force of arms, for the king, the town of St. Omer. He valiantly passed the breach into the town, his battle-axe hanging on his wrist, and followed by numbers of gallant men-at-arms, shouting out, "Vive le roi!" which so astonished the inhabitants that they submitted to his pleasure. Some days after this, the king of England, ungrateful for the services he had received from the king of France, as has been mentioned, landed a large force at Calais, and marched it to lay siege to Boulogne. The lord des Cordes, imagining that the English would make great efforts to gain Boulogne, he

being governor of Artois, left St. Omer, having well garrisoned it and other towns, in company with the bastard Cardon captain of Arras, and hastened, with a body of French, to throw himself into Boulogne, to oppose the English, and force them to raise their siege. In consequence of this, only Carquelevant, a Breton, remained in the castle of Arras,—and that town was given up traitorously to the archduke, as shall be more amply detailed hereafter. When the lord des Cordes* and Cardon had shown their resistance to the king of England's troops before Boulogne, they found means to conclude a peace which was very advantageous to the kingdom of France: for the English were to recross the sea without interfering more in the quarrel with the archduke.

Master Gaguin tells us, in his chronicle, that this peace was very agreeable to the king of England; for he loved the French in his heart, but had been constrained by his subjects to send this armament to Boulogne,—and by his advice and remonstrances he had prevented its advancing farther into the kingdom; but that he had been obliged to dissemble, to avoid being suspected by the English of having too strong an inclination to king Charles, whose former kindnesses he could never forget, and this treaty of peace was not long in being ratified by the two kings. Within two or three days after this peace had been concluded, the town of Arras was won by a party from Maximilian's army during the night, owing to the treason or neglect of Carquelevant. He had entrusted the keys of the gates to some of his people,—so that the enemy entered the place without meeting any resistance whatever, while he was asleep in bed. They first plundered all the principal persons, and then the churches; and according to Gaguin, these Germans committed such destruction that it seemed as if they were come not to take possession of the town but utterly to destroy it.

After some months, Maximilian demolished a large tower in the market-place, and several other fortifications, which Louis XI. had erected to defend the city against the town of Arras. He also caused the walls of the city to be destroyed, and fortified the town against it, which was not displeasing to several of the inhabitants, as they hated even the French name, although, from the remotest antiquity, they had been always dependent on the kings of France, as their sovereign lords. Shortly after Maximilian found means to obtain a truce, that he might again employ his army on similar expeditions,—for the truce on his side was only a pretence. It was not long before a party from the garrison of Arras appeared under the walls of Amiens at midnight, thinking to take it by surprise; but the French garrison and townsmen were too well on their guard, and made such good use of their bows and artillery that they repulsed the enemy with vigour, so that they were glad to retreat from the suburbs of St. Pierre, where they had formed a lodgement, and return in all haste to Arras, whence they had come. Had the lord de Rubempré been allowed to follow his inclinations, he would have sallied out after them, for he was very eager to defeat them; but sir Anthony Clabaut, then mayor of the town, and the council would not permit him, saying, that in their opinion it was fully sufficient to defend the town well when attacked.

The principal lords of France, in conjunction with those of Picardy, solicited the king to conclude a lasting peace with the archduke: terms were, in consequence, agreed on,—and the county of Artois was restored to Maximilian; by which means all Picardy was in perfect union with France, and remains so to this day, which is of very great advantage to the whole realm.

CHAPTER CXC.—KING CHARLES MARRIES ANNE DUCHESS OF BRITTANY.—SHE IS CROWNED QUEEN OF FRANCE IN THE CHURCH OF SAINT DENIS, AND MAKES HER PUBLIC ENTRY INTO PARIS.—THE KING VISITS HIS PROVINCE OF PICARDY.—A PRIEST EXECUTED AND BURNED AT PARIS.—THE DEATH OF POPE INNOCENT VIII.—HE IS SUCCEEDED BY POPE ALEXANDER VI.

When king Charles had espoused Anne duchess of Brittany, as a proof of his affection and love, he willed that she should be crowned queen of France with every magnificence.

* The lord des Cordes was used to say, that he would willingly pass seven years in hell to recover Calais from the English.

The ceremony began by a grand mass chaunted in the abbey-church of St. Denis by a reverend cardinal, assisted by the archbishop of Sens and other bishops. When this was done the queen was solemnly crowned; after which, a magnificent dinner was served and an open court was kept. Having made a short stay at St. Denis, she prepared for her public entry into Paris, where she was received with all due honours. The whole of the clergy in their copes of cloth of gold, and bearing holy relics, came out to meet her, as did the bishop of Paris, the provost of marchands, the sheriffs, and all the companies of trades in their holiday dresses. When they had paid their obeisances, the queen entered Paris in triumph. All the streets were hung with tapestries: many pageants and mysteries were exhibited,—and bonfires, and all other usual demonstrations of joy, were made on her arrival. She was conducted in great state toward the cathedral of Notre-Dame; and at the corner of the rue neuve Notre-Dame, the rector of the university, attended by all his doctors, was waiting to make his oration; after which, she proceeded to the cathedral to offer up her prayers. She was then conducted to the palace, where apartments had been handsomely fitted up for her, becoming her state. During the queen's residence in Paris, a variety of amusements took place, such as joustings, tournaments, dancings and feasts. The king lived with her in the greatest harmony and love; and, in course of time, they had three fine boys, who were spared to them but a short time; for they all died in their infancy, during the expedition to Naples, according to the Divine will. May God give them grace to pray for us!

When peace was concluded with the archduke, the king resolved to visit Picardy, which he did at divers times, accompanied by some of the princes of the blood, his lords, and valiant captains. He made a public entry into several towns wherein he was most honourably received and grandly feasted,—for they were delighted to see their king. Although every town tried to surpass the other, yet the entertainments at Amiens were the most sumptuous and magnificent. The barons, and common people, of Picardy were exceedingly pleased that the king had come to visit them, and were more ardent than before in their affections to so benign a prince.

On the morrow of Corpus-Christi-day, to the great scandal of all Paris, a priest called master John L'Anglois, while in the chapel of St. Crispin and St. Crispinian in the church of Notre-Dame, moved and instigated by the devil, approached the priest saying mass,—and after the consecration of the host, this wicked priest tore it furiously from the hands of him who had just consecrated it, and threw it on the ground with contempt, thinking to trample it with his feet. He was instantly seized and carried to prison, wherein he was some time detained for examination. When this took place, he persevered in his iniquity, and refused to adjure his errors; for which he was publicly degraded from his priesthood in the church of Notre-Dame, and delivered over into the hands of master Pierre de la Porte, then lieutenant-criminel for the provost of Paris. De la Porte sentenced him to be drawn on a hurdle to the pig-market, there to have his tongue cut out, and his body burned until consumed to ashes,—which sentence was executed.

About this time, pope Innocent died at Rome. He had peacefully governed the church during his papacy, and was full of mercy, for he absolved the Venetians from the censure which had been fulminated against them by his predecessor Sixtus. Roderigo Borgia was elected pope in his stead, and took the name of Alexander VI. The new pope was a Spaniard by birth, and of a robust and courageous disposition: he had been vice-chancellor to Innocent, and was full of enterprise and revenge against his enemies. During the reign of this pope, king Charles made a most victorious expedition into Italy, as shall be more fully related hereafter.

CHAPTER CXCI.—OF THE EXPEDITION WHICH KING CHARLES UNDERTAKES TO RECOVER HIS KINGDOM OF NAPLES, AND THE REASONS THAT MOVED HIM THERETO.

When king Charles had, by his prudence, subjugated or reduced to peace all the countries that were immediately on his frontiers, so that he had not any disturbances to apprehend from those quarters, like a magnanimous prince, and full of prowess, he turned his thoughts

to regain the kingdoms of Naples and of Sicily, which legally and justly belonged to him. Although he was small in body, he had a great mind,—and from the time he had determined on his project, nothing could dissuade him from it. Master Robert Gaguin declares, in his chronicle, that he would never listen to the ambassadors that were sent to him by the Parisians, to entreat him to lay aside the expedition to Naples: on the contrary, he assembled, with all diligence, a most numerous army of horse and foot, and selected able captains to command them.

The king was strongly excited to this measure by pope Alexander and Ludovico Sforza, who both hated Alphonso, for having, as it was said, usurped the crown of Naples, and done many injuries to the barons of that country. For this reason, the pope and Ludovico had invited Charles to invade Italy. The king, for the more readily assembling of his men at arms, made the city of Lyon his chief residence, to be near at hand for the march of his army.

CHAPTER CXCII.—FRIAR JEROME SAVONAROLA * FORETELS THE INVASION OF ITALY BY THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE KING, WHILE AT LYON, PRUDENTLY ARRANGES A REGENCY TO GOVERN THE KINGDOM DURING HIS ABSENCE.—HE DEPARTS THENCE FOR GRENOBLE, WHERE HE TAKES LEAVE OF THE QUEEN.

Before king Charles had shown any intentions of marching into Italy, friar Jerome Savonarola preached publicly in the year 1493, in several towns of Italy, the invasion of king Charles, which caused him to be looked up to by the Florentines as a true prophet.

While the king was at Lyon, regulating the plans he should pursue in his intended attempt to recover the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, he sent the duke of Orleans forward over the Alps, in company with many other lords and captains and a large detachment of troops, as ambassadors to Milan, Genoa, Venice, Florence, Lucca, Pisa, Viterbo, and Rome, and to different towns in Lombardy, to learn whether they would keep their promises to the king, and support him in his expedition to Naples. Having been honourably received everywhere, the duke of Orleans returned to his county of Asti, when the promises of support were again repeated.

At this time the lord des Querdes † (more commonly called des Cordes) fell dangerously ill at Lyon, as he was preparing to cross the Alps with the king. Being advised by the physicians to return and try his native air of Picardy, he took leave of the king and departed from Lyon, but was unable to proceed further than the town of Bresle, three leagues from Lyon, where he died. By the king's command, great honours were paid to his body, which was put into a leaden coffin; in all the towns it passed through, processions came out to meet it; and it was carried to the church of Our Lady at Boulogne-sur-mer for interment, according to the orders he had given.

King Charles, before he left Lyon, held several councils respecting the appointment of a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence. Duke Peter of Bourbon, who had married the lady Anne of France, was nominated sole regent of the kingdom: the lord de Baudricourt ‡ was made governor of Burgundy; the lords de Avaugour § and of Rohan ||, governors of Brittany; the lord d'Orval ¶, governor of Champagne; the lord de Graville, governor of the

* Jerome Savonarola—was a jacobin friar, and had foretold that the king of France would invade Italy, to punish the inhabitants for their vices, and their rulers for their tyranny. He afterward preached against king Charles. He was burned at Florence by the intrigues of pope Alexander VI. at the instigation of the Venetians and the duke of Milan, against whose vices he had publicly declaimed.

The death of Jerome Savonarola was a disgrace to the times. Florence supported him as an inspired person. His piety, his austere life, and his edifying sermons, gained him the esteem and admiration of all the Florentines. There may, perhaps, have been some imprudence in his sermons, which persons of piety will attribute to zeal; and the pope was too severe in having him burned for the slight censure he had passed on his conduct, which was notoriously infamous.

† Philip de Crevecœur lord des Querdes, marshal of France in 1418.

‡ John de Baudricourt, lord of Choiseul, marshal of France in 1418.

§ Francis, bastard son of duke Francis the Second of Bretagne, count of Vertus, baron of Avaugour, lord of Clisson.

|| John, viscount de Rohan, married to Mary, daughter of Francis I., duke of Bretagne.

¶ John d'Albret, lord of Orval, who, by his marriage with Charlotte, daughter of John, count of Nevers, and sister of Elizabeth, duchess of Cleves, acquired the county of Rethel in Champagne, as her coparcenary share.

country of Caux, Normandy, and all Picardy; and the lord d'Angoulême, governor of that county and of Guienne. All these lords having taken their leave of the king, set out for their respective governments. The king remained, some days after their departure, enjoying the good cheer and pleasures of Lyon; and the beauty of the Lyonnoises, was also one great inducement to detain him there; but an epidemical disorder having appeared, he set out from Lyon with his queen and court for Vienne, which is seven leagues below Lyon. When the king and queen left the ancient town of Vienne, they passed through Villeneuve and other towns, wherein they were received with due honours, to Grenoble.

On Saturday, the 23rd of August, in the year 1493, king Charles accompanied by his queen, and numbers of princes, lords, ladies, and damsels, made his entry into the town of Grenoble; which entry was very magnificent, as well on the part of the clergy, who came out to meet him in rich copes and bearing relics, as on the part of the court of parliament in that town, and the nobles and inhabitants, all well dressed according to their different ranks, some in handsome liveries, others with divers devices, as their fancy led them. Those who had been deputed to present the keys of the town to the king, made an eloquent harangue in his praise. A rich canopy was carried over his head, and another over that of the queen; and they were thus conducted into the town, where all the streets were hung with tapestries. Several allegorical pageants and mysteries were displayed in honour of the king and queen. When this procession arrived at the cathedral, their majesties dismounted to offer up their prayers, and were thence conducted to their lodgings in the palace of the court of parliament. The king and queen staid six whole days at Grenoble, where several councils were held relative to the greater security of passing the Alps with the army. It was thought advisable to send back the carriages that were there in waiting to transport the king's baggage, and other stores for the troops; and in their stead a number of mules were collected for this purpose, otherwise too much time would have been lost; for this is the usual mode of transporting merchandise across the mountains.

Proper persons were selected to fix on the quarters for the king and his army, so that as little confusion as possible might arise; and the chief manager in this business was Pierre de Valetaut; and a better chief could not have been fixed on, for he was perfectly well acquainted with the whole country the army was to march through. Purveyors were also appointed to go from town to town to collect provisions for the cavalry and infantry, every article of which was to be paid for at a regulated price; and no pillaging of any kind was to be permitted with impunity. Those among them were to have the titles of marshals, maîtres d'hôtels, and provosts, accordingly as they behaved themselves well.

To preserve the friendship of those Italian towns which had promised support, and to keep them to their engagements, the following persons were sent to them (as their fidelity was not overmuch to be depended upon), namely, John de Cardonne, master of the household, to Florence; the lord Charles Brillart to Genoa; Gaulcher de Tinteville to Sienna; La Ville Rigault d'Oreilles to Milan; Adrian de l'Isle to Pisa; the lord de Louan to Lucca; and others to Viterbo. With each of these envoys were sent gentlemen of the long robe, to make harangues, should there be necessity. On the same business, the following persons were sent ambassadors to the different regencies and princes of Lombardy and Italy: the lord de la Trémouille to the king of the Romans *; Louis Lucas to Ludovico Sforza, at Milan; the lord du Bocage to the Venetians; the lord d'Aubigny to Rome, accompanied by the lord d'Autun, the president Grusnay, and the general de Bidont, as ambassadors to the pope; the lord d'Argenton †, in company with Monstreau, was sent elsewhere.

The commanders of the king's army were the princes of the blood and others; namely; the duke of Orleans, the lord de Montpensier‡, the lord de Foués, the lord de Luxembourg, the lord de Vendôme §, the lord Angillebert of Cleves ||, the lord John Jacques ¶, the prince

* Louis II. de la Tremouille, viscount Thouars and prince of Talmont, grandson of George count of Guisnes and Boulogne. He was killed at the battle of Pavia.

† Philip de Comines, the historian.

‡ Gilbert de Bourbon, lord of Montpensier, father of Charles duke of Bourbon, and constable of France. He married the daughter of the marquis of Mantua, and died in 1496.

§ Francis de Bourbon, count of Vendôme, married to a daughter of the constable de St. Pol. He died in 1496, and was father of Charles, and grandfather of Anthony, duke of Vendôme and king of Navarre.

|| Engilbert, second son of John duke of Cleves, and Elizabeth heiress of Nevers, afterwards called duke of Nevers.

¶ John James Trivulzio, marquis of Vigevano, one of the greatest generals of his age.

of Salerno*, the lord de Miolens, the lord de Piennes, the marquis de Saluces†, de Vienne‡, de Rothelin, the marshals de Gié§ and de Rieux‖, the seneschals of Beaucaire ¶ and of Normandy **, together with numbers of other barons, knights, captains of renown, and loyal gentlemen.

The following nobles were nominated for attendants in the king's company:—De Bourdillon ††, de Châtillon, de la Palice ‡‡, George Edouille, together with some of his household, such as Paris, Gabriel, d'Yjon, and others of his domestics. They also served as masters of the household, in the room of those who had been sent forward as ambassadors or envoys. Guyot Lousiers had the command of the artillery. The lord de Chaudoyt had charge of the fleet, together with the bailiff of Vitry, Jehannot du Tertre, Perot de Baché§§, the lord de Villeneuve, Réné Parent, the bailiff of St. Pierre du Monstier, John Château Dreux, Herné du Chesnoy, John de Lasnay, the lord du Fau, Adam de l'Isle, Giraut and Charles de Susaine, the lord de la Brosse‖‖, Honoré lord du Chef: and likewise the officers in ordinary to the king, such as butlers, cupbearers, valets, grooms, ushers of the chamber, and many more, suitably to the state of so great a monarch on this occasion.

When king Charles had staid six days in Grenoble for the arrangement of his affairs, he took leave of the queen, who departed thence, for France, most honourably accompanied.

CHAPTER CXCIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE SETS OUT FROM GRENOBLE TO CROSS THE ALPS ON HIS MARCH TO NAPLES.

On Friday, the 29th of August, the king, having heard mass and taken leave of his queen, set out from Grenoble to dine at a place called La Meure, a village dependent on a barony belonging to the count of Dunois. He thence went to sup and lie at the small town of Escoy, where he was honourably received by the burghers and inhabitants. On the morrow, he dined at St. Bonnet, and went to lodge at a small city in Dauphiny, called Gap. The next day he dined at Forges, and supped at Embrun ¶¶, where he was joyfully received by all ranks, and lodged at the bishop's palace, who was then absent on an embassy from the king to the pope. On Monday morning, having heard mass in the church of Our Lady, the king left Embrun for St. Crespin, where he lay, and thence went to Briançon ***. He was received with every honour by the clergy and people, and conducted to an immense inn without the town, as the most convenient lodgings for him. He and his company were there served with plentiful cheer and excellent wines. On the 2nd of September the king dined at Serzene; and in the evening was at the provostship of Ourse, where, after his repast, a tall man, native of la Poille, was brought before him, as charged with being one of the "principaux maistres de la vau-perte†††." After the king had heard what he had to say,

* Anthony de San Severino, prince of Salerno, son of the famous Robert de San Severino.

† Louis II., marquis of Saluces, died in 1504.

‡ Vienne. This family was divided into so many branches that I cannot fix on the person here meant.

§ Peter de Rohan, lord of Gié, marshal of France in 1475.

‖ John V., lord of Rieux and Rochefort, marshal of France.

¶ Stephen de Vers, seneschal of Beaucaire, chamberlain to the king, a native of Languedoc of mean extraction, through whose instigation principally this extravagant expedition was undertaken. Brissonnet, another court favourite, afterwards a cardinal, was the second promoter of the enterprise.

** Louis Després, lord of Montpezas, seneschal of Normandy.

†† Qu. Imbert de la Platière, youngest son of Philibert de la Platière lord des Bordes? He was a great favourite with Francis I. and Henry II., and was mareschal of France in 1562. He died in 1567, s.p. But more probably this was his uncle or some other relation.

‡‡ James de Chabannes, lord of la Palice, marshal in 1515.

§§ Perron de Baschi, maître-d'hôtel to Charles VIII., one of the sons of Berthold de Baschi, lord of Vitozzo, squire to king Louis III. of Sicily, and lineally descended from Hugolino de Baschi, sovereign lord of Orvieto, who in 1322 was driven from his seignory and afterwards entering into the service of the republic of Pisa, beat the Florentines at the battle of Bagno in 1363. The descendants of this family settling in France, became marquises of Aubais in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

‖‖ Réné de la Brosse, count of Penthievre, son of John count of Penthievre, and son-in-law to the historian Philip de Comines. He was killed in the battle of Pavia in 1524.

¶¶ Embrun—is twenty-four leagues from Grenoble, and eight from Gap.

*** Briançon,—capital of the Briançonnois, nine leagues from Embrun, nineteen from Grenoble.

††† Vau-perte,—a sodomite.—Du Cange.

he delivered him into the hands of his officers of justice, who, having duly examined the charge laid against him, caused him to be publicly hanged on a tree.

The ensuing day, the king dined at Chaumont, and immediately after entered Savoy, to lie at Suse. The duchess of Savoy *, accompanied by many lords, ladies, and damsels, had come thither to meet him, and entertained him handsomely. On quitting Suse, he dined at St. Jousset, entered Piedmont, and lodged at Villanne †; and wherever he came, he was received with all due honours. On the morrow he made preparations for his entry into Turin, as described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER CXCIV.—THE KING OF FRANCE MAKES HIS PUBLIC ENTRY INTO TURIN, WHERE HE IS RECEIVED WITH GREAT HONOURS AND SOLEMNITY.

On the 5th of September, as king Charles approached Turin, he was met by a procession of the clergy, accompanied by the nobles and inhabitants of that city, the university, and by the noble lady the princess of Piedmont, most magnificently dressed in cloth of gold frize, after an antique fashion, ornamented with large sapphires, diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones. She had on her head a heap of gold ornaments, intermixed with carbuncles, jacinths, and tufts of fine gold. On her neck she wore collars, with wide rockets, decorated with large oriental pearls, having also bracelets of the same. Thus richly dressed, she was mounted on a palfrey led by six lackeys, well equipped in cloth of gold, and attended by a company of damsels most elegantly dressed, and numbers of lords, knights, esquires, and pages of honour. In this manner did the king enter Turin, the streets of which were all decorated with cloths of gold or of silk; and in different places were stages erected, on which mysteries were represented from the Old and New Testaments, and upon historical subjects. The king was conducted to the castle, where he was received by the aforesaid lady of Piedmont, the duke her son, his uncle the lord of Bresse, and other great barons, to the melodious sounding of trumpets, clarions, and other instruments. Every offer of service and support was made to the king in his expedition to Naples; and it must not be omitted, that public tables were laid out in all the principal streets for the refreshment of every one that chose to sit down at them.

The ensuing day, the princess of Piedmont led her son into the king's apartment, where they dined joyously together; and after the repast, the king took his leave of them and the other lords, to sup and lie at Quiers ‡, whither orders had been previously sent for his handsome reception, which was accordingly done: and he was so well pleased, that he remained in Quiers three days amusing himself in feasting, and with the ladies §.

CHAPTER CXCV.—THE KING LEAVES QUIERS FOR ASTI, WHERE HE IS INFORMED OF THE GALLANT CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AT GENOA.—LUDOVICO SFORZA AND HIS LADY VISIT THE KING AT ASTI.—A MARVELLOUS EVENT AT GENOA.

On Tuesday, the 9th of September, the king, after thanking the lords and ladies of Quiers for the honourable reception they had given him, departed for Villa-nuova; and thence went to supper in the town of Asti, belonging to the duke of Orleans, where he was received by all ranks of inhabitants with greater magnificence than at any other town, considering their means. The king was lodged at the house of one John Roger, and the other lords in different houses. The duke was absent on the coast of Genoa, on the king's business, and to

* Blanche, daughter of William the ninth marquis of Montferrat, and widow of Charles the first duke of Savoy, protectress of the dukedom for her son Charles the Second, then an infant.

† Villanne. Q. if not Villa-nova d'Asti? a town in Piedmont, about four leagues distant from Turin and from Asti.

‡ Quiers,—five miles to the eastward of Turin.

§ It was an attachment to the beautiful daughter of a physician that detained Charles at Quiers, and made him repeat his visits.—See further particulars in the notice of a MS. history of Gohori, in the seventh vol. of Notices des MS. in the National Library at Paris.

provide for the security of his expedition. The morning after the king's arrival, a false messenger arrived at Asti, with every mark of bringing hasty news,—and it was instantly rumoured that the French had been defeated at sea. The king immediately assembled his council, to consider how to act in consequence of this unfortunate event; but the messenger was not now to be found to hear the particulars from him; and within a short time another messenger arrived with better news, for he brought certain information that the duke of Orleans, whilst cruising in the gulf of Rapallo, near Genoa, had defeated the army of the prince of Tarentum, and taken forty thousand prisoners, and that the slaughter of the enemies of France had been so great that the numbers were not known: a few had escaped over the mountains; and among the prisoners were a son to sir John Fregoso*, and a nephew to the cardinal of Genoa. Frederic†, who was the commander of the Neapolitan army, had expired through fear. The flower of the Italian nobility was in this battle. The duke of Orleans had with him, at this glorious victory, the lord de Piennes, John de la Grange, Charles de Brillac, who was then knighted, the bailiff of Dijon, the lord Guyot de Lousiers, with numbers of other nobles and gentlemen of name. After the victory, the duke of Orleans was seized with a fever, which forced him to return to Asti, where the king still was.

To Asti came also, from Milan, Ludovico Sforza, and his consort, the daughter of the duke of Ferrara, who brought with her a profusion of rich dresses and jewels to display before the king. They conversed together like old friends,—for the traitor Ludovico had not then manifested the iniquity of his malignant mind, as he afterwards did, but for which in the end he was severely punished‡. When king Charles had stayed some time at Asti, he was much indisposed for two or three days§, and removed from his lodgings to more airy apartments in the convent of the Jacobins, that overlooked their gardens. It was there the duke of Orleans and the other lords of the council arranged many things for the furtherance of his expedition, and also for the general welfare of his kingdom. During this interval, Ludovico went back to Milan, but shortly returned, although his support was but feigned and full of deceit.

It was about this time that three or four French gentlemen in Genoa went to the sea-shore to bathe, and were shortly after joined by another, who stripped himself to bathe with them,—when lo, a large fish rose from the bottom of the sea, and bit the latter gentleman until the blood came. Perceiving himself wounded, he attempted to escape by driving off the fish, but he, having tasted his blood, returned again, bit him in several places, and at length dragged him by force under the water, and he was never seen afterward, which seemed a very marvellous event to many persons in Genoa. The king having remained in Asti from the 9th of September until the 6th of October, departed from it for ever, to accomplish the object of his expedition.

On the morning of the 6th, having heard mass as usual, and taking some refreshments, he set out from Asti, dined at La Fariniere, and lodged at Monçal||, which is the first town on the road toward Lombardy, and of a tolerable size. It belonged to the late marquis of Montferrat¶, and the king was honourably received there by the marchioness, his widow, her eldest son the present marquis, and her second, called Constantine. She showed him the whole extent of the fortifications of the town and castle, and how well they were provided with artillery and military stores. She also pointed out to him the heads of three traitors who had been, a short time before, executed for having caused a war between Ludovico of

* Sir John Fregoso, natural son to Paul Fregoso, cardinal-archbishop and duke of Genoa.

† Frederic—was brother to Alphonso king of Naples. But it is entirely a mistake that he died of the fright, since he outlived both his brother and his nephew, and enjoyed for a short time the title of king of Naples. He did not die before the year 1504.

‡ He was made prisoner by Louis XII., and confined in the castle of Loches, where he died.

§ With the small-pox. See Roscoe's Leo X., if it were not another disorder.

|| Monçal. Q. Moncalvo? nine miles north of Asti.

¶ Boniface the Fifth, of the house of Palæologus, died in 1493, and was succeeded by his eldest son William IX. The marchioness, his widow, here mentioned, died at the age of twenty-nine, while these negotiations were going on; and upon her death, the marquis of Saluces and Constantine prince of Servia, her brother, disputed the tutelage of the young marquis. Philip de Comines was sent to Casal for the purpose of accommodating this dispute; and his decision was in favour of Constantine. That prince is, in the text, erroneously called the second son of the marchioness, when in fact he was her brother. John George, who was himself marquis of Montferrat after the death of William, was the only younger son of Boniface the Fifth. —See Guicciardini, lib. ii.

Milan and her husband, the late marquis. The marchioness treated the king with the greatest hospitality and kindness, making offers of everything she had for his service,—and tenderly reminding him how her deceased lord had left her and her children under his especial protection. The king behaved to her very affectionately; and on the morrow he departed from Moncalvo, to dine and sup at Casal, the capital of the possessions of the marquis of Montferrat.

CHAPTER CXCVI.—KING CHARLES MAKES HIS ENTRY INTO THE TOWN OF CASAL.—THE MARCHIONESS OF MONTFERRAT AND HER SON PLACE THEMSELVES UNDER HIS PROTECTION.

The king of France left Moncalvo on the 7th of October; and on his arrival at Casal, he was received with all demonstrations of joy, and conducted to the castle, where his lodgings had been prepared. At the gate of the castle was the marchioness of Montferrat, richly dressed, with her son, who having humbly saluted the king, and not knowing the French language perfectly well, the count de Foix and the lord Louis made their harangue, which was in substance what the lady had before said,—and that they placed all their possessions, without exception, under his protection,—that now they gave him possession of the town and castle of Casal, with all other their strong places. The king benignantly accepted of the trust, and entered the castle of Casal to the sound of trumpets and horns. The lady feasted the king and his company most plentifully with all sorts of meats, wines, and hypocras, so that nothing could have been better. On the morrow, the king presented the young marquis with new and rich dresses, in the French fashion, demonstrating, by his liberality, that he received him under his protection,—and he remained three days in this town. On Friday, at sunrise, the king departed from Casal, to dine at Consse, and sup at Mortare, where he was well received, lodged in the castle, and handsomely feasted. The next day he went to take up his quarters in the town of Vigeue*, and was triumphantly received there by Ludovico Sforza and his lady, with other lords of that country. After the usual ceremonies were over, and they had discoursed sufficiently, he was conducted to his apartments in the castle, which was pleasantly situated, and himself and his company were well entertained.

On Monday, the 23rd of October, the king went to see the Granges, half a league from Vige-vano. These Granges belong to the lord of Milan, are beautifully situated, and hold immense quantities of corn and cattle, and are the place of receipt for all rents due to him in kind. In the first there is a spacious court of stables, the roof of which is supported on handsome columns, for stallions of great value, and adjoining were others for mares and colts. At this time, in other stables were full eighteen hundred horned cattle,—such as fat oxen, cows, and buffaloes. In the sheep-folds, were about fourteen thousand sheep and goats. In short, it was a place excellently contrived, and of great value.

CHAPTER CXCVII.—THE KING OF FRANCE ENTERS PAVIA.—HIS RECEPTION THERE.

The king, having left the Granges, advanced toward Pavia†,—and when he was near that city, the clergy came out in handsome procession to meet him. They conducted him in this state to the principal church, called Il Duomo, and thence to his apartments in the castle, which was large and well situated. The duchess and her young son were waiting there to welcome him on his happy arrival; and he and his company were well feasted with a

* Vigeue. Q. Vige-vano?

† The king went to Pavia to visit the young duke of Milan, John Galease, who was then lying dangerously ill in the castle of that place. He had lately married Isabel of Arragon, who (with her only child, Francis, then but a few months old) went out to meet the king as here mentioned. The death of the duke, which happened before the king left him, was universally attributed to poison, administered by Ludovico Sforza his uncle, who had long governed the dukedom in his nephew's name, and upon his death assumed the title also of duke, in prejudice of the infant son of John Galease.—See Guicciardini, lib. i.

variety of meats and wines, from the 14th until the 17th, when he took his departure, after hearing mass, to dine at Beriofle, and sup and lie at Castel San Joanne. On the morrow he dined at Roqueste, and thence resolved to make his entry into Piacenza.

As the king approached Piacenza in the afternoon of the 18th of October, the clergy, judges, officers, and principal inhabitants, came out to meet him in a handsome procession, as all the other towns had done, and led him in triumph to the apartments that had been prepared for his reception. While he was in this town, a messenger came to him in haste with letters, containing in substance, that on that day the young duke of Milan had died, which much afflicted and vexed the king. Tears filled his eyes, without any dissembling, and to perform his duty to God, he ordered on the morrow a solemn funeral service to be celebrated,—after which were distributed large sums in alms to the poor, all at the king's expense, and chiefly under the direction of the lord Reginald d'Oreilles. It should not be forgotten, that the king invited the nobles and principal inhabitants to this funeral service: and that they, in gratitude for his benignant humanity, presented him with several immense cheeses, as large as our greatest millstones, which he sent to France, as a gift to the queen. The king, having stayed six days in Piacenza, departed.

CHAPTER CXCVIII.—OF THE SEVERAL TOWNS THE KING OF FRANCE PASSES THROUGH IN HIS MARCH FROM PIACENZA TO LUCCA.

After the king had heard mass at Piacenza, on the 23rd of October, he set out to dine and sup at the little town of Fiorenzuola*, where the people received him very affectionately. On Friday, he lay at another small town called Borgo San Domino†, where he was equally well received. On the 25th, he was quartered at Fornove‡, which is of tolerable size, having a large abbey, and lies at the foot of the Apennines. On the Sunday, he went to Borgo di Val di Taro§; and the next day, after hearing mass, he went to Beers, where he and his train were much straitened for room; but it was necessary to exercise patience according to the country they were in. On Tuesday he left Beers to lie at Pontremoli||, where he was received with processions, and lighted tapers and torches, as in the preceding towns At this place, Pietro de Medici waited on the king with intelligence from Florence, and placed himself under his protection. To obviate any attempts of those who were inimical, he promised to place in his hands a small town called Sarsina¶; and he afterwards delivered up another good place of the Florentines, called Sarsonella, near to Sarsane. On Wednesday, the king visited the church of Notre-Dame-des-Miracles, near to the town of Pontremoli, and dined at Yole. This day, owing to some quarrel, several Germans were killed in Pontremoli, for which their countrymen revenged themselves severely on their return from Naples. The whole army marched on the 30th into Sarsina, and there halted for six days, on account of a rebellion among the Florentines. Ludovico Sforza, who was already beginning to form his plans of treachery, came again to visit the king at this place, and returned suddenly to Milan.

On the 6th of November, the king marched his army to Massa, a burgh with a castle having deep ditches all around it: near to it is a mountain whence white and black marble is dug,—and from it is seen the sea, about half a league off. He was honourably received by the lady of the place.—On Friday, he left Massa, and took up his quarters at Pietra Santa**, a small town belonging to the Florentines; but the king having been duly informed that it formed part of the duchy of Genoa, and that the inhabitants had put themselves under the Florentines for their better security, and through subtlety, he placed in the castle a strong garrison of gens-d'armes until his return.

* Fiorenzuola,—thirteen miles from Piacenza.

† Borgo San Domino,—twenty miles from Piacenza.

‡ Fornove,—ten miles from Parma, remarkable for the victory of Charles VIII. with nine thousand men, over the confederated princes of Italy.

§ Borgo di Val di Taro,—a small city, capital of the country called Val di Taro.

|| Pontremoli,—forty leagues from Parma.

¶ Q. Sarsina?

** Pietra Santa,—six miles from Massa.

CHAPTER CXCIX.—OF THE ENTRY AND RECEPTION OF THE KING OF FRANCE IN THE TOWN OF LUCCA.

When the king made his entry into Lucca, he was met by the clergy and principal townsmen in procession, a league distant,—and what was most singular, the greater part of them were dressed in fine cloths of gold, or in velvets. After they had all paid their respects to the king, they conducted him into the town, which was richly decorated with tapestries, and divers pageants. He was lodged in the bishop's palace, where he and his company were grandly entertained.

CHAPTER CC.—THE KING ENTERS THE TOWN OF PISA.—OTHERS OF HIS CAPTAINS ADVANCE AS FAR AS FLORENCE.

The king left Lucca on the following morning, after hearing mass, to dine at Primat, and in the evening entered Pisa, having been met by the clergy, governor, and chief inhabitants. It was doubtless here that he received the truest marks of affection,—for the very children in the streets, as well as others of higher ranks, shouted out, "Liberty for ever!" They submitted themselves unreservedly to his will, for they were greatly molested by the Florentines; and it was melancholy to hear their complaints of them. The king assured them of his support in maintaining their liberty, which gave greater joy than I can describe,—and it need not be wondered at if, in consequence, the king and his company were so magnificently feasted. The next morning, he marched from Pisa, to dine at Pont Codere, and lodged at Empoli*.

On the 11th of November, the king went to lie at Pont-de-Signe, which is a very pleasant place, and tarried there five or six days, because the Florentines had rebelled against Pietro de Medici, who had delivered up to the king some strong places and castles. But so firm a countenance was shown to the said Florentines, and the royal artillery were so well prepared to march against Florence and such as were the most active in rebellion, that they sent ambassadors to offer their obedience to the king, to sue for pardon for their transgressions, and to entreat that he would come to their town.

CHAPTER CCI.—THE KING OF FRANCE, WITH HIS LORDS, ENTERS FLORENCE, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS WHOLE ARMY.

On Monday, the 17th of November, the king, having assembled his whole army and train of artillery, advanced to a large palace near to Florence, where he dined. The Florentine nobles, with numbers of the lower ranks, came thither to pay him their respects; which they having done, and presented him with the keys of their gates, the French army marched into the town of Florence by companies, each under its own captain, and with displayed banners, in handsome order. This lasted a long time, for there were a greater body of men under arms than the Florentines had ever before seen. When the companies had all passed, the king, accompanied by his princes and nobles, entered the town completely armed, with his body guard and his hundred gentlemen all in armour. He was conducted, having a handsome canopy borne over his head, to the cathedral, and thence to the lodgings that had been prepared for him in the mansion of Pietro de Medici, where he and his company were more sumptuously entertained than can be imagined.

The king, the better to subjugate and keep the Florentines in check, remained some days in Florence. He marched away on the 21st, and was lodged at a large palace not far distant. The next day, Saturday, he went to St. Cassant, where he remained the Sunday; and on the Monday he advanced to Poggiobonzi †, which is a prettily situated town, and, though small, well peopled. On the morrow the king dined at the abbey of Aye, and thence went to his quarters in the city of Sienna.

* Empoli,—a town fifteen miles west of Florence. † Poggiobonzi,—twenty-one miles from Florence.

CHAPTER CCII.—THE KING MAKES HIS ENTRY INTO SIENNA, VITERBO, AND OTHER TOWNS.

When the king was within a league of Sienna, he was met by a procession of the clergy and inhabitants, who having made an harangue, presented him with the keys of their town, as an acknowledgment of his being the lord thereof. He was afterwards conducted thither with great solemnity, and the streets had been gaily decorated to welcome him. He was lodged in the palace of the bishop, near the cathedral, where he and his company were entertained. On Thursday, the king departed from Sienna, dined at Buonconvento, and lay at St. Clerico, where he tarried all Friday. On Saturday, he dined at Ricoure, and lay at La Paille. Having heard mass on Sunday, he proceeded to Aquapendente, a town situated on a height, and belonging to the pope; notwithstanding which the king was very honourably received with processions, and the keys of the gates were presented to him. On Wednesday, the 10th of December, the king crossed Monte-Fiascone, and fixed his quarters for the night at Viterbo, a handsome town, belonging also to the pope. The inhabitants, however, made a splendid entry for him, submitting themselves to his obedience; they conducted him to his lodgings at the bishop's palace, a spacious and pleasantly situated mansion, near to the gate leading to Rome. The king remained five days in Viterbo; and, during that time, frequently visited the shrine of St. Rosa, whose body was in complete preservation as to flesh and bones. He placed the lord de Gaiasche, with a good garrison, in the castle, and despatched the lord de la Tremouille to pope Alexander, who promised fidelity to the king, and, for greater assurance thereof, dismissed some of his cardinals, and even his confessor.

On Monday, the 15th of December, the king left Viterbo, dined at the small town of Roussillon*, and lay at a little town called Naples†, where he halted until Friday, when he advanced to Bracciano, belonging to the lord Virgilio d'Orsini‡, where he dined and lay. He there encamped, and while thus occupied he received an embassy from the pope to agree to his entering Rome with his army. During this interval, the lord de Ligny marched a strong detachment of Germans to take possession of Ostia, a strong place at the mouth of the Tiber, and a convenient seaport. The duke of Calabria was at this time in Rome, and, from his boastings, it was thought he would achieve wonders against the French,—but he was soon forced to make a precipitate retreat into La Puglia; and immediately after, the lord de la Tremouille and the marshal de Gié marked the quarters for the army in Rome as undisturbed as they would have been in any town of France.

CHAPTER CCIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE ENTERS ROME WITH HIS ARMY.—WHAT PASSED THERE.

On the last day of December, king Charles, with his princes, lords, and gens-d'armes, entered the city of Rome as a conqueror, with his whole army, and train of artillery, in such handsome array as astonished the Romans. But as it was nearly night, an immense number of torches were lighted, and he entered the city by the Porta Flaminia, near to the church of Santa Maria del Popolo. He traversed part of Rome to his lodgings in the palace of San Marco, where he had his park of artillery, and the rest of his army marched to the quarters that had been marked for them by the before-mentioned lords.

Pope Alexander VI. hearing of the great army which the king of France had marched into the city, shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, fearing some commotions. But by advice of the council, the king sent to him the counts of Foix, of Bresse, and of Ligny, with the marshal of Gié, and master John de Rely bishop of Angers, who harangued the pope in

* Roussillon,—Ronciglione, ten miles from Viterbo.

† Naples. Q. Nepi, halfway between Viterbo and Rome.

‡ Count of Tagliacozzo, ancestor of the dukes of Bracciano. He was a general in the Neapolitan service, and died in 1497.

such wise that he took courage,—and henceforward there was a good intelligence between the king, the pope, and the other nobles. The king, though daily occupied by his council on the business he was engaged in, found means to visit the churches and holy places in Rome with much devotion; and he was shown wonderful relics and precious treasures, to which he and his company paid singular respect. The king displayed his sovereignty in Rome by having three or four gallows erected, and by ordering some thieves and malefactors to be thereon hanged. He caused others to be whipped, drowned, or deprived of their ears, to demonstrate that, as a true son of the church and most Christian king, he enjoyed the same powers of executing justice in Rome as in his town of Paris. At this time, a very large piece of the wall of the castle of St. Angelo fell, of itself, into the ditch, to the great vexation and fright of the pope. The Romans, on the other hand, thought it a miracle. The king visited the Coliseum and other curiosities in Rome.

Pope Alexander VI. in the presence of Charles VIII. pronouncing a benediction. Designed from contemporary authorities.

Friday, the 16th of January, the king, attended by all his nobles, heard mass in St. Peter's; and the pope, to show his affection, conversed most familiarly with him, the king and he walking arm and arm, like brothers. In short, such was their friendship that the bishop of St. Malo* was created a cardinal,—and the king remained with the pope some days. Tuesday, the 20th, the king heard mass in the French chapel, and afterwards touched and cured many afflicted with the king's evil, to the great astonishment of the

* Bishop of St. Malo. He was one of the king's greatest favourites, and is mentioned before under the name of Briçonnet. He was rich, able in finance, and called General, from being general of finance.

For full particulars of this transaction, see Burchard's very curious diary of pope Alexander, a fragment of which was published by Leibnitz.

Italians, who witnessed the miracle. This same day, the pope chaunted high mass at the great altar in St. Peter's, in the presence of the king, his nobles, and principal officers. There were twenty-five cardinals, about thirty archbishops, forty bishops, and a number of other prelates and churchmen. When mass was done, the pope and the king came together to a place that had been prepared for them at the entrance of St. Peter's, when a bishop displayed the impression of our Saviour's face on the holy handkerchief three times,—and all the people cried aloud "Mercy!" The pope was then carried to a scaffold in front of the church, where the king was seated beside him, and the cardinals according to their ranks, and next to them the French princes of the blood. The pope then ordered the Confiteor to be said for the full remission of sins, as in the year of jubilee, which was proclaimed by three cardinals in three different languages, namely, in Latin, French, and Italian. When the pope gave his benediction for the jubilee, he had his left hand on the king's shoulder, and thus were all persons absolved from every sin and crime they might have committed.

At this time, there was a Turk* in the castle of St. Angelo, whom all the people were admitted to see, to his great vexation. After the ceremony of St. Peter's, every one returned to his lodgings rejoicing, and the king visited the seven privileged churches which are in or near Rome. On the Sunday following, the pope and the king, to prove on what friendly terms they were, rode together through Rome,—when the king showed, to him and his cardinals, his fine army and train of artillery: a pleasing sight to his friends, but a terror to his enemies. On the 27th of January, the king gave orders for the army to be in readiness to march from Rome; and he went to take his humble leave of pope Alexander and his cardinals, who had all given him a handsome reception.

CHAPTER CCIV.—KING CHARLES DEPARTS FROM ROME WITH HIS ARMY FOR NAPLES.—WHAT PASSED ON HIS MARCH.

The king of France breakfasted and dined with the pope on the 28th of January; and after they had long conversed together on certain particular affairs, the pope gave him his benediction,—when he set out from Rome, carrying the Turk away with him. The cardinal of Valencia, son to the pope, accompanied the king, as a hostage for the pope, who went that night not further than Marina, a small town seven or eight miles from Rome. On the morrow, he lay at Veletri, which is a city, and was lodged in the bishop's palace: he stayed there some days,—during which the cardinal, like a traitor, abandoned the king. The king, while at Veletri, received, on the last day of January, by a messenger, certain intelligence that the lord Angilbert of Cleves, a renowned German captain, had won by assault, in spite of all resistance, the town and castle of Monte Fortino†, belonging to the lord James Conti, who had broken his engagements with the king,—and on this account the place was destroyed by fire and sword. Many prisoners were made there by the lord Angilbert, and in the number were two sons of James Conti.

The king remained in Veletri on Sunday, the 1st of February, and also on Monday, as it was the feast of the purification of the Virgin, attended by four cardinals and six archbishops. On Tuesday and Wednesday following, he passed through Valmontone. to La Botine. On the 5th, he came to Fiorentino, where he halted, because a Jew had humbly supplicated him that he might be baptized. The king, therefore, instantly led him by the hand to the church, had him baptized by his confessor the bishop of Angers, the king giving his own name Charles, and settled a handsome income on him. In this town is an abbey, in which it is said lies the body of St. Amboise. The king advanced on Friday to Verlic, where he dined and lay,—and the lords of the town came to meet and offer him the keys of it, as a proof of their obedience. It is said, that the body of Santa Maria Jacobi, the sister

* A Turk. Zizim, the unfortunate brother of Bajazet. He was given up to the king of France by pope Alexander; but not until (as it was believed) he had had a slow poison administered to him.

† Monte Fortino,—a town in the marquisate of Ancona, twelve miles from Ascoli.

of the Virgin, is interred there; on which account, as the king wished to see it, he stayed there until Monday, when he proceeded to Bahut to dinner. In the afternoon, the king, like a valiant prince, armed himself, and went to visit the siege which the French were carrying on against a strong town, and still stronger castle called Mont St. Jean. Many violent assaults were made, and as gallantly opposed by a garrison from all nations, who wounded numbers of the French. The king, on his arrival, ordered the place to be stormed on all sides, which was done with great effect, and lasted for eight hours. A breach was at length made in the wall, through which the French instantly rushed, and put all the garrison, to the number of nine hundred and fifty-five, to the sword,—but not without having many of their men killed and wounded.

The government of this town and castle was given to the lord of Taillebourg, who guarded it to his honour. It was esteemed to be impregnable; and not long before this, Alphonso of Naples had remained before it for seven years, but was unable with all his forces to conquer it. The king returned from this place to Verbie, and thence to Bahut, where he lay,—and there heard that the duke of Calabria had fled from St. Germain*, on learning the fate of St. Jean. St. Germain, from its situation, is the key to the kingdom of Naples, the town being very strong, with two or three castles well fortified, and the whole is crowned by a very large monastery, in which reposes the body of St. Benedict.

On Thursday, the 12th of February, the king lay at the small town of St. Cyprienne, and dined the next day at Aquino, the birthplace of the celebrated doctor and saint Thomas of Acquino, and thence went to lie at St. Germain. On the morrow he lay at Mignano. Monday, the 16th, he dined at Notre Dame di Correggio, and supped at Tiano, where he was joyfully received, and there heard the welcome news that the duke of Calabria had also fled from Capua. The inhabitants of Capua here waited on him with the keys of their town, and, with uplifted hands, supplicated him to have mercy on them.

The king remained the whole of the next day at Couy, and on the Wednesday made his public entry into Capua, and was lodged in the castle, which as well as the town was of great strength. The ensuing day he entered Aversa, and was equally well received, and took up his lodgings in the palace of the bishop. On the Friday, the citizens and inhabitants of Naples came to salute the king at Aversa, to assure him that king Alphonso had embarked and sailed for Sicily, to present him with the keys of their town, and to submit themselves to his good pleasure and obedience. Upon this, the king sent thither the marshal de Gié and other lords, who were allowed to enter the city, with all their attendants, according to their pleasure. The king left Aversa on Saturday, to dine at Poggio Reale, which is a beautiful place, much more extensive than the park of Vincennes, with a variety of fine trees, and curious birds and game of all sorts, both small and great, fountains, meads, and wines of the finest flavour. It would take too much time to relate all its magnificence.

CHAPTER CCV.—THE KING OF FRANCE ENTERS THE CITY OF NAPLES IN TRIUMPH.—THE ATTACK AND CAPTURE OF THE CASTEL NUOVO AND THE CASTEL DEL OVO.—OF THE EVENTS THAT PASSED IN NAPLES.

On Sunday, the 22nd day of February, in the year 1494, king Charles dressed himself in his royal robes, and triumphantly entered the city of Naples. Although he afterwards made another entry, as shall be more fully detailed, he, however, showed himself this day the true king and potent lord of Naples, and went thence to the castle of Capua. As some of the partisans of king Alphonso still held the citadel of Naples, the Castel Nuovo, and the Castel del Ovo, king Charles ordered them to be instantly attacked, although one side of the citadel was washed by the sea. He had his battering artillery pointed against the Castel Nuovo; and the captains of the guard for the king were sir Gabriel de Montfaucon, Jean de la Grange, and others of rank. Not to prolong matters, the citadel was gained after a very severe attack; and the Germans, Neapolitans, and Spaniards of the party adverse

* St. Germain. I should suppose it to be Monte Cassino, from the description of it.

to the king of France, burned the outworks, and hastily retreated to join their associates in the Castel Nuovo. In the citadel were found the largest cannons that had ever been seen, with such quantities of other things of an extraordinary appearance, that it was more than eight days before the place could be cleared, by employing numbers of people and carts.

Wednesday, the 25th day of February, the king, after hearing mass in the church of the Annonciada, went to dine with the lord de Montpensier, and thence, accompanied by his lords, repaired to the citadel to examine how it had been battered, and to consult on the best means of conquering the Castel Nuovo. The next day the garrison demanded a parley, on which the artillery ceased firing,—and the lord Angilbert of Cleves, the lord of Ligny, the bailiff of Dijon, and the great chamberlain to the queen, advanced to confer with them. The first demand of the garrison was, that the king would grant them a truce for twenty-four hours, which was cheerfully acceded to: the next, that they might, on the morrow, march away with arms and baggage, which was refused. On the twenty-four hours being expired, the artillery played more fiercely than before,—and it was a pitiful sight to view the ruins of this Castel Nuovo, which was exceedingly strong. The besieged fired a piece of artillery against the church of the Franciscans of the observantine order, which broke through the roof, but did not the least mischief to crowds of persons, of both sexes, then in the church. The incessant firing of the batteries lasted from Thursday to the Monday following,—and there were so many breaches, for the king was there in person, that the garrison again demanded a cessation of arms for another parley. The lord Angilbert of Cleves and the bailiff of Dijon, who spoke German, met the deputies from the castle. They demanded permission to march away in safety with their baggage, to receive three months' pay to serve the king, if it should be agreeable to him; otherwise, to receive passports for them to go whithersoever they pleased.

The cessation of arms was renewed from day to day, as the parley was prolonged by the garrison until the 3rd of March, in expectation of being relieved by king Alphonso. But when they found all hopes of relief vain, and that the batteries were about to recommence with more violence than ever, they were forced to abandon themselves to the mercy of the king, into whose hands they surrendered themselves. He allowed them to keep their baggage; but all artillery, stores, and provisions, were to remain in the castle, which he immediately regarrisoned with his troops, and with able captains, for its defence. During the king's stay at that pleasant place Poggio-Réalé, the daughter of the duchess of Melfy*, in company with her mother, came thither, mounted on a superb courser of La Puglia, and throwing the bridle on his neck, made him gallop four or five long courses; after which she made him curvet and bound as well as the most excellent rider could have done, which pleased the king very much,—and he made her a handsome present.

Monday, the 4th of March, the king had the Castel del Ovo besieged, and strongly battered on the land side; the others were surrounded by the sea. This day the king heard mass at the Carthusian convent, and dined with the lord of Clerieux†: he afterwards visited the siege of the Castel del Ovo, of which the artillery had already destroyed great part,—for the cannoneers had performed their duty wonderfully well, insomuch that about five o'clock in the afternoon the garrison demanded a parley. The king being there in person, consented to it, and sent thither the lords de Foix and de Miolan, who having heard their proposals, carried them to the king while at supper.

Thursday, the 5th of March, the king again returned to the siege after his dinner; and while he was in the trenches with his artillery, the prince of Tarentum waited on him. The lord de Guise ‡, the lord de Ligny, the master of the household of Brillac, had advanced to meet the prince, and remained as hostages for his safe return after the conference. The king and prince were both sumptuously dressed, and conversed by themselves for some time

* Melfy. Q. Amelfi? Mary, natural daughter of king Ferdinand, married to Anthony duke of Amelfi, of the house of Piccolomini.

† Clerieux. William of Poitiers, lord of Clerieux, governor of Paris.

‡ Claude, second son of René the second, duke of Lorraine, was ancestor of the dukes of Guise. He died in 1550, and therefore must have been very young at this period.

in a garden adjoining to the park of artillery, to all appearance with great politeness. When the conversation was ended, the king called to him the lord de Montpensier, the lord de Foix, the lord de la Tremouille, the lord de Miolan, the mareschal de Gié, and several others, with whom he talked for a considerable time, surrounded by his guards. When it was over, the prince took leave of the king, and returned to his galley, which was anchored off the shore, attended by many of the French lords, according to the king's orders. On his arrival at the shore he took leave of these lords, commending himself to the good graces of their king; and when he had embarked in his galley, they went back to relate to the king all that had passed, and his praises of the reception he had had. On this day the artillery did not play on either side.

Friday, the 6th of March, the king, having heard mass, went to dine with the lord de Clerieux,—and this day many of the garrison (among whom were several of the wounded) left the Castel del Ovo. The Spaniards went to the prince of Tarentum, and the Germans surrendered themselves to the king, having passports for the purpose. The lord de Cressol, sir Gabriel de Montfaucon, by the king's command, entered the castle with a body of men under arms, and archers to take charge of it, and the numberless stores within it. Saturday, the 7th of March, the king went to examine the Castel del Ovo, and then departed to lay siege to the opposite castle. Towards evening, the prince of Tarentum paid another visit to the king, near to the park of artillery,—and the lords de Guise and de Ligny were hostages for his safe return. This conference was short, for it was late; and when the prince returned to his galley, the above lords rejoined the king. It is worthy of remark, that on this day the prince of Salernum, who had been five years a fugitive from Naples, through fear of king Alphonso, returned thither, and recovered a young son, who had been, by Alphonso, confined in prison; for the cardinal of San Pietro ad Vincula had paid a very large sum for his ransom.

On Sunday, the 8th of March, the king having heard mass, and dined, went to amuse himself at the siege, and sent the governor of Paris, and the esquire Galiot, to summon the garrison to surrender, otherwise he would shortly batter the walls about their ears. They refused to comply; and, in consequence, the batteries were played with such effect that, on the Thursday following, the 12th, they knew not where to shelter themselves,—and the governor was constrained to come from the castle to speak with the king, then in the trenches. The governor, bareheaded and on his knees, besought the king, with uplifted hands, to grant a truce until the morrow, and to receive the garrison mercifully, which was granted. The governor was a handsome, tall figure, with white hairs; and, on having this answer, he returned by sea to the castle, accompanied by the prince of Salernum and the mareschal de Gié, to parley with the garrison in the castle. Shortly after, the captains Claude de Rabaudanges and the lord de la Vernade were appointed governors of this castle; and nothing was taken out of it. The king, on the following Sunday, after hearing mass, returned to the castle of Capua, and remained some days to receive the homages of the princes and princesses of the realm, together with those of the nobles and inhabitants as well of Naples as of the Terra di Lavora, Calabria, La Puglia, and of other parts subjected to the crown of Naples. He had there established his chancery and courts of justice and finance, with presidents like as in France. The president Guennay was the chancellor, having the king's secretaries under him, with great and smaller seals for all requisite acts. He ordered money to be coined of gold and silver, and other metal; such as crowns, ducats, and various pieces, both double and single, having the arms of France impressed on one side, and on the reverse the arms of Sicily, quartered with the small crosses of Jerusalem.

The king now appointed many new officers for the city of Naples, and in other towns,—namely, judges, masters of the mint, and of various descriptions. During this interval, he visited the different churches in Naples, and everything worth seeing there and in its neighbourhood. While thus employed, he had many very fine entertainments given him by the nobility in Naples and others; but it would be tiresome to detail them all. News arrived on the Wednesday, that Gaieta was taken by the French troops: in consequence of which, the king sent the seneschal of Beaucaire on the morrow to take the government of it. During the month of April, the king inspected his artillery, and that which had been

found in the castles of Naples: the greater part of the last was transported to France. The lord d'Aubigny left Naples this month for Calabria, accompanied by his men-at-arms and a large body of Germans. The 15th of April, the king, after hearing mass in the church of the Annonciada, was confessed, and then touched and cured great numbers that were afflicted with the evil,—a disorder that abounded much all over Italy,—when the spectators were greatly edified at the powers of such an extraordinary gift. This day the lord Virgilio Orsini and the count of Petilano waited on the king for the first time since they had been made prisoners.

The next day, which was Maunday-Thursday, the 16th of April, the king heard divine service in the church of St. John, a handsome building, and attended (as if in France) on thirteen poor persons, who were washed and waited on at dinner, and presented with thirteen crowns. The sermon was preached on that and the two following days by master Pinelli, a doctor of divinity in the university of Paris. On Easter-day, the 19th of April, the king was confessed in the church of St. Peter, adjoining to his lodgings, and then touched for the evil a second time; after which he heard mass in the church of St. John, and in the evening a sermon by doctor Pinelli. Wednesday, the 22nd, the king went to see the tiltings, the lists for which had been erected near to a church founded by the Anjou race of kings of Sicily, where were many of the nobility and ladies of Italy. These justings lasted from Wednesday until the 1st of May: the holders of them were Châtillon and Bourdillon, and the assailants were very numerous,—and excellent deeds of arms were done on each side.

On Sunday, being the feast of St. Januarius, the king heard mass in the cathedral or church of St. Januarius, where many cardinals, bishops, and prelates attended. The head of St. Januarius was publicly displayed to the king, and some of his blood in a glass bottle: it was congealed like a stone, as the king proved by touching it with a small rod of silver; but no sooner was it placed near to the head than it began instantly to melt and become liquid, to the astonishment of many who viewed this miracle. The prelates of the church said, that by means of this miraculous head and blood of St. Januarius, they were made acquainted with the success of their petitions to God; for when their prayers had been propitious, the blood became liquid,—but when otherwise it remained hard. They were likewise by this means informed as to the dispositions of their prince, and whether he was to reign over them or not, which seemed very extraordinary.

On Monday, the 4th of May, the king sent Jean du Bois, Fontaines, and the master of the household de Bresse, to make an inventory of all the stores, and other effects, in the Castel del Ovo,—for there appeared to be such quantities of provision, and of other things, that the value seemed inestimable. During this time, the king visited several places in the neighbourhood of Naples; such as the grotto which Virgil had pierced with such subtile art through a high mountain on the sea-shore of Naples, which is a wonderful thing, as there is no other road but through this subterraneous passage, as all who have seen it can testify. A little further on is the Solfaterra, where sulphur is made,—and there are natural fires beneath the surface that are always burning: the king saw them make sulphur. There are, likewise near, many springs of hot water as well as of cold; and in a valley of this mountain is a hole through which comes such an impetuous wind that it supports in the air stones, and pieces of wood, that are thrown into it,—and it is said that the heat is very great within this hole. The king visited another remarkable spot where alum is made, and saw the whole process. Near to this last place is a cavern having a deadly quality; for whatever is thrown in perishes instantly, as was proved before the king on an ass and cat, which, on being thrown in, were suddenly killed*. The king, having seen all that was most curious returned to Naples for the night.

* This must be the Grotto del Cane, not far from the Solfaterra. Although small animals perish, yet I doubt whether an ass could be thrown in, or would be so suddenly killed.

CHAPTER CCVI.—KING CHARLES MAKES HIS PUBLIC ENTRY INTO NAPLES, AS KING OF THAT COUNTRY AND MONARCH OF ALL ITALY.

Tuesday, the 12th of May, the king, having heard mass in the church of the Annonciada. left Naples after dinner for Poggio Reale,—where all the princes and nobles of France and Italy were assembled, to accompany him in his public entry into Naples, as king of France, Sicily, and Jerusalem. He was dressed in royal robes, and made a most splendid and triumphant entry, and thenceforward was called Charlés Cæsar Augustus. In his right hand was the globe, and his sceptre in the left,—and his mantle was of fine scarlet trimmed with ermine, having a deep fall-down collar, ornamented with ermines' tails also, with a brilliant crown on his head. The horse he rode was as grandly caparisoned as possible, to suit his state: and over his head was borne a splendid canopy by the highest nobility of Naples, who were surrounded by the king's valets richly dressed in cloth of gold: the provost of the household with his archers on foot attended on him on each side. The seneschal of Beaucaire represented the constable of Naples,—and the lord de Montpensier preceded him, handsomely mounted, and dressed as viceroy and lieutenant-general of Naples.

The prince of Salernum was present, together with the great lords of France, of the blood royal, and knights-companions of the king's order; such as, the lord de Bresse, the lord de Foix, the lord de Luxembourg, the lord de Vendôme, and others without number, all dressed in mantles like to what the king wore. In short, the entry was most magnificent; and the nobility of Naples, with their ladies, presented to the king their children of ten, twelve, and fifteen years of age, requesting of him to make them knights, which he did with his own hand,—and it was a splendid spectacle. The prelates and clergy came out to meet him in the richest copes, bearing relics, and conducted him to the cathedral, where on the high altar were displayed, as before, the head and blood of St. Januarius. In front of the altar, the king swore to protect his new subjects, and to preserve them in their liberties and privileges, which gave universal satisfaction,—and great rejoicings were made on this occasion, and also for his happy arrival, and the great good he had promised them.

The king was, after this, conducted to his palace, where, during several days, he received embassies from different parts of his kingdom; such as Calabria, La Puglia, L'Abruzzo, to do homage, and to inquire respecting the manner in which they were to be governed by a viceroy when the king should be absent, as was natural for them. On Monday, the 18th of May, the king ordered a grand supper to be prepared at the Castel Nuovo, where he gave a sumptuous banquet, to his princes and nobles, seated at two tables, in the great hall of the castle, to which was an ascent by several stone steps. The grand seneschal of Naples served the whole of the supper, superbly mounted, and clothed in white, with abundance of trumpets and clarions sounding. After supper, the king received the homage of all the lords, and then returned to sleep at his palace.

CHAPTER CCVII.—KING CHARLES MAKES DISPOSITIONS TO RETURN TO FRANCE,—AND TAKES LEAVE OF HIS SUBJECTS IN NAPLES.

Wednesday, the 20th of May, the king, having heard mass with great solemnity at the church of the Annonciada, dined at the palace; after which, the nobility of Naples waited on him to take leave. They were assembled in the great hall, where the king received them graciously, and kindly bade them adieu! at the same time, he presented to them the lord de Montpensier, as their viceroy and governor during his absence. When this was done, the king departed from Naples, attended by a gallant company of lords and gentlemen, men-at-arms, Swiss and Germans, and slept that night at Aversa, on his return to France.

CHAPTER CCVIII.—KING CHARLES RETURNS FROM NAPLES TO FRANCE.

The king, as I have said, left Naples on the 20th of May, and halted at Aversa. On the 21st he marched from Aversa to Capua. On the morrow, he dined and slept at the bishop's palace in Sezza*; and on the Saturday, as he was about to enter Gaieta to refresh himself, the castle fell down and obstructed the road, so that he returned to Sezza,—but on the Sunday, when the damages had been repaired, he proceeded and lay at Monte Cassino. Thence he passed to Ponte-corvo, to Cyprienne, and to Fiorentino, a small city, then under an interdict from pope Alexander, because the inhabitants had murdered and cut off the arms of their bishop, who was a Spaniard, for having been obstinate in supporting king Alphonso against the king of France. This latter would not have been able to have heard mass that day, if he had not before had full powers given him to order the celebration of the mass in all places, according to his good pleasure. On Friday, the 29th, the king advanced for the night to Valmontone, wherein were many who hated the French, because they had destroyed and burned Monte-Fortino: nevertheless, he proceeded to Marina the next day, and halted there till Sunday. On Monday the 1st of June, the king re-entered Rome, on his return to France, and was lodged in the palace of the cardinal de St. Clement, near to St. Peter's. He was grandly accompanied by his nobles, gentlemen-pensioners, men-at-arms, cross-bowmen, Swiss and Germans; and because pope Alexander was absent†, he posted his men in different parts of the town, to check any insolence of the Romans. Having done this, he went to St. Peter's, to return his thanksgivings to God. On Wednesday, he left Rome, dined at Isola, and lay at Campanolle. Friday he advanced to Ronciglione, and the same day entered Viterbo with his whole army, where he was as well received as before. He remained in Viterbo until Whitsunday was passed, to perform his devotions, and visit the body of St. Rosa. On the 8th of June, the king supped and lay in the town of Monte Fiascone, celebrated for its muscadine wines,—and thence, continuing his march through La Paille and other places, arrived at Sienna, the inhabitants of which came out to welcome him, magnificently dressed, and with the same ceremonies as at the first of his coming thither.

The king marched from Sienna on the 17th of June for Poggiobondi, where he lay, and stayed the following morning, on account of its being the feast of the holy sacrament, and attended the procession to high mass with great devotion. After dinner he advanced to Château Florentin,—and on the morrow he dined at Campane, near to Florence; but he did not enter Florence on his return, for, under pretence of being in the French interest, the town of Pont-Velle had been taken.

Saturday, the 20th of June, the king entered Pisa, where he was received with every honour and submission. He stayed there two days, and on the Tuesday following dined at Pommart, and slept at Lucca, where, in return for his handsome reception, he took the town under his protection. He marched through Pietra Santa, and arrived, on the Saturday, at Sarsaigne‡, where he had intelligence of the junction of the duke of Milan with the Venetians. For this reason, he would not sleep at Villa Franca, but encamped his army on the other side of the river, where he supped, and waited for the arrival of his artillery, and the rear of his army. The king left his camp, at Villa Franca, on the 30th of June, to hear mass at a large monastery near to Pontremoli; for the Germans had burnt that town, in revenge for the murders of some of their countrymen by the inhabitants, on their march to Naples. After dinner, the king encamped at the foot of the Apennines, and there remained until his artillery had passed the mountains. The lord de la Tremouille and Jean de la Grange were charged with this business,—and although there were plenty of hands they had great difficulties, on account of the rocks. On the 3rd of July, and the following day, the king crossed the Apennines, and passed through Verceil and Cassano, and encamped his army near to Borgo de Taro, where he lay, under the security of strong guards. Sunday, the 5th of July, the king heard mass in his camp, and dined at Foronuovo§, where he formed his plan for the order of battle, with a main body, a van and reserve, and having the usual guards established.

* Sezza,—twenty-nine miles N.N.W. of Naples.

† The pope had fled to Orvieto, conscious of having deceived the king, and fearful of consequences.

‡ Sarsaigne. Q. Sarsana?

§ Foronuovo,—eight miles from Parma.

CHAPTER CCIX.—THE BATTLE OF FORONUOVO, WHERE THE KING OF FRANCE GAINS A COMPLETE VICTORY OVER THE CONFEDERATED PRINCES OF ITALY.

On Monday, the 6th of July, in the year 1495, the French army was encamped adjoining to the valley of Taro, about two miles from Foronuovo, and four from Parma. Thence marched that gallant prince, Charles VIII. of the name, king of France, accompanied by those valiant captains before mentioned, and about eight or nine thousand courageous men-at-arms, to meet from fifty to sixty thousand Lombards, Venetians, Estradiots *, and others, his enemies. The marquis of Mantua † was commander of the Venetians: count Galeas Sforza was the representative of his brother, Ludovico duke of Milan, and the lord of Ferrara ‡ commanded the rest of the traitors, in company with other captains. The king was armed from head to foot in a manner becoming so great a prince. Over his armour he wore a jacket with short sleeves, of a white and violet colour, besprinkled with crosses of Jerusalem. His helmet was magnificently ornamented with feathers,—and he was accoutred like a good man-at-arms, with sword, dagger, spear, and battle-axe. He was mounted on a powerful black horse, called Savoy, whose caparison was of the same colours with the king's jacket, and besprinkled with similar small crosses. The king was surrounded by very able and trusty advisers to direct him, having under them about two thousand men, who afterwards gave good proofs of their valour.

When the French army had been properly arranged, and the artillery was ready, they began to advance toward the enemy in such wise as the ground served them. The Italians, not knowing in what division of the army the king had posted himself, sent a herald, under pretence of asking something from him,—and the herald, on his return, told them the manner in which the king was accoutred. They now began to move, and taking advantage of a favourable situation, discharged a heavy piece of artillery at the van of the French, which wounded and killed several, although it did not break their ranks, nor cause any great confusion. A sharp cannonading followed; but the king's artillery did great mischief to the enemy, and killed one of their principal cannoneers, as was known from a trumpeter that was soon after made prisoner. The king's artillery was so well served that the Italians were forced to retreat, having noticed the excellent order in which the French were formed.

It was wonderful to observe the cool and determined valour of the gallant king, both in actions, and in speeches to those about his person:—"How say you, my lords and friends? Are you not resolved to serve me well to-day? and will you not live and die with me?" Then having heard their answers, he continued, "Be of good courage, and not afraid; for although they be ten times our number,—which is the case, as I know for certain,—yet we have justice on our side, for which I put my confidence in God, that he will be pleased to give us the victory over our enemies. I have also hopes that he will fight this day on our side, and that, through his gracious favour, we shall again triumph, as we have done throughout the whole of this expedition, and return to France with honour to ourselves, through his merciful kindness." Such, or nearly similar, were the words with which this valorous king consoled and encouraged all around him. The enemy were much surprised at the good order of the French; and to endeavour to break it, they sent a detachment of Estradiots, and some Albanians, across a hill, to fall on the baggage. Those who had the guard of it, had been very negligent in not keeping themselves in readiness to resist an attack, by reason of some dispute among themselves, for which they suffered; but it was not much, as shall be told hereafter,—and the army remained unbroken.

The Italians, seeing this, sent a herald to the king to demand a truce. The king replied,—"If they wish for a truce, let them meet me between the two armies." But he afterward sent to them, to say, that if they would, through friendship, allow him and his army a free passage to France, it was all he wanted, otherwise he would force his passage in spite of

* Estradiots,—a sort of light horse, or a militia.

† Francis III., fourth marquis of Mantua, of the house of Gonzaga.

‡ Hercules d'Este, first duke of Modena.

them. The Lombards and Venetians hearing this message from the king's herald, detained him. and resolved instantly to charge the French, like madmen. They were particularly desirous to attack the division where the king was, to put him to death,—but God was that day his Protector. The advanced guard perceiving the enemy thus hastily marching, informed the king of their gaining the woods and bushes; on which he crossed the bed of the Taro, and each army was in sight of the other. In fact, the Italians were handsomely equipped and mounted, and advanced with the appearance of a determined courage, as they were far superior in numbers to the French. Their best men were placed in front,—and the first onset was very severe on both sides. As they had been informed by their herald how the king was dressed, their chief attack was made on his division, and with such success, that they advanced to his person; but he displayed great valour, and was so heartily seconded by those near him, that the enemies were completely repulsed, with immense slaughter; even the boldest among them attributed their highest honour to him who could fly the fastest; for when they saw the day was lost, the best piece of all their armour was the point of their spurs.

Only one man of rank was made prisoner on the side of the French, namely, Matthew bastard of Bourbon*, who had most valiantly defended the king; and he was taken when pursuing the enemy up to their lines. Not more than nine or ten French gentlemen were killed, although their enemies were ten to one against them, the greater part of whom saved themselves by flight. This proves, beyond a doubt, that Divine Providence assisted the French, and gave them the victory over their disloyal enemies, who were conquered in so very short a space of time. The king remained the whole of the day armed and on horseback, and until the whole of his army had retired within their camp. Thither came ambassadors to him from the Italians, to demand the prisoners; but they were answered, that they should not be restored,—which astonished them greatly, as they feared that some of their first nobility had been either killed or made prisoners. The king and his nobles, in sign of triumph and victory, supped and lay on the field of battle,—where they ate and drank what they could find, and as it pleased God, to whom they gave their most humble thanksgivings and praises for their success, as indeed they were bounden to do.

CHAPTER CCX.—THE KING DECAMPS FROM FORONUOVO, TO RETURN TO FRANCE.

On the morrow of the battle of Foronuovo, the 7th of July, the king, after hearing early mass, decamped from before Foronuovo, and posted his army on an elevated situation called Magdelan, about half a French league from his late camp, where he remained the whole day. The commanders of the artillery made such diligence in bringing up the cannon that they were placed round the king, as was usual in such cases. The king marched away on the Wednesday with his army and artillery, and repassed several towns wherein he had halted on his advance to Naples, notwithstanding the attempts of the enemy to prevent it. He came at length to Novara, and delivered the duke of Orleans, who had been shut up in that town, with a party of his men, by the traitor Ludovico of Milan. Thence the king proceeded to Asti and to Vercelli, where the duke of Orleans came to meet him. The king received him with much friendship, and they supped together.

On Friday, the 2nd of October in this year, the lord de Vendôme died in the town of Vercelli. His death was much lamented by the king and his nobles, for he was a notable prince †. The following Tuesday, the king had a funeral service performed with much solemnity in the cathedral church dedicated to St. Eusebius, where great grief was manifested by all the assistants; and afterward his body was transported to France, to be interred among his ancestors.

* Matthew lord of Roche, eldest of the bastards of John II. duke of Bourbon.

† His surviving children were :—1. Charles first duke of Vendôme, the father (by Frances de Longueville duchess of Beaumont) of Anthony king of Navarre. 2. Louis, cardinal of Vendôme. 3. Anthonia, wife of Claude duke of Guise. 4. Louisa, abbess of Fontevraud. 5. Francis, lord of St. Pol, a title which he inherited from his mother, the eldest daughter of Peter, son of the constable.

On Wednesday, the 7th of October, the bishop of Sion arrived at Vercelli, with a body of Swiss, horse and foot, and others from the German allies of the king, for his better security. The king thanked the bishop for his friendship, and grandly feasted him and the troops he had brought. The next day, ambassadors came to the king from Ludovico of Milan and the Venetians, and earnestly demanded a treaty, having witnessed the strength of the king, and the enterprising courage of his troops,—when a treaty was agreed to, on much better terms than they deserved. On Saturday, the 10th of October, the king heard mass in the church of the Cordeliers in Vercelli, adjoining his lodgings; and, after his dinner, he proceeded to Trino, where he halted until the 15th of October, when he went to Crescentino, and from this place, by many days' march, arrived at Grenoble, passing through the following towns: Sillans, Sessia*, Turin, Quiers, Rivoli, Suza, Briançon, Notre-Dame-d'Embrun, Savines, Saint Eusèbe, La Meure †, and Tault near to Grenoble. He arrived at Grenoble about vespers, on the 27th of October; and all ranks of people went out in procession, and made another public entry for him on his return from the campaign of Italy.

The king, being unwell, remained in Grenoble until the 3rd of November, when he set out for Lyon, passing through the towns of St. Rambert, where he stayed some days, Sillans, La Côte St. André, and Chatonay,—from which last place he advanced nearer to Lyon, where he slept. On Saturday the 7th of November, having dined at Venisseu, he proceeded to Lyon, whence all the churchmen came out in grand procession, dressed in their robes and bearing relics, to meet and welcome him on his return from Italy. He made a public entry into Lyon, as king of Jerusalem, Naples, and Sicily, attended by all the municipal officers and persons of rank in that town, handsomely dressed. He was conducted triumphantly through the streets, accompanied by the nobles and captains, who were looked at with pleasure in consequence of the noble victory they had gained over such superior numbers. The streets and squares were hung with tapestries: bonfires and mysteries were exhibited in all the open spaces through which the king passed, in his way to the archbishop's palace, that had been prepared for his lodgings. Here the queen and the duchess of Bourbon, his sister, were waiting, with many noble ladies and damsels, impatient to receive him; and, indeed, he was deserving of such eagerness.

The king held most sumptuous jousts at three different places in Lyon: at La Grenette in front of the convent of Cordeliers, in the Juerie, and before the palace: at all of them, he was foremost to offer himself, and performed many gallant feats with lance and sword, on horseback and on foot, as did several others of the French lords. In memory of these jousts, three stone columns were erected,—and to this day there exist the Latin verses that were inscribed on them, for king Charles was the principal tenant of the lists.

Prior to the expedition to Naples, the king had the body of the seraphic doctor, St. Bonaventure, raised with great pomp from his tomb in the church of the Cordeliers,—and the duke and duchess of Bourbon had his shrine afterward covered with plates of silver. The king, at the same time, founded the convent of the Cordeliers of the Observance in the city of Lyon, which is become a place of much devotion. When the king had staid some days in Lyon, he resolved to pursue his journey, to pay his devotions at the abbey of St. Denis, and return thence to Amboise,—which he did, as shall be hereafter related. In the year 1496, the son of the king of Spain died ‡,—and the same year died the duke of Savoy §, who was said, by those lately returned from Italy, to have poisoned the whole country of Piedmont.

* Sessia. Q. Borgo de Sessia?

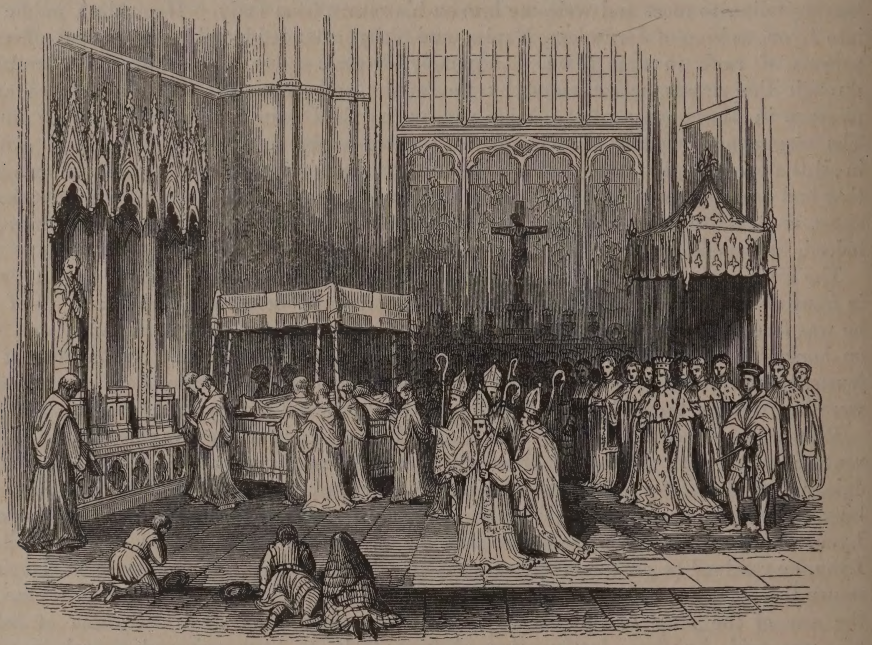
† La Meure. Q. La Meyrie? in the election of Grenoble.

‡ Prince John, to whom the unfortunate Margaret of Austria was betrothed after her rejection by Charles VIII.

§ Charles John Amadeus, commonly called Charles the Second, duke of Savoy, died this year at the tender age of eight years. The suspicion of poisoning the waters, which is nowhere that I can find alluded to by Guicciardini, probably refers to his successor Philip count of Bresse, who died the year following, just at the time that he had intended to leave the party of the king of France and embrace that of the confederates. Philip had three sons; Philibert II., who succeeded him, and died in 1504, without issue by Margaret of Austria his wife; Charles III.; and Philip duke of Nemours. Louisa, who married Charles count of Angoulesme, and is so celebrated in history as the mother of Francis I., was one of his daughters.

CHAPTER CCXI.—THE KING OF FRANCE GOES TO ST. DENIS.—HE RETURNS TO AMBOISE, AND THERE SUDDENLY DIES OF A FIT OF APOPLEXY.

When king Charles had made some stay in Lyon, and had witnessed the tilts and tournaments that had been performed at Moulins, in the Bourbonnois, he proceeded to the abbey of St. Denis, to accomplish the vow of pilgrimage he had made, and to offer up his thanksgivings to God for the brilliant victories he had obtained over his enemies, and for the successful issue of his expedition to Naples. He went likewise to St. Denis, to replace the blessed bodies of the holy martyrs who repose there, that had been taken down from their niches when the king set out on his Italian expedition. It is an ancient and praiseworthy custom, that when the most Christian kings of France undertake any foreign expedition in person, they supplicate the aid and intercession of the glorious martyr St. Denis and his companions St. Rusticus and St. Eleutherus. The shrines of these saints are, in consequence, taken down from their niches on the king's quitting his kingdom, and deposited in a private part of the church. These holy bodies, thus deposited, cannot be replaced in their former situations until the king shall return to St. Denis from his foreign expedition, whether it had been for conquest or pleasure.



Charles VIII. causing the Shrines of St. Denis, St. Rusticus, and St. Eleutherus, to be replaced in their respective niches in the Church of St. Denis. Designed from contemporary authorities.

King Charles, therefore, having been victorious throughout Italy, followed the pious custom of his ancestors the kings of France. He made a devout pilgrimage to St. Denis,—and the shrines of the martyrs were by him replaced in their several niches, in the presence of the great barons of France. The king would neither pass nor repass through Paris on this pilgrimage, for reasons that moved him so to do, but which I omit, to avoid prolixity. For this cause, when he left St. Denis, he took his road through St. Antoine-des-Champs,

thence over Le Pont-de-Chalenton*, and through Beauce, straight to the castle of Amboise, where he found the queen and many lords and ladies of his noble blood. He was received there by the inhabitants with the utmost joy and honour.

He had not been long at Amboise before he heard of the treachery of the Neapolitans, and the death of the noble Gilbert lord of Montpensier†. The remaining captains, unable to support themselves in Naples after his loss, returned home as well as they could; for those traitors of Lombardy and Naples had suddenly risen in rebellion,—and they could not possibly receive succours in time from France, had they attempted to hold out against them, from the great distance. King Charles made preparations to avenge himself on them for their treachery and infidelity,—but he had over-exerted himself in his late expedition. His constitution, which was naturally feeble, became daily worse: whence it happened, that as he was walking one day in a gallery of the castle of Amboise with the queen, and amusing himself by looking at some tennis-players, he was suddenly seized with a fit, and died shortly after, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and in the month of April in the year 1497. May God have mercy on his soul!

CHAPTER CCXII.—OF THE FUNERAL SERVICES PERFORMED FOR KING CHARLES VIII. OF FRANCE, AT AMBOISE, PARIS, AND ST. DENIS.

After the decease of king Charles VIII., whose soul may God pardon! a very solemn funeral service was performed at Amboise, in the church of St. Florent, by the reverend cardinal the lord John Peraule‡, assisted by many prelates, great lords, and other persons. There were immense numbers of tapers and torches, and great alms were distributed. When this service was over, the king's heart was carried for interment to the church of Notre-Dame-de-Clery, near to that of his late father. The body, with the representation of his figure over it, was borne in sorrowful pomp to the church of Our Lady in the Fields, in the suburbs of Paris, where it was watched all night by some of his most confidential friends. On the morrow morning, a grand procession came out of Paris, consisting of all the clergy with their crosses, the four orders of mendicant friars, the members of the court of parliament and of the other courts of justice, the provosts, sheriffs, and inhabitants dressed in mourning, to the church of Our Lady in the Fields,—where were waiting the great lords, officers, pages of honour, and others, to the number of more than seven thousand persons, clad in mourning, with hoods,—and, according to the usual ceremony, conducted the body to the cathedral-church of Our Lady in Paris. There were four hundred torches, ornamented with escutcheons of three flowers de luce, carried by four hundred poor men, dressed in black cloaks and hoods. A solemn funeral service was performed in the church of Notre-Dame; after which the body was carried with the same ceremonies through Paris to the abbey of St. Denis, where another service was solemnly performed for the deceased, and presents of money given to all the assistants in making the offerings at the mass, and great alms distributed to the poor.

When the accustomed ceremonies had been finished, the body of king Charles was interred in the sepulchre that had been prepared for him; after which there was a grand dinner given to all the assistants in honour of the late king, to whose soul may God graciously grant his pardon! Amen.

* Pont de Chalenton. Q. Charenton?

† This prince, by his wife Clara Gonzaga, left issue,—1. Louis count of Montpensier, who died in 1501. 2. Charles, who married Susanna, daughter and heiress of Peter II. duke of Bourbon, was made constable of France in 1515, was afterwards condemned for treason, and was killed in the imperial service at the siege of Rome in 1527. 3. Francis duke of Chatelherault, died 1515. 4. Louisa, lady of Chavigny. 5. Reparata, married to Anthony duke of Lorraine. Neither of the sons left any issue surviving.

‡ Raymond Perault, bishop of Saintes, cardinal in 1493, died in 1505.

CHAPTER CCXIII.—OF KING LOUIS THE TWELFTH.

On the 23rd of May, in the year 1498, Louis duke of Orleans, son to the late duke Charles, was consecrated king of France, in the same manner as his predecessors had been, in the cathedral of Rheims. He was the twelfth who had borne the name of Louis, and the fifty-fifth king of France. At this ceremony at Rheims were the twelve peers of France, or their substitutes. For the duke of Burgundy appeared the duke of Alençon; for the duke of Normandy, the duke of Lorraine; for the duke of Guienne, the duke of Bourbon; for the earl of Flanders, the lord de Ravenstein; for the earl of Champagne, the lord Angillebert of Cleves; for the earl of Toulouse, the lord of Foix. Almost the whole of the French nobility were present at the ceremony, which was solemnized in the usual mode to that of former kings, by the cardinal of St. Malo, archbishop of Rheims.

Immediately after, the king made knights of his order of St. Michael the lord de Taillebourg, the lord des Pierres, lord de la Gruture, the lord de Clerieux. He created also knights to the amount of four-score; among whom were the lord de Myolans, sir Claude de Mont-l'Or lord of Château-neuf, de Salazuit, and others, too numerous to name. When these things were done, the king ordered preparations for his entry into Paris. On the 1st of July, the king was crowned in the church of St. Denis, after the manner of his predecessors, kings of France. On the morrow he made a triumphant entry into Paris, and supped at the palace. When all these solemnities were ended, each person withdrew to different places, as ordered by the king. The first who made any opposition to him was the lord de Vergy; but the war was soon ended in Burgundy.

The duke de Valentinois, said to be the son of pope Alexander VII.* arrived at Lyon on the 18th of October, and made his public entry into that city. The king had given him the county of Valentinois†,—and he was now come to France to conclude his marriage with the daughter of the lord d'Albret. This duke was also a cardinal; but he had left that dignity behind him, and appeared in secular clothes with the utmost pomp and grandeur. The 2d and 3d of December, the wind was so high at Lyon that the greatest alarm was caused by it; and the custodium, in which the hosts were kept, on the high altar, in the church of the Cordeliers, was burst open, owing to a broken pane in the window, and the sacred wafers blown all about the church, to the great scandal of devout persons. It happened somewhat before eight o'clock in the morning.

This year, the king gave the princess Jane of France the duchy of Berry; and, for the benefit of the realm, he espoused, by a dispensation from pope Alexander VII. the widowed queen of France, Anne of Brittany‡, which was of the greatest public utility. In the course of this year 1499, the head of St. Bonaventure was deposited, in a very rich shrine of silver, in the church of the Cordeliers at Lyon; and a most solemn procession was made on the occasion by the friars of the convent. On the 10th of June, in this year, the king made his public entry into Lyon, which was very magnificent. The streets were hung with tapestries, and many fine mysteries were represented in the squares. He was very anxious to recover possession of the Milanese, and had sent thither a large army, which, within fifteen days, reconquered Milan, on the 4th of September. Duke Ludovico was in the town, and narrowly escaped being taken, by quitting the place in disguise. The town of Alexandria-della-Paglia§, having shown much hatred to the French, was plundered, and the greater part of it destroyed.

When the king heard of the capture of Milan, he left Lyon, giving orders to the lord de Bersac to destroy all the benches and awnings before the doors in that city. He made his public entry into Milan, and regulated its government. On the Friday before All-souls-day, in this year, the bridge of Notre-Dame, at Paris, fell down, which was a heavy loss;

* This was the notorious Cæsar Borgia,—a worthy son of so worthy a father!

† Valentinois,—a county on the Rhône: Valence is the capital.

‡ Her fate seems to have destined her to marry those who, to obtain her, were forced to be divorced. Charles VIII. was betrothed to Margaret of Flanders, and Louis XII. was married to the daughter of Louis XI.

§ Alexandria-della-Paglia,—is about thirty-eight miles from Milan.

and the king sent thither John de Doyac to superintend the immediate construction of another.

The year 1500 was a grand year of jubilee at Rome, celebrated by pope Alexander VII., and attended by great numbers. There would have been more, if, on the 3rd of January, duke Ludovico Sforza had not, in person, regained Milan, by the aid of a considerable body of Germans. He won the town through the treason of the inhabitants, who surrendered themselves to him; but the French fought valiantly, and kept possession of the castle, whence they battered the town. Several Frenchmen, going to the jubilee at Rome, were murdered at the inns on the road,—which being discovered, justice was done on the perpetrators by burning their houses, with their inhabitants, to serve for examples to all others. The duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, gave a ducat to every one who brought him the head of a Frenchman. The count Gayache * and his wife now came to France; he was brother to the late Galeas Visconti.

On the 19th of March in this year, the queen of France made a second public entry into Lyon, the streets being hung with tapestry, and several beautiful mysteries represented. About eight days after, a number of prisoners of war were brought before the king at Lyon, for having broken their oaths, at which the public greatly murmured.

CHAPTER CCXIV.—DUKE LUDOVICO SFORZA IS MADE PRISONER BEFORE NOVARA, AND CARRIED TO FRANCE.

On Thursday before Palm-Sunday, the French in Italy acted with such vigour that duke Ludovico fled from Novara with one hundred horse, abandoning his army and artillery in that town. When the French captains approached, a Burgundian leader, called the captain of the Yotiers, came out of Novara and surrendered himself and men to them. The bailiff of Dijon went into Novara to practise with the Swiss in the pay of the duke of Milan (about four thousand in all), who only asked for payment of what was due to them. In regard to the Lansquenets, they knew not how to act; for the Swiss in the king's service would not show them any mercy, although their captains did all they could that matters might be settled without effusion of blood. There were in Novara twenty thousand combatants; eight thousand Lansquenets, four thousand Swiss, eight hundred Burgundians, and the rest Lombards. In addition to these, a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men were on their march to join them, and within a mile of Vercelli, not including those in Vigeue †.

Shortly after, Ludovico returned and marched his army out of Novara, and encamped them near to the French; but God, knowing the usurpation and wickedness of Ludovico, inspired the French with courage to defend themselves, when attacked by him. Notwithstanding the duke of Milan thought himself certain of destroying the French, the matter ended without blood being spilt, and without a battle. It was said, that the Lansquenets refused to fight against their countrymen; and likewise, that the duke had not paid his men their arrears, which made them unwilling to serve him. On the other hand, the French were determined on battle; but when they marched to charge the Milanese army, it surrendered to them without striking a blow. The duke of Milan, observing this, disguised himself in the frock of a Cordelier monk, and, by mixing with his men, thought to escape; but the lord de Ligny and the lord de la Trimouille made such good arrangements with their army, it was impossible; for they ordered the whole of the Milanese force to pass under the pikes, so that the duke was discovered, made prisoner, and put under the guard of the French in Novara, which place had thrown open its gates. The lord Jean Jacques‡ was

* Q. Count of Cajazzo? He was of the family of the San Severini, and connected by marriage with the house of Sforza, but not, that I can find, with that of Visconti.

† Vigeue. Q. Vigevano?

‡ The lord Jean Jacques. Trivulce, a Milanese, marquis of Vigevano, governor of Milan, captain of one hundred Lombardy men-at-arms and of two hundred archers, king's lieutenant of the French armies in Italy. He was present at the battles of Foronuovo and Aignadello, and held great and honourable employments under Charles VIII., Louis XII., and François I. He was made marshal of France in 1500, died in 1518. He was uncle to Theodore Trivulce, governor also of Milan, and marshal of France.

See Brantome, vol. ii. des Vies des Hommes illustres étrangers.

present at this conquest, for he had always been faithful to the king. The duke had in his pay an astrologer or necromancer, in whom he put great confidence; but his astrology was of no avail to prevent him being made prisoner. According to agreements entered into with the Milanese army, they were allowed to depart in safety with their arms and baggage; but the duke and his artillery remained with the French. The lord-cardinal of Amboise was then at Vercelli, and vowed the king under the protection of Our Lady des Bonnes Nouvelles.

Intelligence of this success came to the king at Lyon, the vigil of Palm-Sunday, which rejoiced him exceedingly; and bonfires were made in the streets, for joy that the French had been victorious. Immediately after, news was brought that the duke of Milan was a prisoner, which caused the rejoicings to be repeated by all ranks of persons in Lyon. The children of the duke were sent into Germany.

CHAPTER CCXV.—THE CARDINAL ASCANIUS, BROTHER TO THE DUKE OF MILAN, IS TAKEN PRISONER, AND CARRIED TO FRANCE.

The cardinal Ascanius, brother to the duke of Milan, was in that city when he heard of the duke being a prisoner: he instantly departed thence, with six hundred horse and some artillery, accompanied by the higher nobility of Milan. He had also with him a considerable body of Estradiots; and the commander of the whole was count John, brother to the marquis of Mantua, who intended to march for the Bolognese; but it was said, that he was met by a Venetian captain, of the name of Soucin Bienson*, with a body of troops, who attacked the cardinal. At this unexpected onset, the cardinal cried out, "Qui vive?" and was answered, "St. Mark and France!" The battle lasted four hours, and the Venetian captain was severely wounded, with many of his men; but when the cardinal, who was in armour, saw the fortune of the day was against him, he fled to a castle called Rivoli, which was immediately besieged by the Venetian.

To make short of this matter,—the cardinal lost many of his men; and the brother to the marquis of Mantua was ransomed. With this Venetian captain was another, called Charles des Ursins. A Milanese captain, of the name of Badin, was made prisoner, with the abbot of Senselles, and four viscounts; and upwards of a hundred thousand ducats were taken, without including the baggage. The cardinal, astonished to find himself besieged in this castle without provision or money, entreated the captain to ransom him, which he refused,—so that he surrendered himself on the sole conditions of having his life spared, and of being given up to the king of France. The captain would have carried him a prisoner to Venice; but the seneschal of Beaucaire, the lord de Montoison, and the chief justice of Provence, who had gone thither to receive the cardinal, prevented it. The Venetians also, knowing that the cardinal was an enemy to the king, that he had been taken on the king's territories near Piacenza, and wishing likewise to be on good terms with France, had the cardinal delivered into the hands of the before-named persons.

The inhabitants of Milan, on their duke and his brother the cardinal being made prisoners, opened a negotiation for the surrender of their town with the cardinal of Amboise, lieutenant for the king.

CHAPTER CCXVI.—THE INHABITANTS OF MILAN ARE BRIBED INTO SUBJECTION.

On the 17th of April, which was Good Friday, in this same year, the inhabitants of Milan, acknowledging the great crimes they had committed against the king of France, their duke, most humbly besought the reverend father in God the lord George d'Amboise, cardinal-priest of the apostolical see, lieutenant-general for the said king, that he would be pleased (after having granted some small sums for their relief, to assist them in paying their fine,

* Soucin Bienson. Q.

and also to save them from the pillage and destruction which the army was ready to inflict on them) to come to the duke's palace in the city of Milan to receive their submissions, which they were determined to make publicly in acknowledgment of their misconduct, and to entreat the clemency of the king, on payment of such a fine as their means would admit of. This reverend cardinal acceded to their requests, and came to the palace called La Court-vieille, whither arrived in procession all the nobles, burghers, tradesmen, and inhabitants, preceded by little children dressed in white linen, and bareheaded, having a large crucifix, and the great banner of Our Lady, borne before them.

The lord-cardinal being seated on the throne prepared for him in the great court of this palace, and surrounded by many of the king's counsellors and captains, master Michael Touse, doctor of laws, and town-advocate, ascended a rostrum that had been there erected, and made the following harangue: "Unworthy as I am to ascend this rostrum, my most reverend and most illustrious lord-cardinal, I am very anxious to have it remembered, and thus publicly to express the complete submission and devotion my countrymen, the people of Milan, as well as myself, feel toward our sovereign lord and duke, the most Christian king of France; and although I know my own incapacity to express their wishes, notwithstanding my earnest desire so to do, yet, as a good citizen, I could not refuse their requests to undertake it,—and I will accomplish it to the best of my abilities. Among all the cities and towns of Italy, Milan, without doubt, must be considered as the principal, when governed with justice by an upright lord, as all good and loyal citizens have desired. Since God the Creator has been pleased to place them in the hands of the most Christian king, their legitimate lord, they cannot wish for a better nor a more powerful prince: their duty is to persevere in the fidelity and loyalty which they have sworn to him when he received them with such benignity and humanity. It may be said, that he had reintegrated the citizens to their country, and their country to the founder; for the French had founded and built the city of Milan,—and the country, to this day, retains the name of Gallia Cisalpina. But, alas! we have sadly displayed the instability of our tempers, and committed the crimes of treason and rebellion without any reason for so doing; for neither the king our lord, nor the deputies he sent to govern us, have done any things that ought to have displeased us, or make us discontented. In regard to our lord himself, we have always found him full of humanity, affection, and clemency; and in regard to the lord de Luson, who had been appointed our chief-justice, we cannot accuse him of any improper acts,—for he ever received us kindly, and heard our complaints attentively, doing justice to all parties, like as a good father would to his children.

"In like manner, the lord Jean Jacques, who has ruled us without distinction of persons or the smallest partiality, punishing rather his own people than ours, just as those excellent Romans, Brutus and Torquatus, put to death their children for the good of their country. He also has afforded us all necessary support. The lord-bishop of Como and others of the family of Trivulce have acted in a similar kind manner to us. We feel the more beholden to the lord Jean Jacques, because, knowing, as he did, the wicked intentions of many of the chief exciters to the late rebellion, he attempted to gain them over from their intentions by gratuities and honours, rather than dip his hands in the blood of his countrymen. He preferred also retiring into the castle to destroying the town by fire and sword, as perhaps strict duty would have forced him to; and from thence he departed, to return with so much the greater glory. The preservation of the town from ruin is solely owing to his prudent conduct: a superior victory to any achieved by arms, seeing that Ludovico Sforza and almost all the king's enemies are become prisoners. The cardinal Ascanius and others attached to his party were, by God's merciful providence, induced to leave the town, when they might otherwise have injured it by obstinately holding out against the troops of our legitimate lord. The inhabitants, therefore, are greatly indebted to God and the king, who has kindly overlooked their faults, and not punished them according to their deserts.

"To check the fury of his victorious army, the king has been pleased to send you, my lord-cardinal, hither, with full powers to act according to your discretion; and this you have done with such prudence that you have saved the town to the king,—for which we, our children, and our successors, shall be ever beholden to you. We also thank my aforesaid

lord the bishop of Como for his good recommendations of us to you, and for the means he has taken for the preservation of his country,

"Since, most reverend Father in God, you have been pleased, out of your bounty and clemency, following the kind will of our lord the king, to grant to us, the inhabitants of Milan, this public audience, they have commissioned me to make, in their name, the following requests :—

"In the first place, that it may be your good pleasure, when you shall return to the king, to recommend us most humbly to his good graces, and to assure his majesty that the people of Milan will never again rise in rebellion to his power and authority. They somewhat resemble St. Peter, who, having denied God the Redeemer, had afterwards such grief for his sin, that he was more ardent and determined in his service than ever, continually supplicating mercy for his crime. In like manner, most reverend father in God, and in the name of the king our lord, do I, on my bended knees, for myself, the nobles, burghers, and the inhabitants of Milan, beseech you to pardon the rebellion perpetrated by us, which was contrary to the usual custom of the Milanese, celebrated for their fidelity and loyalty.

"Secondly, most reverend father, in respect to the expenses the king our lord has been put to in countermanding the troops sent hither to punish us for our ill conduct, we have promised to pay the sum of three hundred thousand crowns: fifty thousand on the 12th of this month, fifty thousand on the 1st day of May, and the remaining two hundred thousand at his pleasure. We beseech you to intercede for us to his majesty, that he would be graciously inclined to remit payment of the balance of the two hundred thousand crowns,—for it will be impossible to raise so large a sum without totally ruining the town. Its whole wealth consists in merchandize, and in cloths of silk and woollen; and should so large a sum be withdrawn from trade, all these works must stop, to the utter ruin of the city and duchy of Milan, which depends so much upon it. The duty of a king is to enrich, and not impoverish his subjects.

"Thirdly, we most humbly supplicate, that you would dismiss all the men-at-arms from the duchy as speedily as possible, that the fruits of the coming harvest may be preserved for the use of our lord's subjects. Fourthly, we beseech you, that all persons may be restored to the offices they before enjoyed. And, lastly, that since, out of your great mercy and wisdom, you have been pleased to separate the principal instigators of the late rebellion from the more peaceable inhabitants of the town,—and that, through the mercy of God, the cardinal Ascanius and the chiefs of that party are now, for the welfare of the country, detained prisoners,—we beseech you to use your interest with the king our lord, that such provisions be made to prevent them henceforth from troubling the city and duchy, as they have lately done, and put us again in danger of losing our lives and fortunes, whence we have been relieved by the merciful bounty of the king our lord.

"We assure you, most reverend father in God, and most noble lord, that we are determined to remain faithful to our sovereign prince in body and soul; and, by granting us our requests, you will never again hear of any disturbances or factions in this town,—for the inhabitants will henceforward be united in his service, as experience shall prove. We have full confidence that your benignant goodness will do everything, in regard to us, becoming the race whence you descend, which will be agreeable to God, and worthy to be engraved on marble, as a perpetual memorial of your wisdom, and to the glory of your name: all of which I and the people of Milan now assembled here, again on our bended knees, beseech you to grant."

Master Michael having finished his harangue, the lord-cardinal of Amboise consulted the marshal of Trivulce, the bishop of Luson *, chancellor of Milan, the lord de Neufchâtel, and others of the king's counsellors, and ordered master Michael Ris, doctor of civil and canon law, and counsellor to the king in his court of parliament of Burgundy, and in the senate of Milan, to make a reply, which he did in manner following :—

"'Misertus est Dominus super Ninevem civitatem; eo quod pœnitentiam egit in cinere et cilicio.' My lords and gentlemen of the Milanese, the very reverend father in God and

* Luson. Q. Lausanne?

most noble cardinal here present, as lieutenant-general for the king in this duchy, has more attentively listened to your humble propositions and requests than your demerits deserved. That his bounty and mercy may be more manifest, he has ordered me to lay before you your great and inexcusable rebellion, which his excellency would willingly have done himself could he have addressed you in your own language. I am, therefore, employed to do it by his command. I must, therefore, remind you, that on the day when you swore fidelity to the most Christian king, I then addressed you by his orders, and exhorted you to remain firm in your loyalty to him, whence you would derive great honour, and by acting contrary inevitable evils and disgrace would follow. I am now commanded by the most noble lord-cardinal, here present, to explain your great disloyalty and infidelity, that the exceeding clemency and pity of the king, our lord, may be the more apparent.

"Your crimes and your demerits are so enormous, O Milanese! that no punishments can be adequate to them,—and they are deserving of a similar punishment from the king as the Romans inflicted upon the Samiens, as related to us by historians: 'Ita ruinas urbis diruerunt ut hodie Samus in ipsa Samo requiratur.' Or one equal to what Archila * king of the Goths inflicted on the Romans, whose marks are now visible on the walls and buildings of Rome. Or what Alexander did to the Thebans. It may be seen in numerous histories, that for much smaller crimes, Charles the Great, king of France, and the emperor Frederick I., punished most severely this city of Milan. To make your ingratitude more public, you have allowed that the most Christian king is your true and legitimate lord, to whom you owe love and obedience, according to the laws of God and man; for the wise regulation of the Spartans says, 'Populum in obsequia principum, principes ad justitiam imperatorum infirmabit.' In addition to the most Christian king being your natural and lawful lord, he has conferred upon you numberless benefits: he came in person to deliver you from slavery,—not out of a disorderly ambition to gain kingdoms, but from the pity he felt for you as subjects of duke John Galeazzo, your first duke, whose most excellent daughter, the princess Valentina, was his grandmother. He recalled Justice to your country, which had been banished thence. He secured to you your lives and properties, which before no one could call his own. He allowed you the liberty to marry your children as you should please, which before this could not be done; for a father could not marry a daughter, nor a mother a sister, but according to the will and appetite of the lord. Offices which were temporary he made perpetual. He abolished all pillories, concussions, and exactions.

"Besides these and numberless other benefits that he showered upon you, you were bounden by your oaths of allegiance to be faithful unto him: nevertheless, many of you, even when taking these oaths, were plotting to deceive him. All of you, ye Milanese! forgetful of the salvation of your souls and honour, and regardless of the danger into which you threw your wives, your children, and your town, have conspired against your true lord in favour of a tyrant, quitting the first of kings in Christendom for a mean fellow of low birth,—a most potent prince for one as poor in courage as in wealth and friends. Had I the powers of language to display the extent of such a crime, I should be incapable to do it under two days; but your own consciences will make you more sensible of it than I can,—and you may apply to yourselves what is written, 'Populus dure cervices,' when you committed that base act of recalling your Ludovico in opposition to your true lord.

"What was the consequence? Did he not instantly seize all the effects of private persons, and not only their wealth, but even the crosses, chalices, and jewels from the churches? What was said of Cambyses, king of Persia, may be said of him, 'Difficile enim erat ut parceret suis, qui contempta religione grassatus etiam in Deos fuerat.' Although from so great a crime many may attempt to exculpate themselves, yet I do not see how they can well do so, for it would have been easy at first to have resisted such treason: nor can one in Milan excuse himself for the joyous reception given to Ludovico, as if he had been a god descended from heaven on earth. The people of Milan assisted the lord

* Archila. Q. Attila?

Ludovico with money and men. Feasts and entertainments were everywhere displayed to welcome his arrival, and for his short-lived victories when he gained Novara.

"Observe now, O Milanese! how strongly the justice of God, the Creator, has been made manifest, and the great power that it has pleased Him to invest the king our lord with: for when you thought that you had done everything by gaining Novara, at that moment you lost the whole, and your idol, the lord Ludovico, carried away a prisoner,—so that what was said of the Persians may be applied to him, 'Servit alteri cui nuper Mediolanum serviebat.'

"O Milanese! notwithstanding your enormous offences, the great fountain of mercy of our good king has not been dried up by your ingratitude to him: and the uncommon benignity of his lieutenant-general, my lord cardinal, has been fully shown to you, from his respect and reverence to this day, on which it pleased Our Lord to suffer an ignominious death on the cross for our salvation. He, in the king's name, pardons your lives, your honours, and your property, exhorting you, at the same time, to be more careful, henceforward, not only to avoid committing similar offences, but to avoid even the being suspected of them: for should you ever relapse again into rebellion, you will be punished with such severity, the remembrance thereof shall endure to the latest ages of the world. By acting as loyal subjects towards your lord, your town and country will be daily improved, and you will live happy and contented; for it must be a great satisfaction to live under a true and legitimate prince. With regard to the requests you have made to my lord cardinal, you will deliver them to him in writing, and he will return you such answers as shall content you. It must, however, be understood, that from this pardon, all the principal actors and instigators of the late rebellion are excepted."

When this harangue was ended, all the children passed the cardinal in procession, crying out "France, France! France and mercy!"

On St. George's day, the queen of France set out from Lyon, to go to St. Claude, with a very handsome company. Before she returned, she stood godmother with the prince of Orange,—for the princess had, at that time, been brought to bed of a son. On the 2nd of May, the lord Ludovico was brought to Lyon. He wore a robe of black camlet, after the fashion of Lombardy, and was mounted on a small mule. The provost of the royal household, and the seneschal of Lyon, went out to meet him, made him a prisoner in the king's name, and confined him in the castle of Pierre-en-Cise. Great numbers of people were collected in the streets to see him pass. The king was then in Lyon. The 12th of May, the marriage of the lord de la Roche, a baron of Brittany, was announced in Lyon, with the princess of Tarente, daughter to don Frederic of Naples. On this occasion were many jousts and other entertainments, at which were present the queen, her ladies and damsels,—and the wife of count Galeazzo was with the queen; but the marriage did not take place until the 18th of May at the church of St. Croix, near to that of St. John. Tournaments again were exhibited on the Grenette, and gave great satisfaction*.

The lord Ludovico was, by orders from the king and council, transferred from the castle of Pierre-en-Cise, on the 14th of May, to the castle of Loches, near Bourges. On the 24th of the same month, the lord de Ligny returned from Lombardy to Lyon, when the king sent out a large party to meet and welcome him. The cardinal Ascanius Sforza was on the 17th of June, the vigil of Corpus-Christi-day, brought prisoner to Lyon, and confined, where his brother had before been, in the castle of Pierre-en-Cise; but he afterwards found such favour with the king, that he had all France for his prison. The lord-cardinal of Amboise and the lord de la Trimouille arrived at Lyon, the 21st of June, from Lombardy, and brought with them the Lord Jean Jacques de Trévulce and his lady to France.

About the end of July, pope Alexander VII. was struck by lightning at Rome, and

* As I do not understand the expressions in the original, I shall transcribe them.

"Derechief on feit jouste en la Grenette. Les gentilshommes qui joustoient *à cheval de bois et lisses de cordes couvertes de drap de soie qui estoit une chose si mignonnement faicte que merveilles* et tres joyeuse à voir."

[This is evidently a May-game; a joust upon hobby-horses, the barriers consisting only of silken draperies suspended on ropes; and as nobles condescended to indulge in such country sports, it was doubtless "very wonderful and joyous to behold."—Ed.]

much hurt; but, recommending himself to God and Our Lady, he was cured, and ordered a solemn procession, which he attended in person, and granted a full absolution to all who assisted. This happened, as said, on the vigil, or on the day preceding it, of the feast of St. Peter. The same day the king and queen of France left Lyon for Troyes in Champagne, to meet an embassy from Germany that was expected there.

On St. Anne's day, the 26th of July, the king of Yvetot * died at Lyon: he was buried in the church of Sainte Croix, near to that of St. John. The 28th, on a Sunday morning, the last arch but one of the bridge over the Rhône, at Lyon, near to Bechevelain, fell down: the wall and the other arch remained,—but it could not be crossed without great danger, and by going along the top of the wall. This year the Swiss made war on the king's territories,—on which account his Swiss-guards returned home, but the war was soon put an end to.—About St. Simon and St. Jude's day, M. de Bordeaux, archbishop of Lyon, died, and was succeeded by François de Rohan, son to the marshal de Gié.

The king of France, about this period, sent a doctor of divinity from Paris to La Vaupute†, to convert the inhabitants from some fantastical opinions they had imbibed,—but he failed of success. Near Christmas, the river Saone was frozen as high as Mâcon, which prevented any corn and other victual coming to Lyon, and raised the price of bread very high. On St. Thomas's day, the Rhône suddenly rose in the afternoon, and higher than was ever known in so short a time.

In the year 1501, the bishop of Amiens, a native of Burgundy, died at a place called Arboise‡, and was succeeded by the bishop of Nevers. A jubilee took place, this year, in France, for the support of a war against the Turks,—and a tenth was raised, from all benefices, for the same purpose. The archduke Philip and his consort came, in the course of the year, to Paris, and declared themselves friends to the king. They went thence into Spain, where the archduchess was brought to bed of a son.

A large body of infantry, with great stores of salted provision, were ordered to Naples; and the king and queen went to Lyon, to see these troops march through that city. The wife of duke Réné of Lorraine came to Sainte Claude, with her son, and thence proceeded to wait on the king and queen at Lyon. Her son remained at the court, and had a pension; and on the mother's returning to Lorraine, the king presented her with a white palfrey, most richly caparisoned in crimson velvet, with knotted cord-work in embroidery.

CHAPTER CCXVII.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS TROOPS TO RECONQUER NAPLES, WHICH IN A SHORT TIME IS WON,—AND FREDERICK, STYLING HIMSELF KING THEREOF, COMES TO FRANCE.

The king was very anxious to recover his dominions in Naples, and for this purpose sent thither a considerable force by sea and land. The king's lieutenant-general, the lord d'Aubigny, was so diligent, on his arrival, that he soon won the town of Naples. Frederick, calling himself king of Naples, was then in the town; for, after the decease of the duke of Calabria, he claimed it as his inheritance. Seeing all resistance vain, he consented to meet the king of France, to make arrangements respecting his claim; for he was unwilling to remain the king's enemy, seeing it was impossible for him to resist. Some of his children, however, were carried away secretly to the king of Spain.

The king of France received the news of the capture of Naples, and of Frederick, the 8th of August, when at Lyon, where great rejoicings, with bonfires and solemn processions, were made on the occasion, to render thanks to the God of all victories.

On the feast of Our Lady, in September of this year, the convent of the Celestins at Lyon

* King of Yvetot. Yvetot is a small burgh in the country of Caux, six leagues from Rouen. Clotaire I., king of France, having killed Gautier lord of Yvetot, as a compensation erected it into a kingdom.—See La Martiniere's or Baudrand's Geographical Dictionaries.

† La Vaupute. Q. Vault-de-Puis-de-Sacs? a village in Burgundy.

‡ Arbois,—in Franche Comté, celebrated for its vineyards, thirty-eight leagues from Lyon.

took fire, and nearly the whole of it was destroyed. The fire began in the chimney; but the convent was soon afterwards rebuilt, handsomer than before. The same day, friar John Tisserant, an Observantine, of whom mention has been before made, died. On All-Souls day, don Frederic arrived at Lyon, from Naples, and was conducted further into France.

CHAPTER CCXVIII.—THE CARDINAL OF AMBOISE MAKES HIS PUBLIC ENTRY INTO LYON, AS LEGATE TO FRANCE.

Sunday, the 7th of October, the lord-cardinal of Amboise made his public entry into Lyon, having been appointed legate from the holy see to France. His entry was very sumptuous and handsome: the streets hung with rich tapestries, and several allegorical mysteries represented in those streets he passed through. The populace were greatly rejoiced at his arrival, as he had established a peace among the Christian princes, which was proclaimed at Lyon on Saturday preceding Christmas, when bonfires were made in all the squares.

About this time, the lady Margaret* was married to the duke of Savoy, and made her public entry into Geneva in the course of the month of December.

CHAPTER CCXIX.—THE FRENCH, AFTER THE CAPTURE OF NAPLES, MAKE WAR ON THE TURKS.

The year 1502 was the jubilee for a croisade against the Turks. It was, as said, celebrated throughout Christendom to excite every prince to take up arms on the occasion. But there were divisions among them; and all failed in their engagements excepting the king of France, who showed himself deserving of his title of Most Christian King. After the conquest of Naples, he ordered his troops to make war on the Turks by sea and land,—for they, having declared war against the Venetians, had landed troops near to Venice. The French army were eager to advance to the conquest of Constantinople, under the command of the lord Philip of Ravenstein; and they had undertaken the siege of the town of Metelino, under a promise of pay, and of being victualled, made by the Venetians to the king of France. They failed in the last article, for the French army was five days without provision; and what was worse, the Venetians allowed the Turks to march through part of their territories, who fell on the French, killed numbers, and made thirty-two prisoners,—for whose release the pope issued his pardons to obtain the necessary sums, as is specified in the bull. By these means, the French army was ruined; but had the promises made to the French been kept, they would soon have conquered the greater part of Turkey.

Good-Friday, this year, falling on the feast of Our Lady in March, pardons were fully granted at the church of Our Lady at Puys, in Auvergne, where such multitudes attended that a melancholy accident happened, by the falling down of a wall from the crowd pressing against it, which killed numbers, and wounded more. Several also perished from the great pressure. This year, a marriage was concluded between the king of Hungary and Anne of Candale, daughter to the lord of Candale of the house of Foix. She soon after made her public entry into Lyon, where several splendid mysteries were represented, and thence continued her route to Hungary, where the marriage was consummated, and they had a fine family of children. About a fortnight before St. George's day, the prince of Orange died, and was succeeded by his infant son.

Not long after this, the king of France went to Lombardy, and made his public entry into Genoa, the inhabitants having placed themselves under his dominion. The town made him many rich gifts,—and having stayed there some time, he returned to France in September. About this period, Réné bastard of Savoy was driven out of that country, and took refuge

* The lady Margaret—of Austria, daughter to the emperor Maximilian, and widow to John, son to Ferdinand the Catholic king of Spain.

with the king of France, to the great displeasure of the duke and duchess of Savoy; for Réné had revealed divers machinations that were going forward to the prejudice of the crown of France. Shortly, a suit was instituted against the duchess, to recover some places which the duke had given her, that belonged to Réné by purchase.

While the king was in Dauphiny, the duke and duchess of Savoy visited the queen at Lyon, but made no public entry: they staid only four or six days, and went back to Savoy a little before the king's return. Shortly afterward, the general of the order of Cordelier friars came to France, to establish a reform, and to make them follow the regulations of the Observantines,—for the king would have it so, as he knew them to be too worldly inclined, and that it was better to have ten good monks than two thousand vicious ones. On the vigil of St. Martin's day, the wife of don Frederic arrived in France, with some of her children and attendants.

In the year 1503, the picture of Our Lady of the Cloister, which had been in the cloister of the Cordeliers at Lyon, was removed into the church, and placed in the chapel of St. Francis. This painting was so large that the wall was broken down to admit it into the chapel, where it now is most richly decorated. About the beginning of Lent, the king's palace at Dijon was burnt down, by the firing a culverin up the chimney to clean it; the king soon afterwards rebuilt it with greater magnificence.

The 21st of April, when the king was at Lyon, he made a general abolition of a variety of tolls and imposts that had existed for a hundred years, without any legal sanction,—with orders not to re-establish them under severe penalties. This was contained in letters patent he granted to the merchants who trafficked on the Rhône and Saone, and other navigable rivers falling into them, from the town of Pontarlier, above Auxonne, to the sea,—and also to those who trafficked by land through France, the Mâconnois, Lyonnois, Languedoc, and Dauphiny. By these letters, all obstructions to the navigation, such as wears, mill-dams, and the like, were ordered to be instantly removed, excepting such as may have been particularly erected by the king.

The French army at Naples gained ground daily, and had nearly conquered Sicily, so that all trembled before them.

CHAPTER CCXX.—THE ARCHDUKE MAKES HIS ENTRY INTO LYON.—ANOTHER HERETIC.

The archduke Philip made his public entry into Lyon the 23rd of March, and it was very handsome. He came from Spain; but before he entered the king's territories, he demanded that five or six of the princes of the blood should be sent to his country, as hostages for his safety during his stay in France. This was done, for the king had no evil intentions; but the archduke had made the above demand imagining that he might be somewhat inclined to be suspicious of him. The populace were rejoiced at his coming, because he was charged to make peace between the kings of France and Spain, which he did; and it was proclaimed while the king, queen, and their court were at Lyon, on the 4th of April. The peace included, beside the kings of France and Spain, the archduke, the king of the Romans, and their allies.

The archduke, on leaving Lyon, went to Bourg-en-Bresse in Savoy, where he met the duke, and his sister the duchess of Savoy.

About the 13th of April, the lord John de Horne, bishop of Liege, waited on the king at Lyon, on account of a quarrel that had taken place between him and the lord de la Marche, which they had mutually referred for the king's decision, and he made peace between them. The archduke had not been long at Bourg-en-Bresse before it was known that the king of Spain had landed a large army at Naples, and had instantly attacked the French unexpectedly—for they understood that they were at peace with Spain. Notwithstanding this, a severe conflict took place,—and the duke of Nemours was killed treacherously. The Spaniards conquered the town of Naples, in contradiction to the oath their king had so lately made to observe the peace. It was said that pope Alexander VII. had supplied the Spaniards with provision. The lord d'Aubigny retired into Calabria with a few of his men;

but had the French been supported, they would have prevented the Spaniards succeeding in their enterprise. It was likewise reported, that some of the French had joined the Spaniards, having an understanding with the king of Spain; but this perhaps was discovered afterwards. The lord de la Trimouille was, in consequence, sent to Naples as lieutenant-general for the king; but he was seized with so grievous a malady on his road, he was forced to return to France.

In this year, an extraordinary event happened at Paris. A young scholar, twenty-two years old, a native of Abbeville, whose parents were of worth and much respected, went on the feast of St. Louis to the holy chapel in the palace, while mass was celebrating at an altar on the right hand. When the priest was about to consecrate the host, this scholar snatched it out of his hands, and ran away with it into the court fronting the exchequer-chamber. Perceiving that he was pursued, he tore the wafer into pieces, and flung them on the pavement. When taken, he was confined in the prison of the Conciergerie; but no exhortations could make him repent. Upon this his parents were sent for, who were much grieved at his conduct, more especially for his obstinacy and malice; and the mother died in Paris of grief. The father renounced his son for a heretic, and wanted to put him to death with his own hands. When brought before the court of parliament, he was asked of what religion he was, and replied, Of the religion of nature. It was said that he had frequented the company of some scholars from Spain, who had fled. A general procession was made to the holy chapel, to offer up prayers to God that the scholar might be converted; and a sermon was preached, while he was present, by an eminent doctor. The court of parliament finding him obstinate, condemned him to be dragged from prison to the place where he had thrown down the host; then to be put into a tumbril, and have his wrist cut off, and carried to the pig-market to be burnt. He was accompanied all the time by three doctors, who earnestly exhorted him to repent,—namely, master John Standun, a Cordelier, and a Jacobin: the first never left him until dead, notwithstanding he continued in his obstinacy to the last. From the time this impiety had been committed, a canopy of cloth of gold was supported over the spot where the host had fallen, with two burning tapers beside it. The pavement was taken up, and carried to the holy chapel, with such parts of the wafer as could be found, to be preserved as relics, and the place repaved.

Toward the end of August, in this year, pope Alexander VII. died. The king was then at Mâcon, and immediately ordered the cardinal of Amboise, the cardinal Ascanius Sforza, then a prisoner in France, the cardinal of St. George, with other cardinals, to repair to Rome, for the election of a pope. About nine or ten o'clock of the Monday before Michaelmas-day, the whole arch of the bridge over the Rhône at Lyon fell down.

The cardinal of Sienna, nephew to pope Pius II., was elected pope, and took the name of Pius III.; but did not live more than eight or ten days after his exaltation. During that short space he had already shown how very much he was indisposed against the French. He was the hundred and sixth pope.

On Wednesday preceding St. Luke's day, the lord Peter of Bourbon* died, while the king was at Mâcon: he was much bewailed; for he had ever been true and loyal to the crown of France, and was an able counsellor. The 19th of October died pope Pius III., at Rome, who, as I have said, did not outlive his election more than eight or ten days; and the cardinals made another election. The French at Naples slew very many Spaniards—and had they been properly supported, they would have driven them thence; for the lord d'Aubigny evinced much valour and prudence.

* Peter II., duke of Bourbon, the last of the eldest line of Robert de Clermont, son of St. Louis. His only daughter and heir, Susanna, married Charles de Bourbon-Montpensier, afterwards constable of France and duke of Bourbon.

CHAPTER CCXXI.—THE CARDINAL OF ST. PIETRO AD VINCULA ELECTED POPE.

The cardinal of St. Pietro ad Vincula, legate of Avignon, and by name Francis de Savona*, was elected the hundred and seventh pope of Rome, and took the name of Julius II. He was nephew to the late pope, Sixtus IV., and had accompanied King Charles of France at the conquest of Naples. After his election, he made his nephew cardinal of St. Pietro ad Vincula, and legate of Avignon.

The French army before Saulse†, in the county of Roussillon, was badly conducted by some in whom the king had great confidence; for it was so well equipped, wonders were expected from it. The commanders might have taken the castle and the garrison, on allowing their captains to march away in safety; but although many were for it, the majority were against them. The castle was mined to its very foundations, and the army was so strongly encamped it could not be hurt; but the king of Spain, by dint of money, as it was known afterwards, blinded the eyes of the commanders, to the astonishment and vexation of all loyal Frenchmen when it was discovered. The commander-in-chief, the marshal de Rieux, a Breton, marched away to Narbonne, to the great discontent of the French, as the camp was left without a leader. Every one behaved with the utmost courage, and raised the siege, carrying off the artillery and baggage, without loss, in their retreat. However, had all behaved as they ought to have done, conformable to their engagements with the king, in a short time they would have made great advances into the enemy's country, considering the fine army of the French. The lord de la Roche-pot was killed, when before Saulse, by a cannon-shot. It was a great loss, for he was a good and valiant knight, and the king and whole court were much grieved at it. The French army in Naples not only kept its ground, but even made some conquests.

On Christmas-eve, in this year, the lord Louis of Luxembourg, lord of Ligny, died, about twelve o'clock at night, at Lyon; and was very much regretted by the king, and all who knew him, for he was universally beloved.

The 3d day of July, in this year, died Pierre, cardinal of Aubusson‡, grand-master of Rhodes, which he had governed for twenty-seven years: during the early part of which, Rhodes was attacked by the Turks with an immense army; but he and his knights made so gallant a defence, he was victorious, and the Turks left upwards of forty thousand dead: the rest saved themselves by flight, to the great vexation of all Turkey, in spite of their cries, "Mahoun, avenge us!" The sultan, finding this army defeated, uttered a horrid cry, to the alarm of his attendants, and swore to march another to Rhodes, and have ample revenge; but while he was employed in making preparations, he died. The grand-master of Rhodes detained the next heir to the sultan a prisoner for thirteen years, contrary to the will of many, and then delivered him up to the pope, who, in return, sent him a cardinal's hat. He had those fortifications repaired that had been damaged by the Turks, and then converted the Jews in the island to Christianity. He formed alliances with all the princes in Christendom, and did an infinite deal of good. He was succeeded by Emeri d'Amboise, brother to the cardinal of Amboise, legate to France, who instantly left France for Rhodes, to oppose the Turks, who were continually carrying on a warfare against the Christians.

* Francis de Savona. This must be a mistake: his name was Julius della Rovere. He was born at Albizale, a village near to Savona.

† Saulse. Q. Sault? a small territory adjoining Roussillon.

‡ Aubusson. He was grand prior of Auvergne, and descended from the ancient viscounts of la Marche. Pope Innocent sent him the cardinal's hat for having delivered up to his guard Zizim, brother to Bajazet.

CHAPTER CCXXII.—THE SOPHI OF PERSIA MAKES WAR ON THE TURK USSON CASSAN *.

The grand-master of Rhodes received, on the 7th of December, in the year 1502, intelligence from Armenia and Persia, that one called Sophi Christian, or Red Bonnet of Armenia, had assembled an army of forty thousand men, to enable him to revenge the death of his father by Usson Cassan, a Turk, and to recover all the Sophines who had been sent prisoners to Turkey. Having considered the iniquity of the Grand Turk, and his infamous conduct to these Sophines, he set out from his country, called Adanil, twelve days' journey from Tauris, accompanied by only one hundred warriors, and arrived near to Arzian †, a town of Usson Cassan, whose friendship and alliance he besought on account of his mother, sister to Usson Cassan, pretending that he was waiting the arrival of his attendants. But he disguised his feelings of injury from the Grand Turk, who detained his Sophines in abject vassalage; however, within a fortnight he was joined by about sixteen thousand men, with whom he entered Arzian by force, and put to death all the inhabitants, both great and small. Among other acts worthy of remembrance, in all the mosques, or temples, of the Turks, he had the horses and camels tied up as in a stable, to show his contempt for them, and had them afterwards razed to the ground. There had been a temple of the Christians which the Turks had destroyed, but Sophi had it immediately rebuilt and handsomely restored. The army of Sophi continually increasing, he advanced into the province of Firnam, which belonged also to Usson Cassan. Usson Cassan, perceiving that Sophi was subjugating his country, and the whole of the Turks in this province amounting to more than fifty thousand, assembled his army, and offered battle to Sophi, who defeated him completely and made him prisoner. He entered victoriously the town of Sarda, where he stayed three months, and thence advanced to Tharabe, a town of Usson Cassan, which instantly surrendered. As he approached the country of Sultania, he was met by the children of Usson Cassan, with an army of twenty-five thousand men. Sophi gave them battle, and defeated them. One of the children was killed in the combat: the others were taken prisoners, and put to a disgraceful death, by cutting them in pieces. Not one of their army was permitted to live.

The city of Tauris, seeing the great power of Sophi, and that he had destroyed their prince and his children, surrendered to him without any defence,—and he remained there with his army some time. The citizens of Tauris, observing the great prudence and wisdom of Sophi, put him in possession of all the treasures of Usson Cassan. He thence departed to a large town called Lingia, three days' journey from Tauris, and to another called Passy, the last town of Usson Cassan. Sophi, finding that he had now conquered and submitted to his obedience the whole of the dominions of Usson Cassan, and established order everywhere, returned to Tauris, the capital of the country. He was continually followed by his mother, with a numerous attendance of slaves, for he was much beloved by her; and after a short stay at Tauris, she sent ambassadors to the grand Turk, to remonstrate with him on his shameful conduct to the Sophines,—ordering him to set them at liberty, and also to put on the red bonnet, after the manner of the Sophines, otherwise she would make him feel the power of her son.

The Grand Turk detained the ambassadors in Constantinople, for he suspected that Sophi would invade his country of Natolia; and, in consequence, he assembled a large army near to the town of Angora ‡, and commanded all in Pera § to hold themselves in readiness to

* I cannot make out this chapter to my satisfaction. In the "Art de Vérifier les Dates," I find, that in the year 1501, which nearly answers to the date in the chapter, Schah Ismael Sophi I., &c. the restorer of the sect of Ali, in Persia, when only fourteen years old, assembles a large army of Alides, conquers Tauris from Alvand IV., successor of Uzun Cassan, and obliges him to fly to Diarbeker, where he dies in 1502. Schah Ismael gains Bagdad in 1510, putting to flight Morad Beg, son to Alvand; and, in the following year, conquers Khoristan, &c. In the year 1514, Selim I., emperor of the Turks, gives him battle, and defeats him on the plains of Chaldéron, and takes the town of Tauris. Sophi dies, aged thirty-eight, &c.

† Arzian. Q. Erzerum, or Erivan?

‡ Angora,—a town in Natolia: Bajazet was defeated near to it.

§ Pera,—partly a suburb to Constantinople. I believe it was then possessed by the Genoese.

bear arms against Sophi Christian or Red Bonnet. They were, however, refractory, and refused to obey, showing more willingness to surrender themselves to Sophi. The Armenians say, that Sophi does not esteem the Grand Turk a button; for he has an army of ninety thousand men, well armed, without including his own countrymen from Armenia, who daily follow him. All this information was brought to the king of France, when he was at Morestel*, in Dauphiny, in the year 1503.

CHAPTER CCXXIII.—A GREAT MORTALITY FROM THE UNWHOLESOMENESS OF THE SEASON.—OF THE DEATHS OF MANY PERSONS OF NOTE.

In the course of the year 1504, a truce was concluded between the kings of France and Spain, touching the county of Roussillon: nevertheless, the Spaniards that had been garrisoned in Saulse embarked secretly for Naples. It was said that the king of Spain had bribed some of the French (of which they were afterwards accused), and by this means he had conquered Naples. The lord of Aubigny and the lord of Alegre, the principal leaders of the French army, were made prisoners; and great numbers of their men perished, more from want of food than in battle, for there was no great effusion of blood. The lieutenant of the lord of Ligny maintained his post in the territories of that lord's deceased wife †,—and the French, notwithstanding the Spanish force, made several good prisoners, who were exchanged for the lords of Aubigny and of Alegre.

This summer was exceedingly hot and dry, which prevented the corn from filling; and the harvest was very poor in the Lyonnois, Dauphiny, Auvergne, Burgundy, Savoy, and other countries. From the month of March, the farmers and peasants, foreseeing the season would be unproductive, were in great distress, and made processions to different churches in all the villages around: general processions were even made by the peasants to the churches in Lyon, where the inhabitants and monks gave them bread and wine in abundance. In these processions, the young women were dressed in white linen, with bare feet, a kerchief on their heads, and a taper in their hands: the boys were clothed also in white, bare-headed and bare-footed: then came the priests, followed by persons of both sexes, the women singing from the Litany, "Sancta Maria! ora pro nobis," and then the whole cried aloud for "Mercy!" The parishes of Lyon made similar processions to the church of Our Lady of the Island, a French league distant from that city. On the last day but one of May, the body of St. Just was brought from the suburbs into the city of Lyon, which no man living had before seen done; and his shrine was carried in procession, with chaunting and singing, from church to church. On the following day, the jaw-bone of St. John the Baptist, which had never before been taken out of the church of St. John, was carried in procession to the church of the Augustins.

Eight days afterwards it rained; but the drought was soon as great as ever. The monks of Notre-Dame-de-l'Isle, attended by the inhabitants of many villages, brought her image and that of St. Loup in procession to Lyon, which had not been done in the memory of man. This was on the 7th of June; and at the same time was brought thither the shrine of St. Hereny, prince of the nineteen thousand martyrs. Processions came to Lyon four and five leagues distant; and the inhabitants of several villages were from five to six days wandering about the fields, from one place to another, without returning home. In short, everybody appeared so miserable, the hardest hearts must have wept on beholding this great desolation of the people, and have quitted all amusements to assist them.

In the month of September, there appeared in the river Saône, above Lyon, a prodigious quantity of small eels of the size of a man's little finger, but no one dared to eat of them. Great sickness now prevailed; and on the 19th of September, Philibert duke of Savoy died at Pont d'Ain, not without suspicions of poison. He was succeeded by his next brother‡: the other was bishop of Geneva.

* Morestel,—election of Vienne.

† Eleanor, countess of Ligny, princess of Altamura, duchess of Venosa, &c.

‡ Charles III., surnamed the Good. Their younger brother was Philip, who married Charlotte, daughter of Louis duke of Longueville, and was created duke of Nemours.

In the year 1505, died the lady Jane, duchess of Berry *, and was interred in a chapel within the castle of Bourges she had founded and endowed. From St. John's day of last year, until that feast in this, the season was most sickly, and everything very dear. Wheat sold at Lyon from twenty-six to twenty-seven sols the bichet †; and from the scarcity in the country, vast numbers came from the villages to Lyon to seek charity. Some left their houses empty, others their wives and children, and the women their husbands and children. Great part of them died, although every person who had wherewithal gave them food; for alms were as abundantly bestowed in Lyon as in any city of its size. A pestilential disorder now raged, which carried off immense numbers in the hospital, both rich and poor; and this pestilence seemed to be felt everywhere, for, in the mountains of Savoy, several died of it and of hunger, so that many farms were this year uncultivated.

During Lent, the king of France had the bones of his late father, Charles duke of Orleans, removed from Blois to Paris, and interred in the chapel of the Celestins at Paris, which the dukes of Orleans had founded. Every kind of honour was paid to them during their removal, and at their re-interment,—and it was a magnificent spectacle. About this time, the king was taken with so serious an illness, it was thought he must die. His nobles and courtiers were much grieved: many of them made divers vows and pilgrimages; and processions were ordered throughout the realm, to offer up prayers to Jesus Christ for the king's recovery, which was granted. While he lay speechless, he had a vision, which he related; and it was so marvellous, that I firmly believe it to be more a miracle than anything else. A short time after his recovery, the king solicited the pope to grant a jubilee for his kingdom of France, and other parts under his dominion, without any expenses. On the 26th of June, the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, a great procession took place, in which the host was carried as on Corpus-Christi day, when the king, knowing how earnestly his people had prayed for the restoration of his health, would not show himself ungrateful, but, to reward them, solicited of the pope for this free jubilee.

In this year, don Frederick of Naples died, to whom the king had behaved with the utmost liberality touching his claims on Naples. In the year 1506, died Isabella queen of Spain, who, during the wars of Granada, had shown great valour and prudence. The king of Spain was afterwards married to the sister of the lord of Foix ‡, through the interference of the king of France, who, in consideration of the match, made some agreements with the king of Spain respecting Roussillon and Naples.

A war now took place between the duke of Savoy and the Valoisiens, but it was soon made an end of. In the month of July, a general chapter of the Cordeliers was held at Rome, which had not been done since the death of their founder St. Francis. It was caused, as said, by the reformation of the Cordeliers in France, which dissatisfied several of the fraternity; and it was in this chapter determined by the pope,—that there should be only two modes of living among them; that such as had been reformed should remain so: consequently, all the convents of Cordeliers in France follow the rules of the Observantines.

At this time, also, a general chapter of the knights of Rhodes was holden at Rome, and many knights were drowned in coming thither, from tempests at sea.

On the 18th of July, the feast-day of St. Pantaleone, a general pardon was granted to all repentant and confessed sinners, who should bequeath money or lands to the churches founded by the knights of Rhodes. This was done on account of a great victory the new grand-master, brother to the cardinal of Amboise, had gained over the Turks. He had defeated their whole army, which was worthy of remembrance.

On Ascension-day, in this year, the count of Angoulême §, the second person in France, was betrothed, at Tours, to the princess Claude of France, only daughter to Louis XII. by Anne of Brittany, which caused great feasts and rejoicings throughout the kingdom. The reverend father in God the lord Francis of Rohan, son to the marshal of Gié,

* Jane, daughter of Louis XI., the repudiated wife of Louis XII., who, after her divorce, was called duchess of Berry.

† Bichet,—a measure of uncertain quantity,—from seventy to fifty-four pounds weight of corn,—of thirty-six pounds of chesnuts.

‡ Germaine de Foix, daughter of John viscount de Narbonne.

§ Count of Angoulême,—afterwards Francis I., king of France.

and archbishop of Lyon, made his public entry into that city on the 14th of August. Many mysteries were exhibited in the streets through which he passed, and they were all hung with tapestries. On the following day, the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, he chaunted the high mass at the cathedral of St. John in his archiepiscopal robes.

This year the duke of Gueldres made war on that part of Guelderland dependent on the archduke.

CHAPTER CCXXIV.—THE DEATHS OF THE ARCHDUKE AND OF THE QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

The archduke Philip, during his residence at Burgos in Spain, died, on the 25th of September, in this year 1506*. The queen of Hungary died also on the feast-day of our Lady, in August†, having been brought to bed a fortnight before of a son, named Louis. The marquis of Brandenbourg was proxy for the king of France, at his christening. She left a daughter likewise, three years of age,—and both children lived.

In Lombardy, there was a nun of the order of Jacobins, who, like to St. Catherine of Sienna, had, every Friday, marks on her hands and feet similar to the wounds of our Saviour, that ran blood, which appeared to all who saw it very marvellous.

CHAPTER CCXXV.—THE POPE, BY THE ASSISTANCE OF THE FRENCH, GAINS BOLOGNA.

Pope Julius II. weighing in his mind that the whole of the territories of Bologna were the patrimony of the church, made preparations to reduce them to his obedience. This city and territory had been usurped, and held by force for some time, by sir John de Bentivoglio‡. The pope, considering that there was no prince in all Christendom so well able to afford him support in this project as the king of France (that firm pillar of the Church, who had been everywhere victorious), made him acquainted with his claims and intentions of recovering the Bolognese territories. The king, eager to serve the holy church, ordered a large detachment of men-at-arms to join the pope's forces from the Milanese, for him to use at his pleasure. The pope's army was besieging Bologna on the side towards Rome,—but when joined by the French, it was besieged on all sides. This took place in the month of October. The French, stationed on the side toward Modena, behaved very gallantly, and won Castel-franco, which was plundered because the garrison would not surrender. The pope's army gained another castle,—and both armies showed so much courage, the Bolognese were astonished and frightened: they found themselves closely besieged, and that it would be impossible for them to resist the pope and the king of France. Finding their situation desperate, they surrendered themselves to the pope, having driven sir John de Bentivoglio out of Bologna, who, as I have before said, held the town by force, although it lawfully belonged to the pope. The pope offered up thanksgivings to God the Creator for his success, and chaunted high mass most devoutly, on All-Souls day, in the church of St. Petronilla in Bologna.

* Leaving issue, by Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella: 1. Charles, afterwards emperor and king of Spain; 2. Eleanor, the wife, first of Emanuel, king of Portugal,—2dly, of Francis the First; 3. Isabella, the wife of Christian, the second king of Denmark; 4. Ferdinand, king of Hungary, and emperor of Germany after the death of his brother; 5. Mary, the wife of Lewis, the second king of Hungary; 6. Catherine, the wife of John, the third king of Portugal.

† Anne, the wife of Uladislaus, king of Bohemia, who succeeded to the crown of Hungary on the death of Matthias Corvinus in 1490. By this marriage she had Lewis, afterwards king of Hungary, and Anne, the wife of Ferdinand of Austria, in whose right he became king of Hungary on the death of Lewis in 1526, without issue.

‡ John, the second of the name, son of Hannibal, and grandson of John, who made himself master of Bologna in 1400. See the historians of Bologna, especially the "Historie Memorabili" of Gasparo Bombaci, who is by far the most interesting of these writers.

CHAPTER CCXXVI.—OF THE DAMSEL TRIVULCE.

About this time, there resided a young lady in the Milanese, who had been taught the rudiments of grammar at seven years of age, and was so earnest in her studies that, at fourteen, she was eloquent to a degree that astonished all who heard her. She was descended from the noble family of the Trivulces*. Her father, called John, was an able knight and a good scholar, as were all his family. Her mother's name was Angela, a noble lady of the race of the Martinengois. In praise of this young lady, the verse of Prosper may be well applied,—" Naturæ sequitur semina quisque suæ." Her mother was not a learned lady, although full of virtue; but the daughter was so devout and eloquent in her prayers, that she seemed more angelic than human; and if she continues to abound in such virtues, and to live thus sanctified and devout, she will deservedly be worthy of her reputation of a saint.

At twelve years of age, she became a great disputant, and was invited into the companies of the most learned, as well secular as ecclesiastic,—among whom were the bishop of Lausanne, an eminent scholar, her uncles the bishop of Cumense† and Francis Trivulce, of the order of Franciscan friars, when several disputations took place,—and great praises were given to this damsel. She understood philosophy, history, and different sciences,—was mistress of Seneca, Aristotle, and Pietro of Ravenna. Whatever she saw or heard at any of the places she visited, she related the whole to her father, on her return home, as exactly as if it had been written down. She was skilful in poetry, and one day composed so long a poem, her master was surprised at her talent. She became soon expert in the Greek tongue, and wrote many letters, in that and in other languages, that were greatly admired by all the learned to whom they had been addressed. She was most patient in adversity, making a joke of it: in short, everything she did or said was miraculous, and unlike to a human being. When marriage was spoken of to her, she replied, that she would never marry a man whom she did not know to be as pure in virtue as herself.

The Genoese, acting according to their accustomed treachery, forgetful of the crimes they had committed, and been pardoned for by the king, now rebelled against him, and chose for their doge one called Paul Noyus‡, who had been a silk-dyer. The king, hearing of this, resolved to march in person against them, and reduce them to his obedience, notwithstanding the great preparations the Genoese had made for resistance. They had, among other things, erected a bulwark they thought impregnable; but some bold French adventurers having secretly mounted this bulwark, the hearts of the Genoese failed them, and they fled into the town. They now offered to surrender themselves to the king's mercy, who from his uncommon benignity, and wish to avoid the effusion of human blood, pardoned them, and entered the town with his whole army, where he had a magnificent reception. Their lately-elected doge, Paul di Nove, was taken at sea by a French bark, when making his escape, brought back to Genoa, and beheaded. From this time forward, it was publicly proclaimed, that the populace should not shout "Adorne Fregose §!" which they had been accustomed to do before this last reduction of the town.

CHAPTER CCXXVII.—OF THE LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY, FORMED BY THE CARDINAL OF AMBOISE, BETWEEN THE POPE, THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN, THE KING OF FRANCE, AND THE KING OF SPAIN, AGAINST THE VENETIANS.—THE KING OF FRANCE DEFEATS THE VENETIANS AT AGNADELLO.

The king of France, about this time, through the means of the cardinal of Amboise, concluded a treaty at Cambray between the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, and the lady

* "La nudrita Damigella Trivulzia al sacra Speco."—She was the daughter of Giovanni Trivulzio and Angela di Martinengo, and is celebrated equally by the historians and poets of the age.

† Cumense. Q. Como?

‡ Paul Noyus. Paul di Nove.

§ Fregose. Q. Fiesco?

Margaret, governess of the Low Countries. This treaty, although of no long duration, was the cause of the deaths of two hundred thousand men, as you will hereafter see, through the treachery of the confederates, in various battles and engagements that took place; and, what is worse, we of the present time, unless God shall be pleased to apply a remedy, are still suffering from the effects of this unfortunate treaty.

The king thought to obtain by it a lasting peace and alliance with the adjoining princes; but he was deceived, as was apparent at the time of the affair of Peschiera against the Venetians; for he alone, of all the confederates, took the field, crossed the Alps, and advanced to Milan. He thence marched his army, and what is worthy of remark, had all the bridges broken down he passed over, to show that flight would be needless. His first conquest was the castle of Trevi. He then marched his army to Peschiera, near to which was Agnadello, where the battle was fought. Five days after the camp had been formed at Peschiera, the Venetian army was attacked, and completely routed, chiefly by the great exertions of the lord of Bourbon, who fought manfully: there was great slaughter. The confederates never thought that this could have been accomplished by the French army alone. Indeed the Venetians would not believe it until the count de Pitigliano, who had fled with the reserve, convinced them of its truth. This battle took place on the 14th of May, just six days after the king arrived in the camp, and it was certainly very fortunate. Thus the war lasted but five days; for after such a victory there was nothing to prevent the king obtaining all his demands.

I repeat, that this success was very fortunate, considering how advantageously the enemy were posted, the number of strong places in their possession, and the strength of their armies; for they had enow to oppose the confederates in the field, and to guard their strongholds. In their camp were more than seventeen hundred men-at-arms, light cavalry to the amount of nine thousand five hundred, and twenty-two thousand infantry well armed, with twenty pieces of large artillery, much superior to what the king had, and also the best captains in all Italy to command this army, particularly sir Bartholomew d'Alviano, the chief, taken prisoner as he was rallying a body of infantry. Numbers of the most renowned of the Venetian captains were made prisoners this day, and sent to different strong castles in France,—their banners to the church of St. Denis. Not more than two hundred were slain of the king's army, while full fifteen thousand fell on the side of the enemy. After the battle, the king ordered the dead to be buried, and a chapel to be erected on the spot, endowed sufficiently for the celebration of daily masses for the souls of those who had died in a state of grace. It was not long afterward before those towns which the Venetians had usurped surrendered to the king's obedience,—such as Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Cremona, that had formed part of the duchy of Milan.

The pope, in like manner, recovered those places that had been taken from the church; namely, Ravenna, Imola, Faienza, and Forli. The emperor Maximilian regained from the Venetians his towns of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua,—but this last he did not keep long. Whether through negligence or fear, he had never dared to come to the king's camp, notwithstanding his repeated promises: the king, however, gave him a large body of men, under the command of the lord de la Palisse, to regain the city of Padua,—and it was long besieged; but nothing effectual was done at last. The king of Spain also regained the towns of Brundusium, Tarentum, and others, of which the Venetians had possessed themselves.

When all this had been done through the fortunate victory of the king of France, who had supported the pope like a true son of the church, and had so essentially served him in the restoration of Bologna by the expulsion of Bentivoglio, and in various other ways,—notwithstanding all these proofs of his friendship, pope Julius, at the instigation of the Venetians and others, formed an alliance against him, and having joined his arms with those of Venice, took Udina and Mirandola; which last he restored to John Franciscus Picus, who styled himself the true lord of it. To return to the king of France: after his victory over the Venetians, he went to Milan, where a magnificent triumphal entry was prepared for him, after the manner of the ancient Romans. Brilliant cars, full of the handsomest and best-dressed ladies in Milan, went out to meet him,—and the people greeted him with

acclamations, comparing him to Cæsar, for having conquered and reduced to his subjection those who had been feared and dreaded by all the world before.

The king, having had so handsome a reception in Milan, went thence to Savona, where he was met by Ferdinand, who had come thither with a numerous fleet of galleys for the purpose. The king of France received him and his queen with much kindness, and they made good cheer together. They confirmed their peace by dividing the eucharist between them at the holy sacrament; but it lasted not long, notwithstanding this ceremony, as you will hereafter see. There are many who make a good sale of their consciences and promises; and one of them, instead of the host, ought to have swallowed a burning coal—for numberless creatures have paid dear for perjuries of which they were innocent, and had no concern with.

CHAPTER CCXXVIII.—A WAR BETWEEN POPE JULIUS AND THE KING OF FRANCE, ON ACCOUNT OF THE DUKE OF FERRARA.—A COUNCIL OF THE CHURCH ASSEMBLED AT THE INSTANCE OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN AND THE KING OF FRANCE, TO THE DISSATISFACTION OF THE POPE.—BOLOGNA TAKEN BY THE FRENCH.

About this time, the town of Mirandola was valiantly reconquered by the French, and the town of Udina delivered up to the king of the Romans. The marquis of Mantua was taken prisoner by the Venetians, and carried to Venice, whence, some time after, he easily obtained his liberty. A fresh war now commenced between the pope and the Duke of Ferrara, an ally of France,—for which reason the king left the count Gaston de Foix, whom he had lately created duke of Nemours, his lieutenant-general in the Milanese, who did marvellous feats of arms during his command in Italy.

The lord-cardinal of Amboise, on his last return from Italy, fell sick at Lyon, and died there. His loss was great, as was afterwards known, although at the time some thought the contrary; but they were unacquainted with his many virtues, and the good use he made of his talents,—for during the whole of his administration he advised his master with such wisdom that the people were never over-taxed. Whatever wars king Louis may have carried on in Italy, the taxes were never raised above their usual rates; but when the enemy attempted to bring the war on the French territory, it became absolutely necessary to increase them. The king was, not without foundation, called "the father of his people," notwithstanding that title may have been given him during his life through flattery, and the worth of other kings debased, the more to exalt his own. It is impossible to say too much of a virtuous man in his absence; but when present, to praise him smells strongly of the love of lucre.

The cardinal legate having lain in state for a short time, the body was embalmed, put into a leaden coffin, and carried to Rouen for interment. The king came thence to Blois, accompanied by the queen, then far gone with child of a daughter, as it turned out afterward, whom the king had vowed to the holy St. René, a bishop of Angers, whither he made a pilgrimage with the queen when she recovered. The young princess was christened Renée,—and the lord Jean Jacques de Trivulce stood godfather with the king*.

About this time the Portuguese made some discoveries on the island of Oran†, on the coast of Africa, where they met savages of a blackish colour, with countenances as if branded with hot irons, thick lips, black and coarse hair, resembling in thickness that of a horse. They had no beard, nor appearance of any, or of hair on any parts of the body, but on the head and eyebrows. Their boats are made of the bark of trees, and so light, a man can with ease carry one of them. Their bows are bent with the sinews of wild beasts; their arrows of cane, headed with a sharp stone, or piece of fish-bone. They know not the use of bread or wine, nor the value of money, and crawl on the earth like beasts, feeding on raw flesh, and covered with skins for clothing. They live part of their time in the sea. Two of

* She was married to Hercules II., duke of Ferrara, and died in 1575.

† Oran,—a town of Algiers. I should imagine this to be a mistake for some place on the southern coast of Africa.

these natives were brought by some Normans to Rouen, and presented to the king; but they did not live long, nor did the others that had been brought to Europe.

But to return to my former subject: a general council was demanded by the emperor, and king of France, to the great discontent of the pope. He had broken his faith, by instigating the king of Arragon, the republic of Venice, and others, to commence a new war,—quitting the chair of Saint Peter for the car of Mars, the god of war, displaying in the field of battle his triple crown, and sleeping in watch-towers. God knows what a sight of crosses, mitres, and sacred banners were fluttering in the plains; and the devil took good care not to come near,—for benedictions were given most abundantly, and at the cheapest rates.

The war commenced against the duke of Ferrara, ally to the king, when many engagements took place, sieges were made and raised, for it was continued without interruption of winter and summer. Bologna was besieged by the duke of Nemours, who acted as viceroy in Italy, and the Bolognese fled before him, so that he soon reconquered that town, as you shall hear. About this time, Pope Julius excited the Swiss to invade the duchy of Milan, which they did, and advanced to the walls of that city, committing every sort of mischief, particularly to a monastery of nuns, whom they ravished, and plundered the convent of all within it. The lord de Conti, like a valorous knight, hastened to their relief, and did wonders; but he was surrounded, and fell, which was a great pity. Soon after, the duke of Nemours made an agreement with them to return home, on receiving a sum of money,—which they accepted, and retreated, to return again to seek more money.

The inhabitants of Brescia were now (unfortunately for them) advised to quit the French interest, and put themselves under the dominion of Venice, for which they severely suffered. In like manner, those of Bergamo revolted to the Venetians,—but the castles of both places remained in the hands of the French, under the command of able captains, who gallantly served the king, especially in his Italian wars, for which some of them were but badly recompensed.

The council* before mentioned was first held at Tours, then at Lyon, and then referred to a general council at Pisa, where were many cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates of the church. There were likewise some very learned theologians and canonists, to whom this affair would afford matter of discussion. Several essential points were determined on in the different sessions of this council; but, for weighty reasons, the council was transferred to Milan, and thence to Lyon, where it remained. The French army suffered much at the siege of Bologna from the rigour of the weather; but, notwithstanding this, they were victorious, drove out of the town the pope and his archbishops, and entered it as conquerors.

CHAPTER CCXXIX.—THE DUKE OF NEMOURS MARCHES HIS ARMY AGAINST BRESCIA.—ON TAKING THE TOWN, A GREAT SLAUGHTER ENSUES.

When the duke of Nemours heard of the revolt of Brescia, and that the Venetians had entered the town, he instantly made preparations to attack them, and with great diligence marched day and night to Brescia; for I can promise you that the king had at that time an excellent army,—and the liberal promises of the duke of Nemours urged them on, so that they were almost immediately before it. Those in the castle, on the first appearance of their countrymen, opened the gate, and part of them forced their way thence into the town. Alas! what a deluge! what cries! what lamentations of the poor citizens! It is a great pity, and wonderful how many suffer in the support of the quarrels of princes and great lords: however, in this instance they had deserved punishment, for having wantonly broken their oaths of allegiance. The duke of Nemours had no sooner gained the castle and palace

* The council—was held in 1510 at Tours, and attended by all the prelates and doctors of France. Louis XII. proposed eight questions, touching his declaring war against pope Julius II. in favour of Alphonso duke of Ferrara, whom the pope had determined to deprive of his dominions. The answers of the council confirmed the king in his resolution for war. I do not see anything of these removals of the council in the "Art de Vérifier les Dates," from whence the above is taken.

than, like a great warrior as he was, he entered the town, one arm bare, and his sword on his wrist, shouting out "France!" in which he was echoed by all Frenchmen. The Venetians, thunderstruck, took to flight through one of the gates, but numbers were slain * and made prisoners, of whom were many of high rank in Venice, who were sent to France.

The inhabitants having attempted to defend themselves, the town was given up to plunder; and you might have seen several French adventurers tearing to pieces, out of spite, large bales of cloths of gold and of silk: such merchandise might then have been bought for almost nothing. The ladies and children made piteous moans on seeing their husbands and fathers murdered and cast out of the windows, and all their effects pillaged. To make short of the matter: they thought that God's whole indignation and wrath had been poured on them; for the French treated them with every cruelty, in revenge for the resistance that had been made by throwing stones and beams from the tops of the houses, by which some great French lords suffered severely. The place was completely conquered, in spite of all that the Brescians and Venetians could do to prevent it,—and the streets were filled with dead bodies, besides the numbers that were slain in the open country: in the whole, there must have been many thousands killed. Among the prisoners were, sir Andrew Gritti, sir John Paulle †, Caufre and his son, the count Ludovico Adanago ‡, who had been the chief adviser of the town to revolt, for which it had been treated as you have heard.

After this victory, the towns and castles in the territories of Brescia were re-garrisoned, and provided with abundance of provision and stores of all kinds,—and the lord d'Aubigny was appointed governor of Brescia. The town of Bergamo also surrendered, as well as several other places, which had revolted, and in consequence suffered great miseries. News was brought to the duke of Nemours, that the Spaniards had left all their heavy artillery and baggage at Imola, and were advancing by forced marches into the plain, boasting that they would form a junction with the Venetians and relieve Brescia; but I believe that, when they learned what had passed there, they changed their intentions.

About this time, there lived in the town of Augsbourg a virgin, named Anne, who had arrived at the age of forty years, without eating, drinking, sleeping, or having any natural evacuations!!! by which it may be known, that she was under the especial grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,—and she had given herself up to devout contemplations. Another great wonder was seen in the city of Ravenna, where a monster was born with a horn on its head, wings of a bat, one foot like a bird of prey, the other like a human foot! It had an eye on its knee, and was of both sexes! It had a mark of a Y on its breast, and an appearance of a cross, with a crescent beneath,—which signs, according to my lords the philosophers and prognosticators, signify many things!!

CHAPTER CCXXX.—THE DUKE OF NEMOURS DEFEATS THE UNITED ARMIES OF THE POPE, THE VENETIANS, AND THE SPANIARDS, NEAR TO RAVENNA,—BUT IS HIMSELF SLAIN, AFTER HE HAD GAINED THE VICTORY AND TOTALLY REPULSED THE ENEMY.

We must now return to the wars in Italy, and elsewhere. During the Lent of the year 1512, the duke of Nemours marched his army before Ravenna, wherein that of the pope, the Venetians, and Spaniards were seeking opportunities to retaliate on the French,—and they had made great preparations for this purpose. The duke of Nemours, having had information of this, advanced thither, accompanied by many nobles and valiant captains, such as the lord de la Palisse, the lord d'Alegre and his son, the lord Jean Jacques of Trivulce, the lord de Châtillon governor of Paris, the lord de Molarc, Maugeron, La Crotte, and other officers of renown. When he had approached Ravenna, the French remained some time

* Numbers were slain. Guicciardini says, about eight thousand of the inhabitants and Venetian soldiers.

† Sir John Paulle. Q. Giampaolo Manfrone and his son? Guicciardini mentions also as prisoners Antonio Justiniano, the Venetian governor of the town; il cavaliere della Golpe, Baldassare di Scipione, un figliuolo d'Antonio de Pii, Domenico Busecco, captain of the light cavalry. Count Luigi Avogaro was beheaded in the market-place.—See Guicciardini.

‡ Ludovico Adanago. Q. Luigi Avogaro and his son?

encamped from a scarcity of provision, and many suffered by it. Perceiving that their supplies had failed, like hardy warriors, stirred on by the eager desire of the duke of Nemours for the combat, they resolved, on the eve of Easter-day, to offer the enemy battle on the morrow, which was the feast of the Resurrection of our Lord. The French advanced boldly to the combat, having their artillery in front, which played four hours incessantly, and did great damage to the Spaniards, principally to their men-at-arms. Some Spaniards sallied out of their camp, and the French rushed in,—when both parties met, and two superb and bold nations might then be seen contending with courage and earnestness for the victory. Never was heard such clattering of swords and lances: the gallant duke of Nemours hastened forward, fighting most wonderfully, to encourage his men; and it was for some time uncertain which side would have the advantage,—for the Spaniards shouted at times "Victory! Julius, Julius!" at others, the French cried out "Victory, Nemours!" At length, the French made their enemies fly.

During the battle, the lord de Molarc was killed by a cannon-shot,—a great loss to the king, for he was a valiant and enterprising captain. He led that day the French infantry, a most courageous and steady band. La Crotte and captain Jacobs, who commanded the Lansquenets, were among the first of the slain; and their loss was a heavy blow: however, both French and Lansquenets advanced with greater courage to revenge the deaths of their captains, and pushed on until they came to where the baggage was, and some famished adventurers had already begun to knock in the heads of the casks of different wines,—when, having drunk their fill, they ran away as fast as they could: not so the Spaniards, who still held on fighting,—for I can assure you, that these Spanish troops were no way faint-hearted, and there had not been so severe a battle fought as this for a long time. May God pardon those who were killed! The remnant of the Spaniards and Italians that escaped wandered here and there. Upwards of twenty of the great lords of Italy lay dead on the field. There were many prisoners made: in the number were Pedro de Navarre*, don John de Cardona, the marquis of Pescara†, Pomare, Epinose, Castinago, John Antony Vosino, the count de Montelon, the marquis de Bitonto, the marquis de l'Estelle, the son to the count of Consege, and others of renown. No one knew what became of the duke du Traict‡, who was of their company. The viceroy of Naples§ saved himself by flight, until he gained the sea-shore, and embarked for Naples. The marquis de la Padulla and the count del Popolo made good a retreat before the end of the conflict, with eleven or twelve hundred horse, as well men-at-arms as light cavalry, and from sixteen to seventeen hundred infantry, the remains of their army, and saved themselves as well as they could. Numbers of Frenchmen were doubtless slain, for the Spaniards fought with the utmost bravery; and when the French men-at-arms, returning from the pursuit, passed over the field of battle, the wounded laid hands on any swords near them, and, in the miserable state they were in on the ground, cut the legs of the horses the French were mounted on.

Pope Julius was at Rome when news of this event was brought him. God knows how he bore it, for he had been a very great sufferer in that battle. The instant he heard it, he would have set off without delay, fearing that the French would follow up their victory, and come to seek him even in Rome.

After this defeat, the illustrious and gallant duke of Nemours, having perceived a small body of the enemy that had not dispersed, like a magnanimous prince, but too unmindful of the signal victory God had just given him, required of the nobles and captains around him, that they would be pleased to march with him and drive them away. Some of them who, from long experience, knew the uncertainty of the chances of war, remonstrated with him on being too adventurous, and that he should remain satisfied with the success he had gained. Notwithstanding the truth of these remonstrances, he persisted in his resolution, and said

* Pedro Navarro, a great commander in the Spanish army.

† Ferdinand d'Avalos, marquis of Pescara.

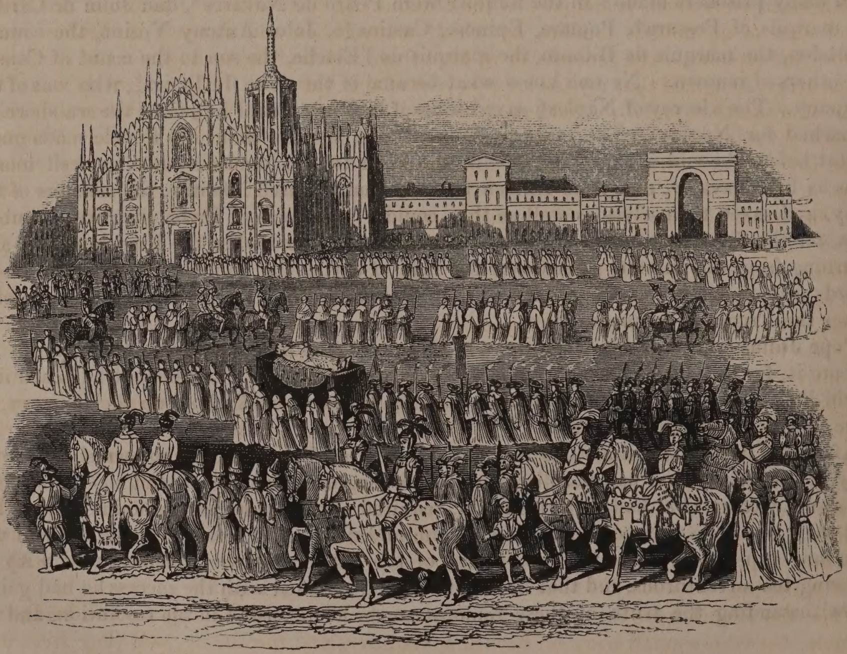
‡ Duke du Traict. Q. Utrecht? More probably Trajetto. Vespasian, the son of Prospero Colonna, was called duke of Trajetto, and though I do not find his name among those present at the battle of Ravenna, it is not unlikely that he was there under his relation Fabricio Colonna, duke of Palliano, who commanded the Italian forces.

§ Don Raymond de Cardona.

aloud, "Let all who love me follow me." Upon this, the lord d'Alegre, his son, Maugeron, the bastard of Cliete, seeing him thus determined and already advancing, followed him. The duke of Nemours was the first to attack this body of the enemy, who were greatly superior in number; and the gallant prince performed such feats of arms as astonished them, and cleared all around his horse with such rapid and mortal blows that none dared approach him. It was a grand sight to view so young a man displaying such extraordinay courage. The enemy, observing how few the French were, and that no reinforcements were coming to them, recovered their courage and surrounded the young hero. They first killed his horse, and then fell upon him with battle-axes, pikes, and every sort of weapon, that he, and all his companions, died a glorious death.

This was a most heavy loss to France, for he was a magnanimous prince, worthy to be placed on a triumphant throne in a temple of brave men. His liberality and frankness had gained him the love of the army, who would have followed him anywhere, even without pay,—and within four months he had gained three decisive battles.

When this melancholy event was known, the lord de la Palisse and other captains hastened to revenge his loss, and put to death the whole body of the enemy that had slain the duke, the lord d'Alegre and the others, without suffering one to escape. They thence marched to besiege the city of Ravenna, which they took by storm, killed the greater part of the inhabitants, and plundered the town: there was much confusion, for it was almost entirely destroyed. When this was done, the French returned to the field of the late battle, to raise the bodies of the duke of Nemours and the other lords, to give them an honourable interment in sacred ground. The body of that most noble prince and viceroy of Italy was carried in mournful triumph to Milan, from the ground where he had fallen, to be magnificently interred becoming so great a prince.



Funeral Procession of the Duke of Nemours to Milan Cathedral. Designed from contemporary authorities.

The body of the duke of Nemours arrived at Milan the 26th of April, in the year 1412 preceded by all the prisoners taken at the battle of Ravenna. The banners, guidons, and

standards, the French had so valiantly conquered, as well from the Italians as from the Venetians and Spaniards, and of the different lords who had fallen in this battle, were borne before him, which added joy intermixed with grief at this mournful interment. Great order was observed in the procession,—and it was a triumphantly melancholy spectacle. The nobles and captains were in deep mourning,—and there was no heart so hard not to weep on seeing his body thus carried untimely to the grave. His pages and attendants led his horses of parade and for war: his helmet and victorious sword, as lieutenant-general for the king, were borne before the body. In short, those of his army who attended the funeral were loud in their lamentations; for they had always found him liberal and courteous, and never sparing of his own personal efforts in war. The principal inhabitants and churchmen of Milan came out to meet the body, dressed in mourning cloaks and hoods, with a blaze of lighted torches, on which were the arms of the deceased emblazoned. The body, surrounded by two hundred of the choicest lances in the army and a numerous escort of infantry, was conducted, with great pomp of grief, to the cathedral, where a most solemn service was performed for the repose of his soul.

Think how great must have been the sorrow of the king and queen, when they heard of this sad event at Blois, for they loved him as if he had been their own child; and I can assert for truth, that those who had never seen him bewailed his loss, on the reports they had heard of his uncommon virtues and gallantry. May God receive his soul!

CHAPTER CCXXXI.—ON THE DEPARTURE OF THE FRENCH FROM ITALY, THE SWISS TAKE THE TOWN OF MILAN AND OTHER PLACES HELD BY THE KING OF FRANCE.

After this battle of Ravenna, where, as well as in the preceding ones, great quantities of human blood were shed, principally of the Italians and their allies,—but also of the French, and of some of the noblest families, by which many ladies and damsels in France became widows and orphans,—the generals, or at least those who had the management of the finances for the army, imagined that, by the happy event of this battle, all Italy was subdued, as far as Rome, if not farther, and disbanded great bodies of infantry at the very time when they should have sought reinforcements, to garrison the towns and castles that had been lately conquered. When this conduct was noticed by certain bloodsuckers and turbulent spirits, they collected troops in divers parts, to endeavour to regain honour by attacking the French; for, seeing them dispersed in their garrisons, they were aware that courage, when disunited, is not so much to be dreaded as when in a collective body. The holy father the pope, smarting from the losses he had suffered from the French, three times excited the Swiss cantons to rise in arms against them, for they had of late been neglected by the king of France. They chiefly depend, for their maintenance, on pensions from kings and princes,—and the pope having made the bishop of Sion a cardinal, he was an active and able tool, by his public preachings and intrigues, to prevail on them to comply with the wishes of his holiness. Maximilian also, having turned his coat, was to allow them an entrance to Italy through his territories of the Veronese and elsewhere. The Spaniards likewise assembled from various parts of Italy; and they all advanced toward Milan, whence the government had been withdrawn to France, so that the poor Milanese were in despair, and knew not how to act. However, the French having left them, they, as usual, fell in with the strongest, and the enemy was admitted into the town. The castle was held by the French, under the command of the lord de Louvain; and other castles were also in their possession: that of Brescia was held by the lord d'Aubigny.

When the French were returning from Italy, a sharp skirmish took place at a bridge near to Pavia, between a small body of French adventurers and the enemy, and they were inhumanly treated by the townsmen. Among others of their villanous acts, I shall mention one. A Frenchman, unable to keep up with the rest, was met by an inhabitant of Pavia, who said to him, "My friend, I love the French nation: come, I beg of you, to my house, and I will save you from being killed." The poor adventurer, confiding in his fair words, followed him; but he was no sooner within his doors than he treated him most brutally, cut off his

private parts, and thrust him into the street in his shirt, bawling aloud, "Here is another Frenchman!" on which numbers rushed out of their doors, and hacked him to pieces with their swords. There was another inhabitant of Pavia who had even devoured the heart of a Frenchman, by way of revenge.

I am persuaded that all the evils that have befallen Italy have been caused by their wickedness, and infamous practices similar to those of Sodom and Gomorrah. The air would be infected, were I to recite them. May God amend them, and all others! On the other hand, the French have a shameful custom (which was increased when in Italy) of blaspheming our Lord Jesus Christ, and Our Lady, with divers indecent oaths, in which they seem to take pleasure. God may, perhaps, have been angered by such detestable blasphemies, and by that great vanity with which the French are always filled, and suffered them to experience the late unfortunate reverses, to show that from Him alone come victories and good fortune. The French, on leaving Italy, were in a great alarm,—and they were so rejoiced when returned to France, they attributed it to the favour of Heaven. Such are the chances of this world.

In this year of 1512, pope Julius, returning evil for good, was violently animated against the French; and having partly accomplished his wish of being the chief cause of their expulsion from Italy, died at Rome in the ninth year of his pontificate. May God pardon him!

About this time, a truce was concluded between the kings of France and of Arragon, for a certain space of time. Leo X. was now the reigning pope: he was consecrated at Rome the successor of pope Julius II. Leo was a native of Florence, of very wealthy and renowned parents. His father was Lorenzo de' Medici, to whose family Louis XI., king of France, had granted permission to add the three flowers de luce to their armorial bearings*.

CHAPTER CCXXXII.—OF THE WAR IN GUIENNE.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS SUCCOURS TO THE KING OF NAVARRE.—THE KING OF ENGLAND MAKES PREPARATIONS TO INVADE FRANCE.—A SEA-FIGHT BETWEEN TWO LARGE ENGLISH AND FRENCH SHIPS.

It was not long before a war broke out in Guienne, or rather in Navarre; which kingdom the king of Arragon had entered, and taken the town of Pampeluna, with others belonging to the king of Navarre, under pretence of being heir to that crown in right of his wife, sister to the late duke of Nemours, count of Foix, slain after the battle of Ravenna. The good king of Navarre†, in consequence, demanded succour from the king of France, to recover the places he had lost. Louis XII., considering how faithful an ally he had always been, ordered a large body of men-at-arms and infantry to his assistance, under the command of the duke of Longueville and Dunois. This war was very expensive to the king of France, for the army remained long without striking a blow. In addition to this, the English, excited by the king of Arragon, as well as by a desire to regain Guienne, which they claimed as an inheritance, made a landing near to Roncevaux and St. John Pied du Port,—but not being able to effect a junction with the Spaniards, they returned‡.

In the year 1513, Henry king of England, son to king Henry VII., who, by the aid of Charles VIII. king of France, succeeded peaceably to the crown of England, after the death of Richard of York, instead of being grateful for such services to the king of France, although his late father had charged him on his deathbed to do nothing against that king, if he wished to prosper, instantly on the death of his father acted directly contrary. King

* I must refer the reader for further particulars of the French wars in Italy to Guicciardini and other Italian historians, and to Mr. Roscoe's Lives of Lorenzo de' Medici and of Leo X. The grant of Louis XI. to the Medici, to bear the arms of France, is in the Appendix to Comines.

† The good king of Navarre—was of so indolent a character, that his queen, a woman of high spirit, told him, "Had *you* been mademoiselle Catherine, and *I* don John, we had never lost our realm."—Henault.

‡ Henry VIII. was the dupe of Ferdinand of Arragon. The English forces landed at Guipuscoa, under the command of the marquis of Dorset, but were never joined by the Spaniards to unite in the siege of Bayonne. The English returned, having gained nothing but disgrace, while Ferdinand possessed himself of the kingdom of Navarre.

Henry, equally eager with his subjects to invade France, sent an embassy to the lady Margaret, governess of Flanders, to obtain armour, stores, and artillery, particularly thirteen large cannon, which he had ordered to be cast in Flanders. These articles were immediately delivered, in return for a large sum of angels that remained behind,—for it had been long since they had circulated in any other country than their own. A secret treaty was at the same time concluded between Henry and the archduke,—which having secured him the aid of the Flemings, he continued to make his preparations for the invasion of France without interruption. He sent his fleet, under the command of the lord admiral*, to cruise on the coasts of Brittany, who was himself on board a vessel of prodigious size.

The French saw this armament with sorrow, for they had not a fleet able to cope with it; but a valiant sea-captain, named Primaugay, embarked on board a large ship, called La Cordeliere, which the queen of France had lately built at an immense expense. He put to sea, and boldly attacked the English admiral in the great ship called the Regent, when a bloody combat took place. After some time, the Cordeliere set the Regent on fire, which having gained the powder-magazine, she blew up, with all within her. Primaugay, seeing it impossible to save his ship, as they were grappled together, leapt into the sea, armed as he was, and perished: it was a pity, for he was a bold and enterprising man†.

These two large ships were burnt; but the rest of the fleet returned in safety to England, to report the unfortunate news to the king, who was much vexed thereat, and not without reason.

CHAPTER CCXXXIII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND DISEMBARKS WITH HIS WHOLE ARMY AT CALAIS.—THE FRENCH ARE DEFEATED BY THE SWISS AT NOVARA.

When the king of England had completed his preparations, he put to sea with his army, disembarked at Calais, and thence, with part of it, marched straight for Flanders. Had he then been attacked, the perplexities that ensued afterwards would have been avoided. At the same time, the king of France had collected an army for the recovery of the Milanese, under the command of the lord de la Trimouille, Jean Jacques de Trivulce, sir Robert de la Marche, the lord of Albany, and others,—but the lord de la Trimouille was commander-in-chief.

This army crossed the Alps, and entered Piedmont, where it halted for the arrival of the rear and baggage, and then pushed forward toward Novara, in which place was a body of Swiss. The French, supposing them not very numerous, determined to attack them, which they did; but the evening before, a very large reinforcement of Swiss had joined their countrymen in Novara, which the French were ignorant of. A battle, however, ensued, when the French defeated the van of the enemy; but such numbers of Swiss now poured in on all sides, the French were thunderstruck, and hastily retreated to Turin: some, however, of their infantry stood their ground, and died valiantly,—and the son of the lord de la Marche shone pre-eminent for his valour. The Swiss gained a considerable park of artillery, which the lord de la Marche had brought thither, and great part of the baggage. The king of France, on hearing of this event, ordered the remainder of the army home, and sent part of it into Guienne, where the illustrious lord of Bourbon had the command of an army, with many nobles and able captains under him, to carry on the war in Navarre. He had there a fine camp, and a variety of skirmishes took place on both sides.

The king afterwards sent the next heir to the crown, the duke of Valois and count of Angoulême, accompanied by numbers of gentlemen, to take the command of this army and camp, where they remained a long time,—but nothing of importance was done, and they returned to France. The king then sent them into Picardy to oppose the English, who were advancing toward Therouenne. The lord de Longueville died immediately on his return from Guienne.

* The lord admiral,—sir Edward Howard. Sir Edward Knivet commanded the Regent.

† In Henry's Hist. of England, it is said that both ships took fire and perished, with all on board, to the number of seventeen hundred men; that the rest of the fleets, consisting of twenty-five sail English and thirty-nine French, separated in consternation, as if by mutual consent, without further fighting.

In this year there was an appearance in the heavens, visible in Piedmont, of three suns, three moons, with various figures of circles and bows, of different colours, and a white cross in the centre. These were terrible presages,—and I believe that it was a year of wonders.

About this time, the king sent the lord de la Trimouille into Swisserland; but the cantons would not agree to any conference until they should receive a certain sum of money, which was paid them. The conferences now took place; and the lord de la Trimouille staid long among them, giving great gifts, in hopes to gain them over to the interests of France; but after they had received large sums of money, they dismissed him. He returned through Burgundy, to have some of the towns of that province put into a good state of defence, to resist the Swiss, who had determined to attack them. The Swiss, in consequence of the resolutions they had formed, entered Burgundy, and committed great destruction wherever they passed. By rapid marches, they came before Dijon, into which the lord de la Trimouille had thrown himself; but with the few men-at-arms and infantry with him, it was impossible to resist such a deluge of Swiss. However, he ordered as many things as could be carried away or drove off, to be brought into Dijon. The Swiss, on coming before Dijon, saluted the town with a large train of artillery, that battered and damaged the walls and houses; but the lord de la Trimouille, being well advised, held a parley with some of the Swiss leaders, and agreed to pay them down one hundred thousand golden crowns, on their marching back into Swisserland, without doing more damages to the country; which was executed.

CHAPTER CCXXXIV.—A BODY OF FRENCH ON THEIR RETURN FROM VICTUALLING THEROUENNE, BESIEGED BY THE ENGLISH AND HAINAULTERS, ARE ATTACKED, AND PUT TO FLIGHT.

The king of France marched in person to Picardy, and advanced as far as Amiens, where he was magnificently received by those of the town and country. Thence he sent the duke of Valois*, as his lieutenant-general, to command the camp against the English, and to order whatever measures he should think advisable for the victualling of Therouenne. This town was then besieged by the king of the Romans, the king of England, and a number of Flemish lords, and particularly by a body of Hainaulters, who had posted themselves in a fort near the town, and thence battered it with heavy artillery. The garrison and towns-men defended the place valiantly; but they were in the utmost distress from want of provision, and a convoy was ordered to supply their necessities, under the command of the lord de Longueville.

He executed his order punctually by throwing in all his supplies; but on his retreat he fell unexpectedly into an ambuscade,—for his men, not suspecting any such stratagem, were marching very disorderly, and amusing themselves by playing in the fields. On the enemy sallying from their ambush, the French were panic-struck, and began to fly, notwithstanding all attempts of their officers to prevent them. In consequence, the lord de Longueville, the captain Bayard, the lord de Bussy, and many more captains of renown, were made prisoners, some of whom were carried to England, and their liberty set at a very high ransom†.

During this time, the king of France sent orders to the governor of Paris to have all the companies of tradesmen, and of other descriptions, mustered. This was done, and several companies were richly accoutred, well armed, and in uniforms. The numbers were found to be very great, according to the report made by the commissaries who had been sent thither for this purpose.

* Francis count d'Angoulême, the presumptive heir to the crown of France, had lately been honoured with this title.

† This was called the Battle of Spurs, from the French making more use of them than of their swords.

CHAPTER CCXXXV.—THE KING OF SCOTLAND ENTERS ENGLAND WITH A POWERFUL ARMY.—HE IS SLAIN.—PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE VENETIANS.

While king Henry of England was engaged in his war abroad, the noble and gallant king of Scotland invaded England with a large army, on pretence of a claim to that crown in right of his queen, and also from his alliance with the king of France, to make a diversion in his favour, now he was attacked, and force his enemies to quit France, to avoid greater inconveniences. The king of Scotland, on entering England, did great mischiefs. A battle took place, in which very many English fell, as well as Scots,—but the greatest loss to France was the death of the king of Scotland, who was killed valiantly fighting. It is rare to find such friends as will put their lives and fortunes to the chance of war in the support of a friend, especially when absent *.

The Scots gained the field, although numbers of them were slain,—for as both nations had been long desirous of coming to blows, it may be supposed that hard ones were exchanged on each side. May God pardon those who fell! †

On Friday, the 3d of June, in the year 1513, peace was published on the marble table in the Palace, between the most Christian king Louis XII. and the republic of Venice, and between them and their successors for ever. By this treaty, the gallant knights, sir Bartholomew d'Alviano and sir Andrew Gritti, with others, obtained their liberty; and the king made them many rich gifts on their departure.

CHAPTER CCXXXVI.—THE TOWNS OF THEROUENNE AND TOURNAY SURRENDER TO THE ENGLISH ON CAPITULATION.

To return to the wars of the English in Picardy: they were long encamped before Therouenne, and made several attacks on it; but those within the town showed good courage, and defended it valiantly,—at length provision again failed them, and they were forced to capitulate for its surrender. The enemy entered Therouenne, but did not keep the promises they had made; for they had no sooner gained admission than they began to ill-treat and plunder the poor inhabitants, insomuch that they were obliged to seek out another place for a habitation, which was great pity; but this did not satisfy the enemy, for they burnt part of the town, and threw down the walls to the ground.

We must not be astonished that the English so boldly invaded France, particularly Picardy, considering the evident good understanding that subsisted between them and the Flemings, who at this day raise their hands, and tell those of Tournay that they have never changed sides, notwithstanding they had settled the chapter *de Venditionibus*, before the English would embark. This was not handsomely done in them, considering they had a resident lord,—and they have derogated shamefully from their former engagements: should they, therefore, find themselves the worse for it, they have only themselves to thank. Shortly after the English had gained Therouenne by capitulation, they advanced before Tournay, which was surrendered to them by the principal inhabitants, according to an agreement among themselves, without striking a blow ‡.

The king of England and the king of the Romans, after these conquests, returned to their own countries, leaving a garrison in Tournay. The king of France likewise quitted Picardy with his queen, and went to Blois.

While the war was carrying on in Picardy, and a little before the siege of Therouenne, an engagement at sea took place between Pregent, a French captain, and the lord Howard,

* James professed himself the knight of Anne of Bretagne, queen of France, who wrote him an heroic letter to claim his assistance, sending him, at the same time, a ring off her finger and 14,000 francs.—Andrews.

† The celebrated battle of Flodden.

‡ I believe this town was gained by a ruse de guerre. Henry drew up before the walls a large train of what appeared battering cannon (but were only of wood painted, and are now shown in the Tower), which frightened the inhabitants into an instant surrender. This is the popular story.

lord admiral of England, on the 22nd and 25th days of April. Pregent, thinking to join the French fleet in Brest harbour, was met at sea on the vigil of St. George's day, by a fleet of forty or fifty sail, and was instantly attacked by two galeasses and four or five other vessels. The combat lasted two hours, with great slaughter on both sides; but at length the English were forced to retire, with the loss of two vessels sunk. On the Monday following, which was the feast of St. Mark, Pregent and his fleet fell in again with that of the English, amounting to twenty or thirty vessels, and about thirty large boats. The galley of Pregent was attacked by two galeasses and three ships, but he fought well,—and all on board the first galeass were killed by pikes, or drove into the sea, excepting two prisoners, one of whom was thrown overboard. In this combat sir Edward Howard was killed, whose body was embalmed, to carry to England for interment *. The captains of the other ships, seeing that these five vessels had not made any impression on the galley of Pregent, whom they had courageously attacked, held a council, and afterwards made sail, leaving the sea open to Pregent. A large fleet had been collected at Honnefleur, to attack the king of England as he crossed the Channel, and cut off his return; but when they were at sea, a violent storm arose that separated this fleet, and some of the vessels were sunk.

The winter of this year was very long and severe, so that the Seine and other river were frozen hard enough for carriages to pass over them with safety; and when the thaw came, numbers of houses and mills were destroyed by the floods.

About this time, news was brought that the Swiss had intentions of again entering Burgundy, when the king ordered thither the lord of Bourbon with a large force of men-at-arms, infantry and artillery,—but the Swiss did not come. This same year, the garrisons that had guarded different places in Italy returned to France, in consequence of the treaty concluded with the Swiss before Dijon,—namely, those from the castle of Milan; the lord of Aubigny, his lance on his thigh, with his garrison, from the castle of Brescia. When these garrisons marched away, the Spaniards took possession of the castles, which the Venetians thought had been done for them; but when the Spaniards had established themselves securely, they chaunted to the Venetians the Evangile des Vièrges. Such are the chances of war.

CHAPTER CCXXXVII.—OF THE DEATH AND INTERMENT OF THE MOST CHRISTIAN QUEEN OF FRANCE, ANNE OF BRITTANY.

At the time of the arrival of the above unfortunate intelligence, the most noble queen of France, Anne duchess of Brittany, &c. lay dangerously ill at the castle of Blois. This was on the 2d day of January,—and her illness so much increased that the good lady, on Monday the 9th instant, departed this life, most devoutly, in the faith of Jesus Christ, our sovereign Lord, to whom she most humbly resigned her soul. Great lamentations and grief were shown for this loss. When the body had been embalmed, it was put into a rich coffin, and carried, with an immense number of lighted torches, from Blois to the abbey of St. Denis, where it was interred with the usual honours due to her rank, and followed with the tears of all her officers and attendants. The funeral service was solemn and magnificent, becoming such a lady, whose soul may God pardon!

In the month of April of this year 1513, and just before Easter, a truce was proclaimed in Paris between the kings of France and Arragon.

* Sir Edward Howard boarded Pregent's ship, although it was sheltered by the rocks of Conquet lined with cannon, accompanied only by Carroz, a Spanish knight, and seventeen Englishmen. Overpowered by numbers, Howard was forced overboard by pikes, and perished in the waves.—Andrews.

CHAPTER CCXXXVIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE MARRIES THE PRINCESS MARY, SISTER TO KING HENRY OF ENGLAND.—FRANCIS DUKE OF VALOIS AND COUNT OF ANGOULEME MARRIES THE PRINCESS CLAUDE, DAUGHTER TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE NEW QUEEN MAKES HER PUBLIC ENTRY INTO FRANCE.

After the funeral of the late queen of France, the king came to Paris, and was lodged at the hôtel of the Tournelles, and would not that any one should appear in his presence but in mourning. He sent for his two daughters, the princesses Claude and Renée, who were conducted to him from Blois by madame d'Angoulême, and shortly after summoned the princes and great barons of his realm to a council on the present state of affairs, and respecting a peace with England. In consequence of what had been resolved on in this council, the king sent, as his ambassadors to king Henry, the governor of Normandy, the president of Rouen, and the lord Longueville, then a prisoner of war in England, was added to them, to treat of a peace.

While this was passing, the king was taken very ill at the castle of Vincennes, and had ordered, for his recovery, that "O Salutaris Hostia" should be chanted daily in all the churches of France, at the elevation of the holy sacrament, which had been of the utmost benefit to him. On his recovery, the king went thence to St. Germain-en-Laye, to recreate himself, and to temper the melancholy of his mourning; for it was a pleasant country, interspersed with woods and dales, and full of game.

Much public business was transacted during the king's stay at St. Germain; and a marriage was concluded between the duke of Valois, count of Angoulême, and the princess Claude. They were married in their mourning, in the chapel of the castle, in the presence of the king, the princes of the blood, and many others of high rank, on the 18th of May, in the year 1513. About this period, and before the king had quitted St. Germain-en-Laye, his ambassadors sent him intelligence of their having concluded a peace with England, on condition of his marrying the princess Mary. King Henry sent ambassadors to Paris, to confirm the marriage between king Louis and his sister, and to ratify the treaty of peace that had been agreed on between the two kingdoms, which was now publicly proclaimed in both realms.

On Monday the 16th of August, in this year, a grand procession was made from the great hall of the palace, with trumpets and clarions, when the herald, called Mont-joye, proclaimed a magnificent tournament to be holden at Paris, by the duke of Valois, Brittany*, and count of Angoulême, to which he invited all princes, lords, and gentlemen, to assist. It was about this time that the princess Mary was escorted to France by many of the great nobles of England, in company with the lords of France who had gone thither to attend on her. The king left Paris, with his court, and went as far as Abbeville to meet the new queen, where she arrived on the 8th of October, and made her public entry very triumphantly, attended by the duke of Valois and numbers of nobles, as well English as French, all most richly dressed, with large golden chains, especially the English. The queen was most handsomely attired, and seated in a brilliant car: in short, the whole was a beautiful sight. She was preceded by a body of two hundred English archers, gallantly accoutred, with their bows in hand, and quivers full of arrows.

The king, hearing of her coming, mounted his horse, and, attended by his nobles, rode out into the plain, under pretence of hawking, but it was to meet her; and on his approaching her, he kissed her on horseback, paying her many fair compliments, as he knew well how to do. Her reception in Abbeville was most honourable,—and the inhabitants exerted themselves who should surpass the other in testifying their joy at her arrival. On the morrow, the feast of St. Denis, the king of France was married to the princess Mary of England.

* Francis was duke of Brittany in right of the princess Claude, who succeeded to that duchy on the death of her mother queen Anne. For, although the two crowns, the royal and ducal, had been united in the person of Louis XII., yet the duchy remained distinct from the kingdom, and would have passed away from it again had the princess Claude not married the heir of the crown of France. The countries were not incorporated till the reign of Francis I., who procured an act of union and settlement to be passed.

She was most magnificently dressed, with an immense quantity of diamonds and precious stones. A singular banquet succeeded, with a great variety of all sorts of amusements. Having staid a few days in Abbeville to solace themselves, they set out for Paris; and through the towns of Picardy they passed, the greatest honours were paid them. In every town, the queen gave liberty to the prisoners, by the king's command. On their arrival at St. Denis, the ceremony of the queen's coronation took place, which was very splendid, and numerously attended by archbishops, bishops, and nobility.

Monday, the 6th of November, the queen made her triumphant entry into the city of Paris,—the clergy, courts of parliament, of exchequer, &c., and all the municipal officers, with crowds of people, having gone out in procession to meet her. She was seated on a rich litter, adorned with precious stones, and escorted by the duke of Valois, the lord of Alençon*, the lord of Bourbon†, the lord of Vendôme‡, his brother the lord Francis, Louis de Nevers§, with other great lords, as well of England as of France, prelates and churchmen. Her litter was followed by those of the princess Claude, duchess of Valois, madame d'Angoulême, madame de Vendôme, madame de Nevers||, and other princesses of both kingdoms. Thus was she conducted to the church of Notre-Dame, and took the usual oaths: she thence proceeded to the royal palace, where a most splendid banquet was provided. The king and queen lay that night at the royal palace, which served to shorten his days.

CHAPTER CCXXXIX.—OF THE TILTS PERFORMED AT PARIS.—THE DEATH AND INTERMENT OF LOUIS XII. KING OF FRANCE.

The next day, the king and queen went to the Tournelles, to see the tournaments, that had been before proclaimed. At the entrance of the lists was a triumphal arch surmounted with the shields of arms of the king and queen: below them were the emblazoned shields of the lords and princes, the tenants and defendants of the lists. The duke of Valois was the chief tenant, with his assistants,—and many gallant courses were ran with lances, to the advantage of some, and to the loss of others. In short, it was a handsome spectacle, and all in compliment to, and for the love of, queen Mary; but her popularity would not have lasted long, for although the poor people were already heavily taxed, yet the king intended, had he lived longer, to have greatly increased the taxes. After these jousts and tourneys, the king carried the queen to St. Germain-en-Laye, where they spent some time, leading as joyous a life as he was able. He thence returned to his palace of the Tournelles at Paris, and was taken so dangerously ill that he made preparations becoming a good Christian, and rendered his soul to God on the 1st day of January, in the year 1514. His body was aromatically embalmed, and lay in state some days at the Tournelles, where everybody went to see it who pleased. The usual ceremonies on such occasions were then performed, but it would be tiresome to detail them. Some days after, the body was carried to the church of Notre-Dame, and placed in a chapel that had been purposely erected in the choir,—and a solemn service was performed by the bishop of Paris. The next day it was borne to a cross near to St. Denis, where the abbot and his monks of St. Denis met it, and was, by them, interred with great pomp, amidst the tears of his officers and domestics. He was buried beside his queen, Anne of Brittany. May God receive their souls! The principal mourners were, the lord of Alençon, the lord of Bourbon, the lord of Vendôme, and other princes and great lords.

It is of some moment when a king or great prince dies, who may, perhaps, have caused the deaths of numbers of human creatures like themselves; for I believe that in the other world they will have enough to do, more especially respecting this circumstance, that a poor

* Charles, the second duke of Alençon, son of René and grandson of John II., who was beheaded. He married Margaret the sister of Francis the First, afterwards wife of Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre.

† Charles, duke of Bourbon, mentioned before.

‡ Charles, duke of Vendôme, and Francis lord of St. Pol, both mentioned before.

§ Count of Auxerre, second son of Engilbert of Cleves count of Nevers, who died in 1506.

|| Mary d'Albret, the wife of Charles, count of Nevers, eldest son of Engilbert of Cleves.

man, with six or seven small children, not worth twenty sols in the world, shall be taxed from ten to twenty sols, and when the collector shall come to receive the tax, finding the man worth nothing, and without means of raising the money, he commits him to prison, where he languishes out his days. Now I would like to have shown any written law for this injustice; but no one will attempt so to do, because every one is eager to push himself forward in this world. May God assist the poor people!

CHAPTER CCXLI.—FRANCIS I., KING OF FRANCE, IS CONSECRATED AT RHEIMS.—HE MAKES HIS PUBLIC ENTRY INTO PARIS.—HE LEAVES FRANCE TO ATTACK THE SWISS IN THE MILANESE, WHO HAVE TAKEN POSSESSION OF THAT DUCHY.

After the death of Louis XII., Francis, the first of the name, succeeded him on the throne, as the fifty-seventh king of France. He set out from Paris, to be consecrated king in the cathedral of Rheims, according to the custom of his ancestors kings of France, and was there anointed with the holy oil on the 25th day of January, in the year 1514. The twelve peers of France, or their substitutes, were present, exercising their functions in the usual manner on such occasions. Madame d'Angoulême, the king's mother, was present at the ceremony, accompanied by madame de Bourbon, madame de Vendôme, and other ladies and damsels. The king went from Rheims to be crowned at St. Denis, and on his return made triumphal public entries into Laon, Noyon, Compiégne, Senlis, and other towns. He continued his way towards Paris, very grandly attended, and made the most brilliant public entry into that city that had ever been seen. The accoutrements and trappings of the horses were of wrought silver, with frized cloth of gold; and, to sum up the whole in few words, the lords and gentlemen, with their horses, were covered with cloth of gold: some had their dresses interwrought with solid silver.

Francis I. and attendant Nobles. Designed from the celebrated picture of the Field of the Cloth of Gold; and the sculpture in the Hotel de Bourgtheroulde, Rouen.

The king entered in triumph, dressed magnificently: the trappings of his horse were of worked silver, and his attendants equipped in cloth of silver brocade. He went, as usual,

to the royal palace, where a sumptuous banquet had been prepared, with a numerous band of trumpets and clarions; after which a grand tournament was held in the rue St. Antoine, when the king acquitted himself most gallantly.

A treaty was concluded between the king of France and the archduke, and a marriage agreed on between the archduke and the princess Renée, daughter to the late king, Louis XII., by the count of Nassau, and other ambassadors despatched for this purpose. The count of Nassau was also betrothed to the daughter of the prince of Orange, whom he afterwards married. At this time the duke of Bourbon was made constable of France,—and while the king remained at Paris, the duke of Suffolk espoused the queen-dowager of France, sister to Henry king of England. That king had sent the duke of Suffolk to France,—and when he carried his queen to England, he was grandly accompanied by the highest of the nobility. Thus was confirmed the peace between the two kingdoms. At this time also, the king of France sent to seek Pedro de Navarre, a prisoner of war, whom he set at liberty, gave him many rich gifts, and the command of a large body of men.

When all these marriages and other matters had been concluded, the king celebrated the feast of Easter in Paris, and then, with his queen and court, went by water as far as Montereau-faut-Yonne. He thence went, on the 1st of May, to a small castle called Egreville, where were some joustings, and proceeded to Montargis and Briare, where he embarked on the Loire for Amboise. He made a public entry into all the towns he passed; namely, Mehun, Montereau, Montargis, Blois, Amboise, and other small towns, where every honour was paid him. While he was hunting at Amboise, a thorn pierced his leg through boot and hose, and gave him such pain that he was for a time very ill. During his residence at Amboise, the lord de Lorraine was married to mademoiselle de Bourbon, sister to the constable of France. Great feasts were displayed on the occasion, and the court of the donjon of the castle was covered with an awning of cloth, to keep off the rays of the sun. In the evening of that day were great maskings and mummeries, with morris-dancers richly dressed, and divers pastimes.

These feastings being over, the king departed very early one morning for Romorantin *, where he was also grandly entertained by the lady his mother. While with her he received intelligence that the Swiss had entered Dauphiny, near to Briançon, and burned a village close to Château Dauphin; on which he took a hasty leave of his mother, and set off suddenly for Bourges, where he made a public entry. The king departed on the morrow in haste for Moulins, where the duchess of Bourbon handsomely received him,—and his entry was splendid for so small a town; for there were triumphant cars filled with the handsomest ladies of the country, representations of ships and wild beasts, mounted by the beauties of the town, who preceded the king on his entry. The king left Moulins for Lyon, where a most magnificent entry was prepared for him. He gave there his final orders respecting the provision and stores, which were in a state of forwardness to be transported over the Alps, for the prosecution of the war in the Milanese. During his absence in Italy, he nominated his mother, the duchess of Anjou and Maine, countess of Angoulême, &c., regent of the kingdom. Shortly after the king departed from Lyon, and went to Grenoble, where he made a handsome entry, and staid there until his preparations should be completed. About this period, the young son of Frederic, late king of Naples, died: he had already commenced a warlike career; and had he lived, I believe he would have made a figure as a warrior, for he was very courageous and virtuous.

When the king set out from Grenoble, he passed through Embrun, although his army, or the greater part, had taken the road through the small town of Duissant, for there had been formed stores of provision on all that line of march. The king halted at Guillestre †, and afterward at St. Paul ‡, and then traversed a road so bad, that it was thought no man had ever before attempted it. Great difficulties attended this march, and the poor infantry suffered much; for as the artillery was to pass this road, the cannon were dismounted, and dragged by men over the rocks.

* Romorantin,—fifteen leagues from Amboise, eleven from Blois.

† Guillestre,—near Mont-Dauphin, in Dauphiny.

‡ St. Paul,—a village in Dauphiny.

During this time, the pope had sent fifteen hundred horse, well appointed, under the command of Prospero Colonna, to join the forces of Maximilian, in the hope of surprising the king before he could pass the mountains; but Prospero, ignorant how near he was to the French, or that they had succeeded in passing the Alps, had halted at a town in Piedmont, called Villa-franca *. Of this circumstance a peasant of that country had informed one of the king's gentlemen, named the lord de la Morette, and that, as Prospero was quite unsuspicious of the French being so near, it would be easy to surprise him. The lord de la Morette lost no time to carry this news to the marshal de la Palisse, the lord d'Aubigny, the lord d'Imbercourt, Bayard, and others, who all instantly agreed to follow the lord d'Imbercourt in the attempt to surprise Colonna. He had sent forward one of his archers to reconnoitre, who reported, that as Colonna and his men were just sitting down to dinner, and entirely off their guard, an immediate attack would be necessary: d'Imbercourt sent, therefore, to hasten the march of La Palisse and the others.

Notwithstanding this, d'Imbercourt boldly advanced to enter Villa-franca,—when, as his trumpet was within the gates, and had sounded his charge, his horse's neck was inclosed within them; but the men-at-arms came to his relief, by crossing their lances over the horse, and put to death all who had opposed them at the gate. They galloped up the streets, shouting out "France, France!" and advanced to where Colonna was at dinner: a sharp conflict now took place,—but the lord de la Palisse and the others arrived, who soon ended it, by making Colonna prisoner, and slaying great numbers of his men. All his baggage was pillaged, and very many fine horses gained that were in the stables of the town. Prospero Colonna was carried, with the other prisoners, to the king of France, and thence sent into confinement at the castle of Montagu, belonging to the lord de la Palisse.

CHAPTER CCXLI.—THE KING OF FRANCE PURSUES THE SWISS WITH HIS WHOLE ARMY.—THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF NOVARA SURRENDER TO THE KING.

The pope, when he heard of the defeat of Prospero Colonna and his army, and that he was sent prisoner to France, was very much surprised, and not without reason; for he never had imagined that the king of France would attempt to cross the Alps where he had, and for some time would not believe it. The Swiss cantoned at Susa, Villaine, Rivoli, and other parts, hearing of what had passed at Villa-franca, retreated toward Milan, followed by the French as far as Turin, whence the duke of Savoy came out to meet the king, and gave him a handsome reception. The king, having received from the duke of Savoy five large pieces of artillery, continued his pursuit of the Swiss, who had passed the Po in an extraordinary hurry, for they had no boats, nor any means but cords to drag their artillery and baggage over, with which they marched day and night. They burned the castle of Chivazzo, and part of that small town, belonging to the duke of Savoy, which lay on their line of march, killing many of the inhabitants and plundering the town, because they would not afford them provision, nor allow them passage through Chivazzo. Some of the Swiss were slain that had remained behind to pillage.

In this interval, the lord de Prie, with a body of Genoese, arrived at Alexandria and other towns, which he sacked, although their inhabitants had fled,—but they were deserving of punishment for the many tricks they had before played the French. The French army kept pursuing the Swiss, who seemed inclined to march to Jurea †, but, turning short, entered Novara. The king arrived with his army at Vercelli ‡, where it was rumoured that an agreement would take place between the king and Swiss. The lord bastard of Savoy and the lord de Lautrec, with others, were charged with this commission; but notwithstanding this, the king continued his march after the Swiss, who had quitted Novara, and taken the road to Milan. He was now joined by a considerable reinforcement of Lansquenets,

* Villa-franca,—sixteen miles S.S.W. of Turin.
† Jurea,—on the great Dora in Piedmont.
‡ Vercelli,—thirty miles S.W. of Milan, thirty-eight N.E. of Turin.

called the Black Band *, very well equipped. The king advanced to Novara, which was instantly assaulted by Pedro de Navarre and others, and surrendered to the king's obedience.

In the absence of the king, his queen was brought to bed, at Amboise, of a fair daughter, who was christened Louisa,—and soon afterwards her portrait was sent to him, while engaged in his Italian campaign. The surrender of the town and castle of Novara saved them from pillage, by the king's commands,—who, pursuing his march toward Milan, went to Bufalora. Here the agreement between the king and Swiss was made public, which had been accomplished by means of a large sum of money paid down, according to a promise made them by the king. The Swiss, in consequence, swore fidelity to him, and signed the treaty,—but which they did not keep, notwithstanding their oaths and engagements, but falsified both.

CHAPTER CCXLII.—THE KING OF FRANCE DEFEATS THE SWISS ARMY AT MARIGNANO †, ON THE FEAST-DAY OF THE EXALTATION OF THE CROSS.—OF THE CRUEL BATTLE AND SLAUGHTER OF THE FRENCH AND SWISS.

The king of France, thinking that he had secured the Swiss by the payment of the sum agreed on between them and the lord de Lautrec, marched his army to Marignano, beyond Milan; but it was not long before he found that he had miscalculated on their keeping the promises they had made him. In the interval between the signing of the late treaty and the payment of the money, the Swiss had resolved to surprise the king's army,—induced thereto by the remonstrances and preachments of the cardinal of Siôn, who had corrupted them at the instigation of the emperor Maximilian, and of the inhabitants of the Milanese, who had given them corslets and other armour, together with the fairest promises. The Swiss believing that they would be joined by every Italian, and that, if successful, they might acquire territories of a great extent in a fertile country, and be feared and redoubted by all the world, caused them to act in the treacherous manner they did.

The king learning that the Swiss were turned against him, was much mortified; for he concluded, that at that moment they were receiving the money agreed on. However, like a hardy knight, he was not cast down, but gave his orders for the forming of his army, to receive the enemy with the most advantage. While thus employed, news was brought him that a lage body of infantry well armed had marched out of Milan, to join the Swiss in the meditated attack against him. In fact, about three or four o'clock in that afternoon, the Swiss advanced on the king's army, but were received with such valour, that many were more inclined to seek for a retreat than to persevere in the combat. The king, who commanded the main body, on seeing the Swiss advance, charged them in person, attended by his gentlemen, and defeated one band. The French volunteers now placed themselves in the position of the Lansquenets, who had in part turned their backs; but they must not be blamed for this, for they had before heard of the agreement made with the Swiss, and without any explanation had been led on to an unexpected battle, which made them believe that they were betrayed by the king, who wanted to have them destroyed. But when they saw the volunteers thus step boldly into their ranks, they recovered courage, and fought with the utmost bravery.

The French volunteers did wonders; and although they were not numerous, amounting to no more than two thousand, they defeated a band of Swiss consisting of double their number. Great feats of arms were done at this battle, with battle-axes, lances, and two-handed swords, so that for a long time it was doubtful on which side victory would remain. The Swiss behaved with the utmost courage, and charged the main body and reserve of the French with an impetuosity that astonished them, in the hopes of succeeding as they had before done at Novara. The artillery of the French was not asleep, and the Swiss made an

* Black band,—under the command of Ruberta della Marchia, from lower Germany.—Guicciardini.
I must refer the reader to Guicciardini, &c. for further details of these wars in Italy.

† Marignano,—eleven miles s.e. from Milan.

attempt to seize it, but were repulsed with much loss,—for not a cannon was fired without killing numbers of them.

This battle lasted until the going down of the sun,—and both sides fought as long as the dust and light allowed them to see each other. Some, thinking to retire to their own camp, found themselves in that of the enemy; but what caused great confusion was the Swiss shouting out "France! France!" and then attacking the French. The night was not long. The king was constantly with his men, giving them every sort of encouragement by words and example. He was particularly anxious about his artillery, which was well guarded by a party of Lansquenets. Having visited the different divisions of his army, he reposed himself in his armour on the carriage of a cannon; and I may with truth assert, that if the king had not been present at this engagement, the French would have had more than enough to do.

On the morrow, the 14th of September, in the year 1515, and the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, the Swiss, enraged against the French, advanced on them by day-break (notwithstanding their loss on the preceding night had been more than they supposed) with an eagerness as if they had been going to a dance, and made their charge with valour and steadiness. The conflict was long and doubtful; but the king's artillery, where he was in person, did the greatest service, particularly on a strong body that kept firmly united until their losses were so considerable, the remainder turned their backs and fled for Milan. The other divisions of the Swiss made now little resistance; and to make short of the matter, all that remained were put to death, or taken prisoners; and had not the dust been great, fewer would have escaped,—for it was so thick they could not see many yards before them*.

Battle of Marignano. Designed from contemporary authorities.

The heat that day was very oppressive; and the king and his lords suffered greatly from thirst, for there was no water near that was pure,—for all the springs and streams

* The marshal de Trivulce said that he had been at eighteen pitched battles, but that they were children's play compared with this.

were discoloured with blood, of which nevertheless they were forced to drink; at length, some clear water was brought them. The king was as much rejoiced that the Swiss had renewed the battle on the following day, as a huntsman when he lays blinkes in the chase of a stag. The Swiss left full sixteen thousand dead on the field, who did not lose their lives like children, but as men of true courage; and all the roads toward Milan and Como were full of those who, in their flight, had died of the wounds they had received in battle.

This was the first victory of king Francis I., and was very marvellous it proved so great, considering how much he had been deceived in the Swiss by their treaty some days prior to the combat. It is worthy of remembrance,—for, since the days of Julius Cæsar, this nation, so valorous in war, never lost in battle so many as sixteen thousand men. Louis XI. had defeated, when dauphin, a body of three or four thousand: a duke of Milan had also conquered a body of two thousand, which inclines me so much to exalt this victory of the king over enemies so determined and numerous, for thirty-six thousand men had marched out of Milan. Toward the end of the combat a reinforcement of Venetians arrived, which the constable of Bourbon had gone to seek. The troops made all diligence, were well accoutred, and ready for battle; but they found the Swiss defeated, and flying in all directions for Como and Milan.

The Venetians pursued the enemy, and showed themselves men of courage, particularly their commander, sir Bartholomew d'Alviano, and the son of the count de Petigliano, who did wonders; but as he was attempting to leap a wide ditch his horse fell upon him,—and he was surrounded and slain by the Swiss, for none were near enough to prevent them. The lord d'Imbercourt was also killed fighting valiantly; he had rushed among the ranks of the Swiss, like to an enraged wild boar, and was of a most warlike nature, with the intrepidity of a lion, as many can testify, who have seen him engaged on former occasions. Francis, lord of Bourbon, was inclosed by the Swiss and put to death, his men not being nigh to rescue him. The prince of Tallemont, the count de Sancerre, the lord de Bussi, the captain Mouy, with a very great number of lords and gentlemen of renown, whose courage had many times been displayed in war, were killed at this battle. During the engagement, neither baggage nor artillery were in danger of being taken, for they were excellently well defended by those who ran as much risk as others engaged in the main battle. Many were well mounted, so that, if fortune had been adverse, the poor adventurers might have been able to support their friends, and have renewed the fight.

The king made, this day, several new knights. During the conflict, the cardinal of Sion fled, on seeing the quantities of dead, under pretence, as he told Maximilian Sforza, of bringing back reinforcements, but returned when too late.

In the course of this great butchery, a body of Swiss retreated toward a cassino of the van-guard, where was posted the duke of Bourbon, constable of France: he instantly pursued them, had the cassino set on fire, and, unless they could have flown through the flames, not one could have escaped. May God have mercy on their souls, and of all those who fell on this day! It is a great pity that it should be in the power of two or three persons to cause the deaths of so many human creatures, whom they seem to estimate no more than as so many sheep. Alas! they are not beasts, and have sense and reason, or at least ought to have, although sometimes their strength fails through wicked intentions.

Some of the wounded Swiss fled to Milan, others to Como: those who entered Milan told the citizens that they had gained the battle, on which they were led to the great hospital to be cured,—but when the Lansquenets afterwards entered that city, they put an end to their misery in a strange and terrible manner.

CHAPTER CCXLIII.—MILAN SURRENDERS TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE CASTLE, BESIEGED BY THE FRENCH, SURRENDERS ON CAPITULATION.

Not long after this victory, the townsmen of Milan waited on the king, to beg his mercy and pardon for what they had done, and to present him with the keys of their gates. The king mercifully received them, and forgave them, but not without making them pay a heavy fine. The French army now marched to lay siege to the castle of Milan, into which Maximilian Sforza with a body of Swiss, and others whom he collected, had thrown themselves. The artillery made, within a few days, several breaches in the outworks; and Pedro de Navarre had worked his mines under the walls of the castle with such success, great part of them fell down.

Maximilian, perceiving himself in danger, made offers to capitulate, when the king sent his chancellor with other gentlemen to treat with him. They were all handsomely dressed: the chancellor had on a flowing robe of raised cloth of gold. Having entered the castle, they instantly began a negotiation with Maximilian for peace, and proceeded in it so far that he accompanied them to the king's camp, where the treaty was concluded, on condition that the Swiss in the castle should be allowed to march away with their baggage in safety, and be paid the whole of the money that had been promised them by the king of France. Maximilian, by this treaty, resigned all pretensions to the duchy of Milan * to the king, who received him with kindness, and had him escorted to France, where he was henceforth to reside. The king made a brilliant entry into Milan, and staid there some time, during which he was magnificently feasted by the nobles and gentlemen of the town and duchy.

In regard to the inhabitants of Pavia, they escaped being pillaged, from their poverty, for all of the richer sort had retired into Milan so soon as they heard of the king's successes,—and a treaty was concluded with them by means of a sum of money.

CHAPTER CCXLIV.—POPE LEO X. AND THE KING OF FRANCE MEET AT BOLOGNA, TO CONFER ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS.—THE KING RETURNS TO FRANCE.

About this period died the commander of the Venetian forces, the lord Bartholomew d'Alviano. His death was caused by a fever from overheating himself. He was much regretted for his valour and his attachment to the French interest. The Lansquenets received from the king, at two different times, double pay. And during his residence at Milan, a treaty was concluded by him with the Swiss cantons, by means of a large sum of money paid them, notwithstanding they had been so lately conquered by the French. When this treaty was signed, ambassadors were sent from the pope to the king, to invite him to Bologna, that they might hold a conference on the state of the affairs of Italy, and for the mutual strengthening of their friendship and alliance. The king, in consequence, left Milan with a numerous attendance, especially of men-at-arms, and arrived at Bologna, where he had a welcome reception from the pope, who entertained him handsomely,—and they had frequent and long conversations together.

One day the pope performed a solemn service in the cathedral, at which the king assisted. It lasted some time; after which, an alliance was concluded between them. The pope gave up to the king several towns that belonged to him in right of the duchy of Milan. He gave also a cardinal's hat to the bishop of Constance, brother to the grand master of France.

When everything had been concluded between the pope and the king, he returned to Milan, and thence took the road to France, leaving the duke of Bourbon, constable of France, his lieutenant-general of the Milanese †. He made all diligence in crossing the

* This was brought about by the constable of Bourbon, who bargained that Maximilian should enjoy a yearly pension of 30,000 ducats, &c. See the French and Italian historians, and particularly Mr. Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici and Leo X.

† Is not this a mistake? was not Lautrec governor of the Milanese, and who offended the inhabitants by his severity?

Alps, and arrived at La Baûme, where the queen and his lady-mother were waiting for him He was joyfully received there, as well as in many other towns in Provence. On leaving La Baûme, they all came together to Avignon, and had a handsome entry. Thence they proceeded to Lyon, where the queen made her public entry, and was received with all demonstrations of joy.

At this time died Ferdinand king of Arragon, who during his reign had made many conquests, more especially over the Moors, whom he had subjected to his obedience. At this period also died the magnificent Lorenzo de Medici, brother to pope Leo X., who had lately married a sister to the duke of Savoy, and sister also to the countess of Angoulême, mother to Francis I. king of France. He had been appointed generalissimo of the army of the church.

Nearly at this period a furious battle was fought between the Sophi, called Ishmael, and the Grand Turk, and won by the latter, when more than one hundred and sixty thousand men were slain *. The Sophi, however, undismayed, collected fresh troops, and marched a considerable army against the Turk, whom he in his turn defeated, and drove him beyond the walls of Constantinople into Greece. The Sophi remained in possession of all the conquered country, while the Turk was like a captive within the territories of Christendom, and the war was continued on both sides.

CHAPTER CCXLV.—THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN ASSEMBLES A LARGE ARMY TO ATTEMPT THE CONQUEST OF THE MILANESE, AND TO DRIVE THE FRENCH OUT OF ITALY.—THE CONSTABLE OF BOURBON, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL FOR THE KING IN ITALY, MARCHES AGAINST HIM.

While the king of France was at Lyon, and toward the end of Lent, in the year 1516, another war broke out in Italy, through the usual manœuvres of the emperor Maximilian: he at this time was excited by the angels of king Henry of England, which had not for a long time flown in his country,—and by their means he subsidised the cantons of Swisserland and the Grisons. He also urged the citizens of Milan to revolt, principally through Galeas Visconti; and thinking everything in a good train, he marched toward Milan with a body of troops that he had collected, under the brother of Maximilian Sforza, now resident in France according to the treaty that had been concluded with him after the battle of Marignano.

The emperor having, as I have said, assembled an army, marched it from the plains of Verona to Lodi; but the constable, whom the king had left as his lieutenant in the Milanese, hearing of this, collected as many men together as the shortness of the time would allow, and advanced to meet the enemy. His numbers were not great, on account of this expedition of the emperor being unexpected, although he had received hints of his intention some seven weeks before, but he was not certain of the truth.

The constable marched his army to the river Adda, and found the enemy posted on the opposite bank. A short time prior to this, the king of France had summoned some of the nobles of Milan to come to him, who proceeded as far as Suza, to the number of thirty-seven, when they held a consultation; and on the morrow, thirty-three of them fled to join the emperor,—but the other four remained loyal to the French, continued the road to Lyon, and related to the king the shameful conduct of the others.

To return to our subject; the duke of Bourbon, when on the Adda, despatched messengers to the Swiss cantons, to hasten the troops the king had agreed for,—and in consequence, about nine or ten thousand infantry, for the preservation of Milan, marched to Jurea. The duke of Bourbon was preparing to attack the imperialists, when he heard that Milan was on the point of a revolt; and as he had not sufficient force to meet the

* In the "Art de Vérifier les Dates," I find that Selim I., emperor of the Ottomans, marches in the year 1514 against Ishmael king of Persia, defeats him in the plain of Chalderon, and gains Tauris. War was continued between them until the year 1516, when Selim turned his arms against Kansou, sultan of Egypt.

army of the emperor with advantage, he was advised to retreat to Milan, although he was himself most desirous to try the event of a combat, and wait the coming of the Swiss, who remained very long at Jurea. The duke retreated with his army back to Milan with all diligence, to the great surprise of the inhabitants: he immediately had strict inquiries made after the authors of the intended revolt: several were confined in prison, and many were beheaded. The other citizens, seeing that the French were completely masters of their town, and that they were not the strongest, determined to suffer all extremities should the French continue their ill-treatment.

The emperor, when he heard of this sudden retreat of the French, thought he had already conquered them, and, crossing the Adda, marched his army toward Milan, and fixed his quarters near to Marignano. You may easily imagine how much the burghers of Milan were now alarmed,—for the constable had one of the suburbs burned, to prevent the enemy from fortifying it. A few days after, the duke of Bourbon sent presents of cloths of gold, and of silk, to the principal leaders of the Swiss, to hasten their march, which had the desired effect,—and they soon appeared before the castle, wherein they were joyfully received by the constable. He had immediately Milan strengthened with ditches and outworks, so that it was much stronger than ever. The emperor advanced with his army, now very numerous, before the walls, and saluted them with a large train of artillery, which was as boldly returned from the ramparts by the garrison.

CHAPTER CCXLVI.—THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN, FINDING THAT HE COULD NOT SUCCEED IN HIS ATTEMPT ON MILAN, MARCHES AWAY.

The emperor was much surprised that his army should be in the utmost distress for provision, as he expected that Milan would have opened its gates on his appearing before them, according to the promises he had received from Galeas Visconti: but just the contrary happened; and as he had heard of the reinforcements the French had obtained, and felt how much his own army suffered from want of provision, and also that he had now no great quantity of English angels, he retreated toward Bergamo, and summoned that town to surrender. The inhabitants, perceiving that no succours could be expected from Milan, raised a sum of money among themselves, and offered it to the emperor, on his marching away. He thence retreated toward Lodi, plundered and burned great part of the town, and put to death many of the inhabitants, which was a great pity.

The duke of Bourbon followed close on the rear of the emperor's army, when skirmishes frequently happened, to the loss of the Imperialists in killed and wounded. Maximilian, finding his situation become disagreeable, went away, under pretence that the death of the king of Hungary was the cause of his sudden departure, leaving his army in a very doubtful state, which then was broken up, and the men retreated to their homes. The emperor, however, pocketed fifty thousand angels the king of England had sent to his aid, thinking that he was in the quiet possession of the Milanese,—but he was far enough from it.

About this time, the king of France sent some of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber to assist the duke of Bourbon in managing the affairs of the Milanese.

CHAPTER CCXLVII.—THE KING OF FRANCE GOES ON A PILGRIMAGE TO THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY HANDKERCHIEF IN CHAMBERY.—A TREATY OF PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN HIM AND THE ARCHDUKE KING OF SPAIN.

About Whitsuntide, in this year of 1516, the king of France departed from Lyon, accompanied by many gentlemen, to fulfil a vow he had made of a pilgrimage to the church of the Holy Handkerchief in Chambery. As he had vowed to perform it on foot, he set out accordingly, with his train of attendants. They formed a handsome spectacle; for they were all splendidly dressed in fancy habiliments, decorated with plenty of feathers. Thus they followed the king on foot as far as Chambery, where he met the duke of Bourbon on

his return from Italy. This meeting gave much joy to both,—and the king was entertained at Chambery, during his stay there, by the duke of Savoy.

At this time a treaty was concluded between the Spaniards and the garrison in the castle of Brescia, who marched away with their arms and baggage. The Venetians, to whom the place belonged, immediately took possession of the town and castle, conformably to an agreement made with the late king of France, Louis XII. Somewhat prior to this, several counts in Germany collected bodies of men, and entered Lorraine, where they committed much mischief. The cause of this warfare was a claim the Lansquenets made on certain mines in that country, on the borders of Germany, which they attempted to gain; but the duke of Lorraine repulsed them, and nothing more was done. These counts waited afterwards on the king of France at Tours, and were presented to him by the lord de Florenge, son to the captain de la Marche.

On the king's return from Savoy, he went into Touraine. About this time the king of Navarre died: he was son to the lord d'Albret, and had been driven out of his kingdom by Ferdinand the Catholic, as has been before-mentioned. A treaty of peace was now concluded between the king of France and the archduke king of Spain, which was proclaimed at Paris and throughout the realm. One of the conditions was, that the king of Spain should marry the princess Louisa, only daughter to the king of France.

A conference on the subject of peace was holden at Noyon. The commissioners from the king of France were, the grand master, the bishop of Paris, the president Olivier, and others,—and the great lords of Flanders and of Spain, on the part of the king of Spain. The lord de Ravenstein was afterwards sent by him as his ambassador to the king of France, grandly accompanied by the barons of Picardy.

On Saturday, the 6th day of October, in the before-mentioned year, the king arrived in his good city of Paris, where he was received with the usual demonstrations of joy. On the morrow he departed for the abbey of St. Denis, in order to replace the saints in their shrines, which, at his request, had been taken down for the general welfare of his realm, and to return them his humble thanks for the great victory he had obtained through their means and intercessions. This was the usual custom for the kings of France to perform, in person, on their return from foreign wars.

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the feast of the Golden Fleece, 102; destroys the fortress of Montaigu, 111; some knights and gentlemen of his house hold a tournament near to Dijon, 129; sends an army into the duchy of Luxembourg, 131; reduces the duchy to his obedience, 133; attempts to lay a tax on salt in Flanders, 191; raises an army to quell the insurrection in Flanders, 199; sends an army against the Ghent men at Oudenarde, 202; establishes garrisons round Ghent, 203; invades the county of Waes, 204; defeats the Ghent men at the battle of Rupelmonde, 206; burns the village of Acre, 207; refuses to make peace in Flanders at the king's request, ib.; articles of peace proposed to him from France on behalf of the Ghent men, 209; raises a large army to combat the Ghent men, 211; sends an army against some Germans in Luxembourg, 216; enters Flanders with a large force to make war on Ghent, ib.; takes the castle of Poulcres, 217; sends to know if the Ghent men would submit to his will, 219; treaty of peace between him and the Ghent men, 220; makes a great feast, 223; vows to undertake an expedition to Turkey, ib.; goes into Germany, 224; raises men and money to make war against the Turks, 237; tries to procure the bishopric of Utrecht for his bastard son David, 238; sends a body of troops, and the chapter accept him, 242; besieges Deventer, ib.; affords refuge to the dauphin, and sends an embassy to the king, 245; quarrels with his son, but is reconciled by the dauphin, 246; carries the dauphin to Bruges, 249; his coolness with the count de St. Pol, 250; his answer to the king respecting the youth of Rodemac, 253; makes his entry into the town of Ghent, 254; rejects a proposal from England, of alliance by marriage, 256; his reply to the king's summons to attend the trial of the duke of Alençon, 259; forbidden by the king to attend, sends proxies, 260; sends an embassy to the pope, and fortifies his towns against the English, 262; reconciled to the count of St. Pol, receives an embassy from Greece, ib.; holds the feast of the Golden Fleece at St. Omer, 274; attends the coronation of Louis XI., 276; does homage for his duchy, and swears allegiance, 277; his magnificent welcome of the king to Paris, 278, 279; takes leave of the king, and departs to Cambray, 280; taken dangerously ill, but recovers, 282; causes a number of rogues and vagabonds in his country of Artois to be executed, 286; his sister the duchess of Bourbon comes to reside with him, 288; sends an embassy to the pope respecting his vow against the grand Turk, 290; meets the king of France at Hédin, 292; prepares to join the pope against the Turks, 293; a coolness between him and his son the count de Charolois, 294; peace restored between them, 298; goes to Lille to wait on the king, ib.; what passed between him and the king at Hédin, 300; answers the remonstrances of the king's chancellor at Lille, 303; sends an embassy to the king of France, 305; taken dangerously ill, 307; recovers, and vents his anger against his son for dismissing the lord de Quievrain, ib.; receives letters from the duke of Berry, 311, 312; pardons his son, 314; orders men to be raised to aid the duke of Berry against his brother Louis XI., 315; sends a sum of money to his son after the battle of Montlehery, 327; prepares an army against Liege, 338; takes and demolishes Dinant, 340—342; dies. Grand obsequies for him in the church of St. Donnast in Bruges, 346.

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Francis, count of Angoulême, betrothed to the princess Claude of France, ii, 498; sent to command against the Swiss, 510; succeeds Louis XII. on the throne of France, 515; concludes a treaty with the archduke, 516; makes his public entry into various cities, ib.; marches into Italy, 517; pursues the Swiss with his whole army, ib.; defeats their army at Marignano, 518; subdues Milan and reduces the castle, 521; holds a conference with Leo X. at Bologna, and returns to France, ib.; concludes a treaty of peace with the archduke king of Spain, 524; received at Paris with demonstrations of joy, 524

Frederick, duke of Austria, is crowned emperor, and married at Rome to the daughter of the king of Portugal, 199

Frederic, styling himself king of Naples, comes to France, ii, 492; dies, 498

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Gery, St., the canons of the chapter of, quarrel with the inhabitants of the town of Cambray, i, 334

Ghent men rise against their magistrates, i, 608; again rebel, 619; they and other Flemings, make great preparations for the siege of Calais, ii, 33; resolve to leave the duke's army before Calais, 40; rise in arms and commit great depredations, 48; excited by the artisans, they again take up arms, 62; murmur respecting the tax on salt, 199; supplicate pardon from the duke of Burgundy, ib.; they besiege Oudenarde, 202; they are defeated by the count d'Estampes, ib.; they fortify Nieneve, 205; they are defeated there, ib.; the duke defeats them at the battle of Rupelmonde, 206; they choose for their leader a lusty cutler, 207; they are defeated at Hulet and Moerbeke, 208; refuse the articles of peace from France, 209; recommence war, 210; are defeated before Alost, 212; various encounters between them and the Picards, 213; attempt to burn various parts of Hainault, ib.; send a deputation to the count d'Estampes respecting peace, ib.; they besiege Courtray, 214; Alost is nearly taken by them, 215; they are near taking the duchess of Burgundy prisoner, 214; send a deputation to beg the mercy of the duke of Burgundy, 219; treaty of peace between them and the duke of Burgundy, 220; humble themselves before the duke, 221

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Gloucester, the duke of, is sent to St. Omer as hostage for the duke of Burgundy, i, 358

Gloucester, Humphrey, duke of, and his duchess, leave Calais for Hainault to receive the allegiance of that country, i, 516; the duke of, sends a letter to the duke of Burgundy, 517; copy of his second letter to the duke of Burgundy, ib.; is blamed by the court of London for his expedition into Hainault, 526; quarrels with the cardinal of Winchester, 529; resolves to succour the duchess in Holland, 530; his marriage with the duchess Jacqueline declared null and void by the pope, 535; marries Eleanor Cobham, 536

Gloucester, the bishop of, is murdered by the populace in London, ii, 149

Godfrey, cardinal of Arras, waits on king Louis XI., ii, 294

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Grand master of the Teutonic order marches an army into Lithuania, i, 159

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Gregory XIII., pope, attempts a union in the church, i, 32; sends ambassadors and bulls to the university of Paris, 51; is condemned at the council of Pisa, 137, 142

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Gueroult, Pierre de, a youth, beheaded for disloyalty, ii, 358

Guetron castle, siege of, i, 598; the soldiers who garrisoned it are nearly all hanged, ib.

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Guienne is invaded by the French, ii, 191; the greater part of the towns and castles in the duchy surrender to the French, 193; the war in, 508
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Guise, siege of, i, 508; the garrison capitulate to sir John de Luxembourg, and Sir Thomas Rampstoun, 513
Guye de Roye appeals from the constitutions drawn up by the university of Paris respecting the schisms, i, 115; his commissary committed to close confinement, ib.; is murdered during a riot at Voltri, 136

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Hainault, duke William, count of, negotiates a reconciliation between the duke of Burgundy and the king of France, i, 130; the seneschal of, and sir John Cornwall, combat before Charles IV., 135; the seneschal of, performs a deed of arms, with three others, in the presence of Martin, king of Arragon, 25; the countess of, endeavours to make peace between the king, the duke of Acquitaine, and the duke of Burgundy, 304; renews her negotiations for peace, 305; the countess of, negotiates a peace, 311; a second time negotiates a peace, 321
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Hannequin Lyon, a noted pirate, ii, 34
Hanton, sir Thomas de, invades Scotland, ii, 155
Haphincourt castle, reconquered by sir John de Luxembourg, ii. 622
Harcourt, sir James de, taken prisoner at the battle of Azincourt, i, 346; espouses the heiress of the count de Tancarville, 389; captures his cousin the count de Harcourt, 394; makes a successful excursion near Rouen, 409; continues the war against France, 452; begins a war on the vassals and countries of the duke of Burgundy, 460; meets a party of English, and is defeated, 471; visits the lord de Partenay, and requires him to give up his castle, 504; attempting to seize that lord, is put to death, ib.
Harcourt, sir John, has the bishopric of Narbonne given to him by the pope, i, 615
Harcourt castle is taken by the count de Dunois, ii, 160
Hardy, John, undertakes to poison Louis XI., ii, 408; is betrayed and apprehended, ib.; condemned and executed, 409
Harfleur, siege of, by the English, i, 332; the king of England enters, 337; sir John le Blond made governor, ib.; the French navy at, is destroyed, 358; surrenders to the king of France, ii, 24; is besieged by the earl of Somerset, 94; surrenders to the king, 175
Harlebeck, the village of, is burned by the Ghent men, ii, 211
Haerlem is blockaded by the duchess Jacqueline, i, 530
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Hautbourdin, the lord de, bastard of St. Pol, dies, ii, 339
Haverford, town and castle of, burned by the French, i, 28
Hector, sir, bastard of Bourbon, i, 301; is killed, 303
Hector de Flavy, sir, combats Maillotin at Arras, i, 586
Hédin, the town of, surrenders to the king of France, ii, 431
Henry, king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, marries the daughter of Henry, king of England, i, 134
Henry IV., of Lancaster, king of England, combats the Percies and Welshmen, i, 14; his courageous conduct, ib.; is challenged by the duke of Orleans, 16; his answer to the duke of Orleans' challenge, ib.; king of England, thinks it beneath his dignity to fight with one of inferior rank, 17; is reproached for his conduct to the queen of England, the niece of the duke of Orleans, 20; answers the charge, 21; his reply to the duke of Orleans' second letter, ib. et seq.; reinforces his army in France, 37; prohibits his subjects from interfering in the factions of France, 211; agrees to aid the Armagnacs, 214; sends letters into Ghent and other towns, 215; confesses he had no right to the crown, 240; dies, ib.; of the alliance between him and the princes of France, 241
Henry V., king of England, assembles a large army to invade France, i, 328; ambassadors sent to him, 329; makes great preparations to invade France, 331; he sends letters to the king of France at Paris, ib.; discovers, while at Southampton, a conspiracy of his nobles against him, 332; lays siege to Harfleur, ib.; enters Harfleur, 337; resolves to march to Calais, ib.; his victory at the battle of Azincourt, 342; embarks at Calais for England after the battle of Azincourt, 348; a truce is concluded between him and the duke of Burgundy, 354; returns to France with a large army, and takes many towns and fortresses, 370; his conquests in Normandy, 388, 394; conquers Pont de l'Arche, 400; besieges Rouen, 403; makes his public entry into Rouen, 410; sends an embassy to the king of France and the duke of Burgundy at Provins, 413; is dissatisfied with the peace between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, 419; captures the town of Pontoise, ib.; orders the fortresses of Château-Gaillard and of La Roche-Guyon to be besieged, 421; arrives, with his whole army, at Troyes in Champagne, to celebrate his marriage, and to conclude a peace with the king of France, 438; treaty of peace between him and Charles VI., after the marriage of his daughter Catherine, 439; leaves Troyes with Charles VI., 442; inhumanly hangs the prisoners at the siege of Montereau, 444; several castles and forts are delivered up to him, in which he places his own captains, 446; is declared heir and regent of the realm of France, 447; goes to Paris with his queen, and Charles VI. and his queen, in great pomp after the surrender of Melun, 450; keeps open court at Paris in a very magnificent manner, 452; returns to England with his queen, 453; returns to France with a powerful army to combat the dauphin, 460; marches from Calais to Beauvais and Montes, where he is met by the duke of Burgundy, 461; conquers Dreux, and pursues the dauphin, 468; besieges Meaux, 469, 475; many other towns and forts surrender to him, 476; goes from Paris to Senlis, 478; goes from Senlis to Compiègne, 479; is taken sick during his march to the aid of the duke of Burgundy, to the relief of Cône-sur-Loire, 482; addresses the duke of Bedford, &c., whilst on his death-bed, 483; dies, ib.; his body is con-

veyed in great pomp to England, 484; a noble knight of Picardy uses a joking expression relative to his boots, which was often repeated, 485
Henry VI. comes from Pontoise to St. Denis to be crowned king of France, ii, 596; is crowned at Paris by the cardinal of Winchester, 597; goes to Rouen, ib.; is much hurt at the manner in which the duke of Burgundy addressed him after the peace of Arras, ii, 20; sends an embassy to the emperor of Germany, and the ambassadors are arrested at Brabant, 25; sends letters to the Hollanders, ib.; sends letters to France, explaining and excusing his quarrel with the duke of Burgundy, 27; is betrothed to the daughter of Réné, king of Sicily, 140; taken prisoner by king Edward IV., and sent to the tower, 329; delivered by the earl of Warwick, 394
Henry VII. of England sends a large force to the assistance of the Bretons, ii, 458; lands a force at Calais, and besieges Boulogne, 459; concludes a peace, 460
Henry VIII. of England prepares to invade France, ii, 508; disembarks with his whole army at Calais, 509; besieges Therouenne, 510; returns to England after taking Therouenne and Tournay, ii, 511; his sister, the princess Mary, married to Louis XII., 513
Heretic, an extraordinary, at Paris, ii, 494
Heresy and high treason, may be punished on the dead body of the heretics, i, 65
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Hermit, a devout one in Swisserland, subsists for fifteen years on the holy wafer, ii, 436
Hemon, sir, de Bouberch, a vessel of his is taken by sir James de Harcourt, i, 460
Hermontfort, the town of, is attacked by the duke of Burgundy, i, 539
Herrings, battle of, i, 550
Heuse, the borgne de la, is dismissed from the provostship, i, 268
Hoguemans, ii, 203
Holland, William, duke of. See Liegeois, and John duke of Burgundy
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Holy Land, ambassadors from, to the court of France, ii, 275; from thence to the court of Burgundy, 276
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Honoré Cokin, heads an insurrection at Amiens, ii, 21; is beheaded, 22
Howard, the lord, and other ambassadors from England, wait on the king of France, ii, 446
Howard, sir Edward, killed in a sea-engagement, ii, 512
Howel, John, surrenders the castle of La Roche-Guyon to its lord, and turns to the French, ii, 160
Hulst, the men of Ghent are defeated at, ii, 208
Humieres, the lord de, is taken by the French, ii, 608
Humieres, the lord de, taken prisoner at the battle of Azincourt, i, 346
Humieres, the bastard de, defeats the French near Rethel, ii, 2
Humphry, duke of Gloucester, sends a challenge and a threat to the duke of Burgundy before Calais, ii, 39; arrives at Calais with a large armament, 43; enters Flanders, ib.
Hungary, the king of, writes for advice relative to the schism, to the university of Paris, i, 87; his embassy to the king of France, ii, 247; dies, ib., 253; marries Anne of Candale, of the house of Foix, ii, 492; death of the queen, 499
Huntingdon, the earl of, aids the duke of Burgundy before Compiègne, i, 575
Hure, John de la, and others taken prisoners by a band of horsemen, ii, 354
Huy, many of the inhabitants of, beheaded and drowned, i, 123

I.

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Isabella, queen of England, returns to France, i, 12; is married to Charles d'Orleans, 44; dies in childbed, 146
Isabella, queen of France and wife of Charles VI., is banished, i, 365; escapes from Tours with the duke of Burgundy, 384; writes letters on the duke's behalf, 385; is carried to Paris, 399; joins the duke of Burgundy, 415; dies in the city of Paris, ii, 19
Isabella of Savoy, queen of France, comes to the king at Senlis, ii, 291
Isabella, queen of Spain, dies, ii, 498
Ishmael, the Sophi, his furious battle with the Turks, ii, 522
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Jacob van Ardoyen, a blacksmith, is hung for lending hammers to the duke of Burgundy during the insurrection at Bruges, ii, 51
Jacobins, the, renounce their claims to tithes, &c. i, 154
Jacotin de Bethune is sent to prison, but soon afterwards released, ii, 87
Jacquelina of Bavaria married to John duke of Touraine, i, 44; dies, 46
Jacqueline, the duchess, writes to the duke of Gloucester respecting her being put under the wardship of the duke of Burgundy, i, 524; escapes in disguise from Ghent and goes to Holland, 528; is divorced from the duke by the pope 535; treaty between her and the duke of Burgundy, which ends the war in Holland, 542
Jacques Cœur is arrested and made the king's prisoner, ii, 200
Jacqueville, sir Elion de, heads a party of the Parisians to arrest sir Peter des Essars, i, 242; kills sir James de la Rivierre in prison, 249, 260; is dragged out of the church of our Lady at Chartres by Hector de Saveuses, and put to death, 386
Jagellon, king of Poland, is baptized, i, 154
James de la Marche, king of Naples, the Neapolitans make war on him, i, 361
James I., king of Scotland, is murdered in his bedchamber, ii, 47
James de Helly is killed at Compiègne, i, 583
Jane of France, duchess of Bourbon, dies, ii, 449
Januarius, St., of Naples, the miraculous head and blood of, ii, 476
Jean de Chevrot, has the bishopric of Tournay conferred upon him, i, 615
Jeanne de Bethune, countess of Ligny, does homage for her lands to Charles VII. ii, 110
Jeanbon, a native of Wales, is beheaded for a conspiracy to poison the dauphin, ii, 428
Jeannet de Poix, and others, by command of the duke of Burgundy, march secretly to St. Denis, and make inroads on different parts of France, i, 354
Juesne, master Robert le, is sent by the count de St. Pol to harangue the king of France, i, 265; is arrested for the want of vouchers, ib.
Jeune, Robert le, governor of Arras, death and character of, ii, 289
Jews, insulted at the coronation of pope John XXIII., i, 157; crucify a child at Trent, in ridicule

of the mysteries of the passion, ii, 435
Joab, why king David ordered him to be slain, i, 69
Joan, the maid of Orleans, waits on king Charles at Chinon, i, 550; she is retained in the king's service, ib.; goes to Orleans, having command of a large force, ib.; she reinforces and revictuals Orleans, 552; requests the king to send a large reinforcement to pursue his enemies, 553; conquers the town of Gergeau, 554; overthrows Franquet d'Arras, and has his head cut off, 571; is taken prisoner by the Burgundians, before Compiègne, 572; is condemned to be put to death, and burnt at Rouen, 588
Joan, duchess of Luxembourg, i, 30
John XXIII., elected pope, i, 156; ceremonials of his coronation, ib., et seq.; his request of tenths rejected by the French church, i, 168; requests aid of the French king against the king Ladislaus, 170; flies from Rome, and fixes his court at Bologna, 249; is dethroned, 218; is released from prison, made a cardinal by pope Martin, and dies, 391
John, king of Arragon, a deed of arms is performed before him, i, 27
John, brother to the duke of Bar, slain at the battle of Azincourt i, 344
John of Bavaria, bishop, makes his entry into Liege after the battle of Eichtfeld, i, 122; surnamed John the Pitiless, 123; dies, i, 515. See Liege.
John of Montfort, duke of Brittany, dies, i, 12
John de Moreul, knight to the duke of Burgundy, appointed ambassador, i, 250
John de Nevers is ordered to lay siege to Moreiul, ii, 626
John, sir, bastard de St. Pol, is taken prisoner by the French, ii, 608
John de Toisy, bishop of Tournay, death of, ii, 615
Josquin, Philip, acquires great riches in the service of the duke of Burgundy, i, 426
Josse, son of the duke of Burgundy, born at Ghent, i, 612
Joinville, the lord de, refuses, but upon conditions, to deliver up the castle of Montereau to the dauphin, i, 426
Jubilee in France, for the support of a war against the Turks, ii, 491
Juchy, near Cambray, twelve houses burned at, ii, 275
Julian the apostate, fell through covetousness, i, 65
Julius II. pope, by the assistance of the French, gains Bologna, ii, 499; regains several places from the Venetians, 501; goes to war with the king of France, 502; his army united with the Venetians and Spaniards is defeated by the French near Ravenna, 505; dies at Rome in the ninth year of his pontificate, 508
Justice and royalty, i, 91
Juy, John de, the accuser of John Coustain, beheaded, ii, 286

K.

Kirennier, le, attaches himself to the king's army to drive out the English from Normandy, ii, 23
Kiriel, sir Thomas, defeats the count de Clermont, i, 566; is taken prisoner by the French, 582; is appointed governor of Clermont castle, 601; takes Valognes, ii, 178; is defeated by the count de Clermont, 179
Kyme, the earl of, killed at the battle of Baugey, i, 458

L.

Lagny-sur-Marne, the bulwark at, is conquered by the English, i, 604; the duke of Bedford marches to the aid of, 605
La Hire, surnamed Estienne de Vignolles, made prisoner, i, 457; takes Louviers, 567; he and others overrun Artois and Cambresis, 623; treacherously makes the lord d'Auffemont a prisoner, 631; gains the castle of Breteuil, in the Beauvoisis, by storm, 633; takes the old fort of Amiens, 635; he and several others defeat the earl of Arundel, 637; a truce is agreed on between him and the Burgundians, 639; overruns and forages the country of the duke of Burgundy during the convention at Arras, ii, 7; conquers Gisors, and loses it soon afterwards, 33; is wounded at the siege of Calais, 37; conquers the town and castle of Soissons, 45; is nearly taking Rouen, but is defeated, 49; commits great waste in several counties, 54; is taken prisoner, ib.; is liberated and goes to the king, 55; makes excursions into Germany, 72; dies, 127
Lalain, sir James de, makes an inroad to the walls of Ghent, ii, 211; is slain before Poulcres, 216
Lallier, Michel, his wife reveals the conspiracy at Paris, i, 352
La Mothe, the town of, is taken by storm by the bastard of Bourbon, ii, 88
Lancelot, or Ladislaus, king of Naples, invades Florence, i, 140
Lancelot de Lisle, sir, is slain at the siege of Orleans, i, 546
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La Réole, siege of, by Charles VII., ii. 126
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Laws have double meaning, i, 73
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Launoy, the lord de, receives many favours from king Louis XI., ii, 293
Laurens du Puy, ordered to be arrested by the queen of France, and is drowned in attempting to escape, i, 384
Lectoure regained from the count d'Armagnac, ii, 405; burned and razed to the ground, ib.
Le Bourg castle, siege of, i, 46—ii. 192
Leger, John, put to death at Rouen, i, 366
Leigny-les-Chastiniers castles destroyed by the duke of Burgundy, i, 584
Lens, sir Charles de, arrested, i, 260
Leo X. pope, succeeds Julius II., ii. 508; sends Prospero Colonna with a force to join the emperor Maximilian, 517; holds a conference with Francis I. at Bologna, 521
Libourne taken by the French, ii, 226
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